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A Comprehensive Study of Jewish Schools in Chicago

Prepared by Barbara Schneider and Adam Gamoran
August 1999

Purpose:

We are proposing to conduct an intensive study of Jewish day and after-school programs in Chicago. This project will specifically examine: 1) what are the experiences of children in Jewish schools, focusing on the curricular organization including the content being taught and how it is taught; 2) what are the qualifications, activities, and experiences of teachers and administrators in Jewish schools; 3) how are Jewish day schools organized and financed, and how viable will these schools be in the next century; and 4) how does a sense of Jewish identity develop in children and what experiences foster such development in religious schools.

This project will be conducted by an interdisciplinary team chaired by Barbara Schneider and Adam Gamoran, and including Ellen Goldring, Bethamie Horowitz, David Kaplan, and Linda Waite. Throughout the team there is agreement on the importance of Jewish learning being organized around text and experience. This study will help to determine what text seems to influence young adults' sense of their Jewish life and what experiences help to reinforce these understandings.

Sample:

Learning about the work on adolescents being conducted at the University of Chicago, Barbara Schneider and Linda Waite were contacted to see if they would consider surveying all of the day and after-school Jewish schools and students in Chicago. Realizing that this is a major undertaking and recognizing the related work

recently completed by Adam Gamoran and Ellen Goldring, Barbara and Linda contacted them with the home that they would be interested in working together on a major study of Jewish education in Chicago. This project offers a unique opportunity to survey the entire Jewish school population in Chicago, making it perhaps the largest survey of the Jewish school population in the U.S.

Methods:

Relying on the rich expertise of the interdisciplinary team, we are proposing that the following data collection efforts be undertaken:

Survey of Schools, Administrators, and Teachers

There would be a survey of the school administrators and teachers. This instrument would be used to collect base-line information on how the schools are organized, where they draw their student populations, how long students stay in school, what teaching materials are provided to the staff, what are the evaluation criteria for administrators and staff, how administrators and teachers carry out their roles, what is the relationship between the school and the synagogue and the community at large, what ties does the school have to other schools, the wider Jewish community, programs in Israel, and so on. Teachers would be asked similar questions designed by Goldring and Gamoran with several new items on Jewish literacy and identity.

Student Survey and Interviews

Students in grades six through high school would be surveyed and asked questions about their experiences in these schools including the types of learning activities they engage in, what their interest is in maintaining a Jewish identity, what are their expectations for family life and how important is it for them to continue their Jewish

identity into adulthood. In addition to the surveys, approximately 100 students (fifty day and fifty after-school students) will be interviewed. These intensive interviews will be constructed around issues of Jewish learning and identity. The interviews with day school and after-school students will provide a more in-depth picture of Jewish family and school experiences and of Jewish learning and identity.

Possible Additional Components

In addition to the surveys, two additional components are under consideration. One is to develop and implement an instrument of Jewish literacy for both teachers and students. This would be a relatively concise instrument that would assess both Hebrew and fundamental ethical and historical questions that are uniquely Jewish.

A second additional component may be an ethnographic study of six schools (three day schools and three after-school programs). The purpose of this field study would be to obtain more fine-grained information on the experiences, constraints, and opportunities that Jewish schools, teachers, and students are encountering.

Scheduled Work Plan:

During the coming year (1999-2000) the team will meet approximately three times, to construct instruments and methods for carrying out the work. In January a small pilot will be conducted to test the various instruments. Individuals in the Professors Group and others will be contacted for advice, especially regarding the possible Jewish literacy test and content questions posed to the teachers and students.

Research and Evaluation at the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education: An Interim Progress Report to the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation

July, 1998

During the past twelve months, the Research and Evaluation Team at CIJE has pursued the three-part agenda outlined in our proposal of March, 1997. In this report we describe progress in each of the three areas: Setting an Example, Building Evaluation Capacity, and Planning Ahead.

Setting an Example

CIJE advocates research and evaluation of the highest quality, and we believe it is essential to set an example in our own work. Our ongoing evaluation of CIJE's Teacher-Educator Institute (TEI) is a way we are doing this.

The TEI evaluation serves a variety of purposes including:

- Providing formative feedback to the faculty of TEI
- Providing a baseline against which the accomplishments of TEI will be measured
- Providing information for policy reports to the wider Jewish community

We recently prepared a baseline report on participants' perceptions of professional development before they entered the program. A second round of interviews was recently completed and this will allow assessment of change. In addition, the survey of professional development programs, originally carried out in 1995, was recently repeated, and this will allow us to assess changes in teachers" opportunities for professional development over time.

Evidence from the first round of surveys has yielded two draft papers: A *Policy Brief*, which makes the case for professional development as the key strategy for enhancing teaching in Jewish schools; and a research paper on the prospects for using professional development as a reform strategy for supplementary schools. The most striking finding from this research is that central agencies are much more likely to offer high-quality professional development than synagogue schools, so communal strategies for enhanced professional development must receive attention. Both of these papers are under review and will be subsequently revised.

In addition to these papers, we continue to produce related work based on the CIJE Study of Educators. Our final report on teachers, *The Teachers Report*, has just been issued by CIJE; a paper that synthesizes data from teachers and leaders to address the issue of "Towards Building a Profession" has been accepted for publication; and a paper analyzing gender differences in working conditions in Jewish schools was accepted for publication and has appeared in print.

Another facet of our modeling has been in the use of evaluation within the Seminar for Professor of General education. An interview protocol was set up to enable us to ascertain the impact the professor's group is having on each professor and on the work of CIJE. Some of the questions that were raised in the interviews reflected on: the overall conception of the seminar, its purposes, what it means to be a member, how the seminars can best utilize professors expertise and address CIJE need, and the structure of the seminar meetings and activities. This has been a most useful tool in helping with the discussions surrounding the development and improvement of the program.

Building Evaluation Capacity

Over the years we have seen increasing recognition that evaluation is an essential component of programs to improve Jewish education. Nonetheless many programs remain without an evaluation component or receive only a cursory inspection. A major reason for this situation is the lack of capacity to carry out evaluation in Jewish education. To address this problem, CIJE has:

- produced *Pathways: A Guide to Program Evaluation in Jewish Education*, by Adrienne Bank (being distributed by JESNA)
- carried out a planning process for an Evaluation Institute
- initiated the Jewish Indicators Project

Guide to Program Evaluation

Pathways, the program evaluation manual developed by CIJE and published in cooperation with JESNA, is now in its second printing. The first printing of 1000 copies was fully distributed and the second printing is going very quickly. The guide is being used in training programs offered by CIJE and by JESNA. Communities such as Los Angeles, Boston and New York have ordered *Pathways* in quantities of 70 to 100. New York Federation sent it to every Continuity grant recipient.

Planning the Evaluation Institute

We held discussions with representatives from communities including New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Miami, Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Baltimore and Detroit. These discussions with communities have shown there is strong demand for what the Institute has to offer. This "market research" also suggests that communities seem willing to pay a reasonable fee to attend the Institute. However, a number of challenges also emerged from this planning process, particularly regarding the capacity of communities to find qualified participants, and the availability of tools for evaluation.

- A major challenge for communities that may participate in the Institute is the selection of Evaluation Associates, persons who can provide community-wide leadership in Jewish

evaluation. Such persons are not easily found. Should we therefore look for experienced researchers and train them in Jewish education and community issues, or find Jewish educators and train them in evaluation? Each model has some advantages but there are also major challenges associated with each.

- As we sought to develop a curriculum for the Institute, it became increasingly clear that essential tools for evaluation of Jewish education are lacking. Simple tools like surveys of participants to gauge whether they liked a program are available. What policy makers and funders care about, however, is whether the program made a difference in the lives of the people who attended, and especially whether it enhanced their commitment to Jewish life. There are few, if any, effective tools of this nature. The problem is especially acute at the community-wide level. There is a paucity of effective methodologies for measuring progress being made on a community-wide basis in enhancing continuity.

In response to these limitations we decided, in consultation with our Board and the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation, to delay the start-up of the Institute while we develop new tools for evaluation. The Indicators Project, described below, provides a mechanism for developing tools as well as a framework for using evaluation tools to monitor progress.

<u>The Indicators Project</u>

How can we determine whether progress in Jewish continuity is occurring at the community and continental levels? Despite the demographic data, we know little about trends in the quality of Jewish life in North America. The Indicators Project is an effort to develop measures of both Jewish education, and the outcomes of a high-quality Jewish education, for use by Jewish communities and institutions. We have identified five key outcomes of Jewish education, and four key input characteristics:

OUTCOMES
- Commitment to ongoing Jewish learning
- Strong Jewish identity
- A high level of involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions
- Jewish values in everyday life
- Strong Jewish leadership

INPUTS
- Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth
- Strong, informed community support for Jewish education
- High-quality Jewish institutions
- Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work

Indicators for some of these characteristics are fairly well developed. For example, the CIJE Study of Educators, supported by the Blaustein Foundation, has resulted in well-defined

indicators for the preparation of educators. In other areas, however, much work needs to be done. We have identified three indicators to which we are giving highest priority for development: Jewish learning, Jewish identity, and high-quality institutions. Our strategy is to commission a paper that scans the field, in both the Jewish and the non-Jewish worlds, for the best available tools and conceptions on these indicators. Subsequently we will use this information to develop new indicators that are suitable for our purpose. Thus far we have engaged Dr. Bethamie Horowitz to review the field of identity. Her report is due at the end of 1998 and we anticipate developing our indicators of identity during the first part of 1999. We are in discussion with Dr. Steven M. Cohen concerning indicators of Jewish learning, and that may come to fruition during 1999. We are still seeking a lead person to help us develop indicators of high-quality institutions.

In addition to these activities, we have conducted scans to locate any available data and instruments that we may put to use. We identified three secular national data sets that include relevant data on American Jews. One of these, the General Social Survey collected by the National Opinion Research Center, yields data for a twenty-year period on Jewish intermarriage and on a rudimentary measure of Jewish identity. We are exploring the use of these data sets to examine trends over the past two decades, with the possibility of following the same survey into the future. A second, the Schools and Staffing Survey collected by the U.S. Department of Education, provides information about Jewish day schools which can be used to confirm and extend our research on educators.

The American Jewish Committee and the Council of Jewish Federations maintain data banks of Jewish community surveys. We are exploring the possibility that these data may be useful in some way. We are also working with the team that is developing the National Jewish Population Survey for the year 2000. Our hope is to enhance the potential of this large omnibus survey as a tool for community-wide evaluation.

As these various tools are developed, they will be curricularized into modules for the Evaluation Institute which we plan to pilot in the year 2000.

Planning Ahead

Building a capacity for research and evaluation on Jewish education in North America is a major goal of CIJE, first articulated in *A Time to Act*. Evaluating our own work, producing research that meets high standards, and creating tools for evaluation are elements in this agenda, but we are also engaged in a planning process that may lead to an institutionalized framework for research and evaluation in our field. During fall 1997, we explored issues of expanding research capacity in meetings with faculty from the Jewish studies centers at the University of Connecticut at Storrs and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In spring 1998, individual meetings on the subject took place with faculty affiliated with the Mandel Institute of Jerusalem: Professor Seymour Fox, Annette Hochstein, and Alan Hoffmann. Following the spring meetings, we prepared a report on the prospects for building a capacity for research in Jewish

education. The report claims that although there has been little improvement in the quality of research produced since *A Time to Act* in 1991, positive changes in the infrastructure for supporting research have occurred. The most prominent changes include:

- Increases in academic positions in Jewish education
- New doctoral programs for research training in Jewish education
- The CIJE "professors group," which brings prominent professors in general education to focus their attention on Jewish education
- New publication outlets for research in Jewish education
- Potential opportunities, as yet unrealized, for foundation funding of research on Jewish education
- Annual research network conference on Jewish education

The report then outlines steps which may help translate these background changes into real progress in the amount and quality of research on Jewish education. Steps to build capacity are proposed, and a tentative research agenda is outlined.

The report is currently under review by the CIJE staff. We are contemplating distributing the report more widely to foster broader discussions.

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As we look toward this next year of the grant cycle, we look forward to the first outcome reports on the TEI evaluation, to the development of new instruments and indicators and to the publication of a position paper on building research capacity in Jewish education.

List of Available Products

Publications Appearing or In Press

1. Bank, Adrienne. (1997). *Pathways: A Guide to Program Evaluation in Jewish Education*. New York: Jewish Educational Services of North America.

2. Gamoran, Adam, Ellen B. Goldring, Bill Robinson, Roberta Louis Goodman, and Julie Tammivaara. (1997). "Background and training of teachers in Jewish schools: Current status and levers for change." *Religious Education, 92,* 534-550.

3. Robinson, Bill, Adam Gamoran, and Ellen B. Goldring. (1998). "Gender differences in Jewish schools: A study of three communities." *Journal of Jewish Education, 64,* 57-72.

4. Gamoran, Adam, Ellen B. Goldring, Bill Robinson, Julie Tammivaara, and Roberta Louis Goodman. (1998). *The Teachers Report: A Portrait of Teachers in Jewish Schools.* New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

5. Goldring, Ellen, Adam Gamoran, and Bill Robinson. (In press). *The Leaders Report: A Portrait of Leaders in Jewish Schools.* New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

6. Gamoran, Adam, Ellen B. Goldring, and Bill Robinson. (In press). "Towards building a profession: Characteristics of contemporary educators in American Jewish schools." In Yisrael Rich and Michael B. Rosenak (Eds.), *Challenging Jewish Education: Reflections and Research.* New York: Freund.

Draft Papers under Internal or External Review

1. Gamoran, Adam. (1998). *Building Capacity for Research in Jewish Education: An Update.* Draft report. Jerusalem and New York: Mandel Institute and Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

2. Gamoran, Adam. (1998). *Professional Development for Teachers in Religious Schools: Inherent Contradiction or Realistic Policy?* Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Montreal.

3. Holtz, Barry, Adam Gamoran, Gail Z. Dorph, Bill Robinson, and Ellen B. Goldring. (1998). *Policy Brief: The Professional Development of Teachers for Jewish Schools.* Draft. New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

Internal Report

1. Robinson, Bill, with Adam Gamoran, Ellen B. Goldring, and Kenneth Zeichner. (1997). *Evaluation of the Teacher Educator Institute: Baseline Description of Cohort II.* New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

Evaluation Institute
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SELECT INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION

GOAL# 1: EDUCATORS WHO ARE RICHLY PREPARED AND COMMITTED TO ONGOING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

HOW PREPARED ARE DAY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS?[1]

To be richly prepared for professional leadership of a Jewish day school, principals require formal training in education, Jewish studies, and administration, defined as having a degree or certification in those areas.

In 1990-91, 32% of day school principals had formal training in both education and Jewish studies. By 1993-94, that figure had risen to 36%. At the same time, the proportion without training in either area dropped from 10% to 6%.

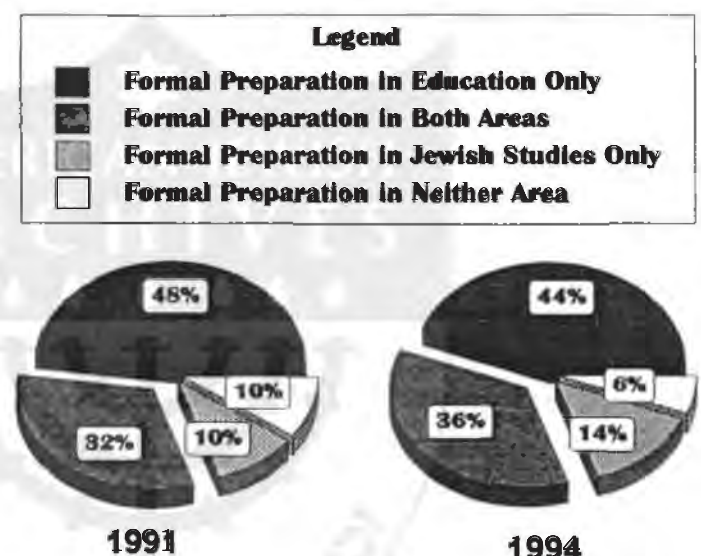

Figure 1: Extent of Professional Training of Principals in General Education and Jewish Studies

In 1990-91, one-third of the principals in Jewish day schools had training in administration. In 1993-94, this figure rose to 50%. However, these percentages are still below those found in private schools throughout the United States.

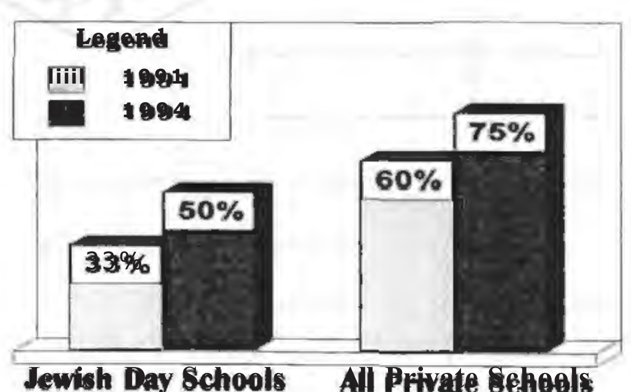

Figure 2: Extent of Professional Training of Principals in Administration

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[1] Data obtained from the Schools and Staffing Surveys of 1990-91 and 1993-94

GOAL# 1: EDUCATORS WHO ARE RICHLY PREPARED AND COMMITTED TO ONGOING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

HOW COMMITTED TO ONGOING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT ARE DAY SCHOOL TEACHERS?[1]

Ongoing professional development for teachers is essential to their renewal and growth as educational professionals. In addition to acquiring new teaching methods and awareness of new educational technologies, educators also need opportunities for sustained, in-depth study of subject matter.

Ninety percent of teachers in Jewish day school participated in some type of professional development during the academic year 1993-94. The overwhelming majority (75%) of teachers learned about new methods for teaching. Only 15% studied subject matter in-depth for 9 hours or more.

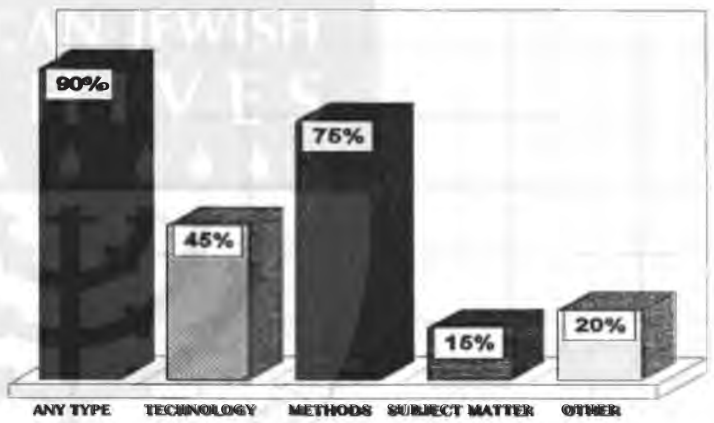

Figure 3: Extent of Participation in Professional Development Opportunities

While only a small minority of teachers (15%) engaged in sustained, in-depth study of subject matter, almost all of them (85%) reported that it had a strong impact on them. In comparison, only 55% of teachers who focused on teaching methods reported the same.

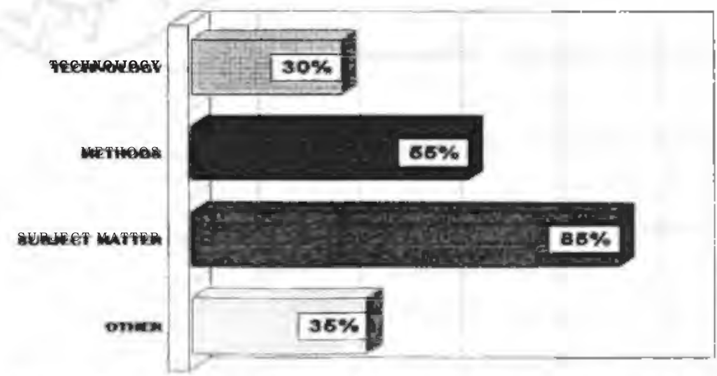

Figure 4: Impact of Professional Development: Percentage of educators who reported a strong impact (grouped by type of professional development in which the educator participated most often)

[1] Data obtained from the Schools and Staffing Survey 1993-94

GOAL # 1: EDUCATORS WHO ARE RICHLY PREPARED AND COMMITTED TO ONGOING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

HOW FINANCIALLY SUPPORTIVE ARE THE DAY SCHOOLS?[1]

To recruit and retain qualified educators, Jewish day schools must offer competitive salaries and benefits.

In 1990-91, the average teachers' salary in Jewish day schools ranged from $20,856 to $27,432. In 1993-94, the average ranged from $22,104 to $29,274. In both periods, the average salaries for Jewish day school teachers was higher than the average salary for all private school teachers.

Table 1: Teachers' Average Salaries

Type of School	Average Base Salary 1991	1994
Hebrew Day	$20,856	$22,104
Solomon Schecter	$27,432	$29,274
Other Jewish	$24,901	$26,939
Total Private	$19,432	$21,898
Total Public	$32,112	$34,189

The percentages of teachers receiving medical insurance in Jewish day schools was substantially less than in all private schools for the years 1990-91 and 1993-94. In 1990-91 and 1993-94, approximately half of the teachers in private schools received a pension. For the same periods, approximately one-quarter of teachers in Hebrew Day Schools and other Jewish schools received a pension. However, between 1990-91 and 1993-94, the percentage of teachers in Solomon Schecter Day Schools who receive pension benefits rose from 29.2% to 51.0%

Table 2: Select Teachers' Benefits: Percentage of teachers who receive the benefits

Type of School	Medical		Pension	
	1991	1994	1991	1994
Hebrew Day	34.2%	35.8%	26.6%	28.6%
Solomon Schecter	39.8%	45.8%	29.2%	51.0%
Other Jewish	33.0%	33.5%	25.8%	27.2%
Total Private	58.3%	60.1%	43.3%	47.2%
Total Public	86.0%	87.3%	61.1%	62.7%

[1] Data obtained from Schools and Staffing Survey 1990-91 and 1993-94

SELECT INDICATORS OF JEWISH LIFE

GOAL# 2: STRONG JEWISH IDENTITY

HOW STRONG IS ONE'S JEWISH IDENTITY?[1]

Seeing one's Jewishness as central to one's life is a defining feature of a thriving Jewish life.

Over the past twenty-five years, the proportion of born Jews who did not become Jewish adults has increased dramatically. In 1970, only 10% of adults who had been born Jews reported that they were no longer Jewish. By 1997, that figure had reached 34%. Simultaneously, the proportion of born Jews who refer to themselves as "strong Jews" as adults has declined.

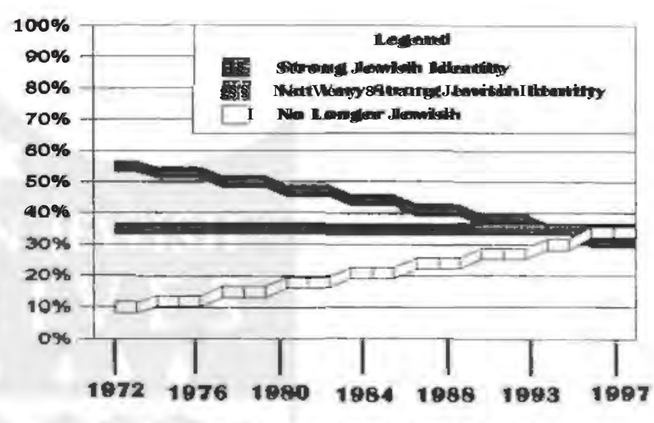

Figure 5: Strength of Jewish Identity

Among adult Jews reporting a very strong Jewish identity, 45% indicated that they attend religious services at least twice a month, and 30% attend about once a month. Among adult Jews reporting a not very strong Jewish identity, only 10% attend at least twice a month, and 50% reported attending only once or twice a year. In comparison, 65% of non-Jews who indicated a strong identification with their current religion reported attending religious services at least twice a month.

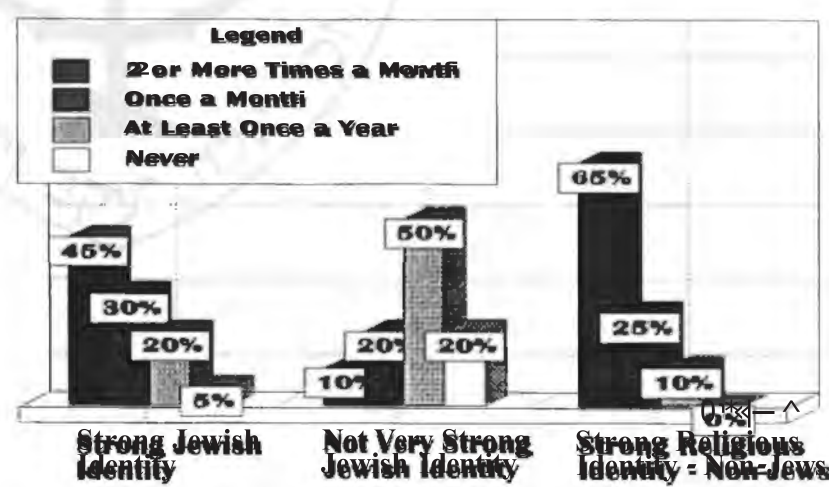

Figure 6: Attendance at Religious Services (grouped by strength of religious identity - Jewish and non-Jewish)

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[1] Data obtained from the General Social Surveys 1972 through 1997

GOAL #4: CONCERN WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE

HOW IMPORTANT IS COMMUNITY SERVICE?[1]

Grounded in prophetic teachings, the concern for social justice is so central to Judaism that it must be understood as a defining feature of a thriving Jewish community.

As college sophomores in 1988, 50% of Jews viewed community service as very important. As seniors and two years after college, only 30% of these same Jews saw community service as important.

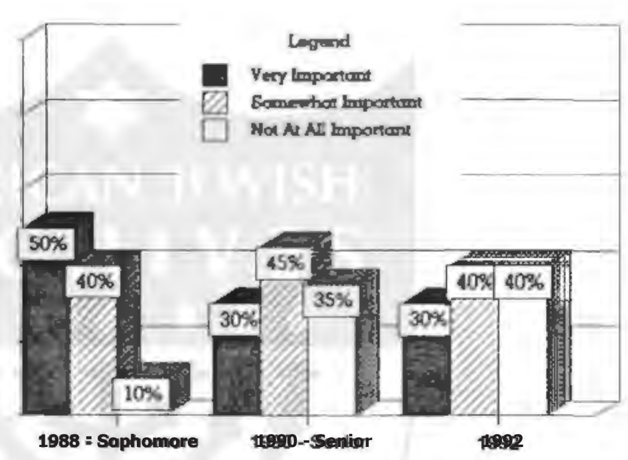

Figure 7: Importance of Community Service

As college sophomores, 30% of Jews participated in community service work at least once a week. As college seniors, 25% did community service work at least once a week. Two years after college, only 10% of these graduates engaged in community service at least once a week. While the importance of community service remains stable after college, participation drops substantially.

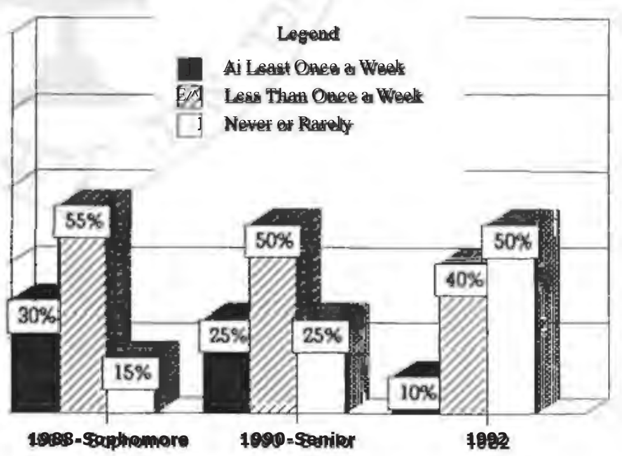

Figure 8: Extent of Participation in Community Service Work

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[1]Data obtained from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 and follow-up studies in 1990 and 1992.

March 1, 1999

Mr. David Hirschhorn
President, The Blaustein Foundation
The Blaustein Building
P.O. Box 238
1 North Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21203

Dear David,

I am looking forward to meeting with you on April 12. In the meantime, I wanted to elaborate on some of the activities Gail Dorph mentioned in her letter of January 28, to keep you fully apprised of our activities in the project.

Evaluation of the Teacher-Educator Institute (TEI)

Evaluating our own work has been a central goal of the research and evaluation project at the Mandel Foundation, not only for purposes of maintaining quality and informing decisions, but also to serve as a model of evaluation from which we can learn and demonstrate the evaluation process itself. From our group of "Professors of Education" (a network started by the Mandel Foundation to increase capacity for research in Jewish education) we have been fortunate to bring in Professor Susan Stodolsky of the University of Chicago to guide the TEI evaluation. Under her supervision, Renee Wohl has completed a report on the second cohort of participants. Unlike the evaluation of cohort I, which relied on interviews after the program was completed, the evaluation of cohort II included interviews both before and after program participation. This design allows us to draw firmer conclusions about changes in the participants as a consequence of the program. Wohl reports that in response to TEI, participants changed their ways of thinking about professional development, and changed the kinds of programs they offer to educators in their communities. Instead of offering "discrete opportunities for the transmission and acquisition of techniques," TEI graduates now understand professional development as "a long term processing journey with teachers." This recognition, and its corresponding change in practice, is essential for enhancing the quality of professional development for Jewish educators.

The evaluation also revealed challenges to the implementation of enhanced professional development. Although the teacher-educators stressed the value of collegiality and collaboration within communities, in practice this collaboration was sometimes difficult to achieve. The redesign of TEI for a third cohort, just underway, is taking this challenge into account.

By the time the third cohort of TEI has graduated, about 85 teacher-educators from over a dozen communities and four national movements will have participated. In light of the effectiveness of the program as revealed by the evaluation, we expect that TEI will have had a major impact on professional development for teachers in Jewish schools, a key to our strategy for building the profession of Jewish education in North America.

The Indicators Project

On February 17, we reviewed the progress of the Indicators Project in a consultation at the Mandel Foundation in New York. Participants included Gail Dorph, Seymour Fox, Adam Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, Annette Hochstein, Alan Hoffmann, Barry Holtz, Bethamie Horowitz, Michael Inbar, Daniel Marom, Nessa Rapoport, and Barbara Schneider. (Michael Inbar and Barbara Schneider are sociology professors and methodologists from the Hebrew University and the University of Chicago, respectively.) The agenda and background materials for the meeting are attached. Key results of the consultation are as follows:

- We affirmed our decision that the indicators receiving the highest priority for attention are Jewish identity, high-quality Jewish institutions, and Jewish learning (or literacy). For literacy and high-quality institutions, progress is well underway. Dr. Bethamie Horowitz is preparing a background paper on the first, and Dr. Ellen Goldring is scanning the literature on the second. Both scholars are charged with examining current approaches in Jewish and secular arenas, and providing us with recommendations for indicators. For Jewish literacy, however, the consultation brought to light several weaknesses in the plan we were considering, with the resulting decision to rethink the purposes and plans of this aspect of our work. I have been asked to lead this rethinking.

- Several U.S. national data sets contain information on American Jews, which could be made useful for the Indicators Project. For example, the General Social Survey, an annual survey of a representative sample of American adults, contains information about religious heritage, current religion, and the strength of religious identity. This could be used to trace the strength of religious identity among U.S. Jews for a twenty-year period. Although the measure of identity is crude (respondents are simply asked whether their religious identity is strong or not very strong), the ability to monitor responses over time is of great value. We are considering a series of reports, perhaps two each year, reporting on this and similar findings about indicators for the North American Jewish community.

I look forward to discussing these matters further with you when we meet in April.

Sincerely,

Adam Gamoran
Professor

Leora Isaacs from JESNA will be working with *Pathways* in the Open University at the CAJE conference this summer, training dozens of students in its use. In addition, JESNA is now developing support systems for *Pathways*. These include an on-line clinic for addressing questions; seminars with constituent groups all over the country; and workshops with communities to help them understand how to use the publication. CIJE is incorporating the book (along with new instruments that are being developed) into its Evaluation Institute curriculum, as well as other leadership development programs.

As we begin toward this next year of the grant cycle, we look forward to the implementation of our new approach to the Evaluation Institute (as detailed in a separate letter), to continuing our ongoing TEI evaluation work and to developing a publishable piece advocating for a major national center for research and evaluation in Jewish Education.

It is truly exciting to see that many of the major foundations as well as some federations are waking up to the need for serious evaluation. The demand is starting to grow. The challenge is to develop the cutting-edge tools that will help make evaluation not just an exercise, but a real tool for creating more effective strategies.

Sincerely,

Karen A. Barth
Executive Director

cc: Adam Gamoran
Ellen Goldring
Karen Jacobson

David Hirschorn
The Blaustein Building
P.O. Box 238
1 North Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21203

June 15, 1998

Dear David:

I am writing to confirm our discussion about a new approach to the development of the Evaluation Institute. This new approach is based on the findings from our market research as well as our growing concern about the inadequacy of existing evaluation tools for Jewish education. The attached proposal is the latest version of our proposed plan. As we discussed, the new plan would have three phases:

- Phase 1— 1998-99- Develop Instruments
- Phase 2— 1999- Test and refine Instruments
- Phase 3— 1999-2000- Open Institute pilot program

Details of these phases are outlined in Exhibit 3 (attached to the proposal). The budget for this new approach is going to be larger than our original budget (see exhibit 4). As we discussed, CIJE would like to transfer the grant funds originally earmarked to the Evaluation Institute to this effort. I am happy to say that we already have at least one foundation seriously interested in contributing additional funding to this endeavor.

I am also enclosing for your review the resumes of the top 3 candidates for our Director of Research and Evaluation. Any comments or thoughts you have would be appreciated.

We are truly excited about this new approach to the Evaluation Institute. It is an opportunity for CIJE to push the state-of-the-art forward significantly in Jewish educational evaluation.

Sincerely,

Karen A. Barth
Executive Director

INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION: ASSESSING CURRENT STATUS AND MONITORING CHANGE

Adam Gamoran
Ellen B. Goldring
Bill Robinson

June, 1997

The Problem

The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, with its finding that over half of American Jews now marry out of the faith (Kosin et al., 1992), was a shock to the Jewish community. Committed Jews across the community spectrum are concerned about the future of the Jewish population of North America, and many are turning to Jewish education as a possible solution (Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, 1990). A variety of commissions, programs, and initiatives are being proposed and implemented across North America. These efforts share the common purpose of revitalizing the Jewish community through education, but they are generally not coordinated and differ in their specific objectives. A major problem for new efforts is the lack of information about whether they are succeeding. How will we know whether Jewish education is moving in the right direction? Typically, evaluations are short term and limited in scope, if they occur at all. Yet the objectives of programs such as lay leadership development, enhanced professional development for teachers, seminars for educational leaders, and so on, are long-term and diffuse. Hence, there is a mismatch between the short-term local evaluation information being gathered, and the need for long-term, wide-ranging knowledge about change in the Jewish community.

An important reason for this mismatch is that appropriate information is difficult to gather and interpret. Program goals are often ambiguous and progress is hard to measure. For example, behavioral measures such as whether a person lights Shabbat candles or conducts a Passover Seder -- desired outcomes of some education programs —are probably inadequate for capturing the complex and diverse processes by which individual Jews respond to these programs. In addition, programs may have ambitious goals for change that occurs over a long period of time. It is difficult to measure progress in the absence of a longitudinal approach which can be expensive and complex, and requires a long delay before results can be assessed.
These challenges call for a coordinated effort to bring together a wide variety of information about Jewish education and its consequences in North America. Such an effort may draw on information already being collected in on-going projects, and it may also involve new data collections especially designed for this purpose. This effort to establish "Indicators of Jewish Education" is modeled after similar approaches in economics, health, and general education. It would provide a baseline on the current status of Jewish education, and allow assessment of change over time.

There are several benefits of an Indicators approach to addressing the shortage of information about Jewish education and its effects.

- Indicators would describe the status of a key aspect of the Jewish community, taking the pulse in an area whose health is believed to be central to the life of North American Jewry.

- Indicator data would facilitate planning. In the medical field, child immunization rates are used to plan medical interventions. Similarly, rates of teacher training or professional development might be used to develop policies that respond to anticipated shortfalls.

- Unlike most program evaluations, Indicators offer a long-term perspective. By gathering similar data over a long period of time, such indicators may be able to detect changes that are too gradual to appear in program evaluations.

- An Indicators project can focus on the outcomes that really matter. It can transcend the direct outcomes of individual initiatives to examine the overall progress of the Jewish community and its educational system.

- Over time the Indicator data would constitute a data base which could be accessible to many researchers and thus stimulate new research in Jewish education.

Proposed Methodology

To help us develop a methodology for compiling Indicator data, we held consultations with four groups of experts, and spoke with other individuals. A synthesis of these consultations is attached. We considered a variety of *purposes* of an Indicators project, including [a] providing a status report on Jewish education; [b] assessing progress towards CIJE's vision; [c] evaluating CIJE; and [d] documenting the effects of Jewish education. Our proposal emphasizes the value of Indicators for a status report, but all four purposes may be served to some degree.

We also discussed different *models* for an Indicators project, including a longitudinal survey of a cohort, as compared with reliance on existing cross-sectional surveys, and various *levels of analysis*, particularly the national, community, and institutional levels. Our proposed methodology emphasizes the community level and repeated cross-sections, although it incorporates information from national surveys as well.

Emphasis on a Status Report

The main purpose of the Indicators project is to identify the current state of Jewish education, and to monitor change over time. This information may be used to galvanize support for change, when it is combined with a strong argument about what changes are most likely to produce the desired results. For example, CIJE data on the background and training of teachers, combined with current theories of teacher training, serve as the basis for important new initiatives in teacher professional development in Jewish education.

While this type of project would not evaluate CIJE directly, it could serve an evaluative purpose in the sense that when change occurs in the right direction, CIJE's mission is being accomplished. For the most part the project would not assess CIJE's broad vision for Jewish life in North America, because that vision is too far removed from education and from "hard data" to be feasibly measured at this time. However, it would examine progress towards CIJE's vision in education, which is at the core of CIJE's vision.

Focus on the Community Level

There are three main reasons for emphasizing the community level in the study of Indicators. The first is substantive: The community is the most likely site of influential policies. National policies often have little impact on individuals, and policies of specific programs and institutions, while very important for members, typically do not have implications beyond their walls. At the community level, however, there is potential for concrete policies to affect a large number of people across a variety of denominations, programs, and institutions. In Baltimore, for example, a community-wide incentives program has increased the extent of professional development among supplementary school teachers (Gamoran et al., in press). In Seattle, new funding has subsidized day school tuition, and an Indicators project would allow comparisons of enrollment over time and across communities with different funding policies.

The second reason to focus on communities is that substantial data are already available. A number of communities have conducted demographic surveys, some repeatedly. In addition, some version of the CIJE educators survey has been conducted in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Seattle, and other communities may be added in the near future. Also, survey data on professional development programs are available for Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Hartford, Milwaukee, and San Francisco.

The third reason is related to the second: Data collection at the community level is more feasible than at the national level. Existing data will not be enough for the indicators project, so some new data will need to be collected. The community offers a reasonable frame for survey methods.

The communal focus also has limitations. Most important, it hinders the generalizability of the Indicators. Many small communities will not be represented, and unless New York is one of the communities, the degree to which New York's situation is adequately represented by surveys from other communities is not known. This limitation can be partially addressed by using national data when available. Demographic information and rates of participation in Jewish education can be taken from the National Jewish Population Survey and compared with community data to give some sense of the generalizability of the community data.

Use of Cross-Sections

Rather than following a single cohort of individuals over time, we recommend gathering data on cross-sections of individuals repeatedly over time. Repeated cross-sections are needed to monitor change in the state of Jewish education. For example, cross-sections could reveal whether rates of enrollment in religious education beyond the age of bar mitzvah are increasing or not.

Following a single cohort would show how the experiences of individuals changed over the life course, but would not indicate whether Jewish education or its outcomes are changing over time.

Large surveys often allow examination of multiple cohorts. For example, the National Jewish Population Survey has been used to show that intermarriage rates are rising, by documenting the increasing chances of intermarriage for persons born in later years. Thus, a single survey can yield data on successive cohorts, up to the time the survey is administered.

The disadvantage to cross-sectional rather than longitudinal data on individuals is that cause and effect cannot be demonstrated. One might observe a rise in enrollment and a decline in intermarriage and infer a causal connection, but this conclusion would be far more speculative than that based on a study of comparable individuals whose enrollment and marriage decisions were followed over time.

Next Steps

A list of proposed indicators is provided below. This proposal implies four "Next Steps":

(1) Compile existing data from communities into a coherent data base. Need to [a] identify communities with appropriate data; [b]acquire the data. This includes CIJE data on educators and on professional development. Timeline: Fall 1997 - Spring 1998.

(2) Repeat the survey from the CIJE Study of Educators in Milwaukee (Spring 1998) and Atlanta and Baltimore (Fall 1998). This would be five years after the original survey, and it would provide trend data in addition to the baseline for these cities. Consider additional surveys in Los Angeles, Seattle, and Cleveland for 1999, where surveys similar to the CIJE survey have been administered. Timeline: Spring - Fall 1998, and beyond.

(3) Consider gathering new data where data are currently unavailable. Need to prioritize -- which data are most essential? Timeline: Ongoing.

(4) Articulate a theory of change. Need to explain more fully why these indicators are most essential, and how the indicators are linked to one another. CIJE already has a theory of change -- it needs to be made explicit in the context of the indicators. Timeline: Ongoing.

Proposed Indicators

I. NATIONAL/CONTINENTAL

A. Currently available (all by cohort)

1. Intermarriage rates
2. Participation in any Jewish education
3. Participation in day school
4. Years of Jewish education

B. Not currently available

1. Jewish summer camp attended (by name of camp)
2. Children in Jewish early childhood education
3. Private foundation contributions to Jewish education

II. COMMUNITY

A. Currently available for selected communities from community surveys

1. Various demographics
2. Contributions to Federation
3. Percentage of Federation allocation to Jewish education

B. Currently available for selected communities from CIJE surveys

1. Characteristics of teachers in Jewish schools
2. Characteristics of educational leaders
3. Characteristics of professional development programs

C. Not currently available

1. Participation rates (overall and post-bar-mitzvah)
2. Content in formal and informal Jewish education
3. Learning outcomes for participants in Jewish education
4. Attitudinal outcomes for participants in Jewish education

Synthesis of Consultations on the Leading Indicators Project

We held four consultations with a variety of experts to help with our planning and development in the Leading Indicators Project. Aside from CIJE staff, participants in the consultations were non-overlapping. They brought to the consultations a broad range of specialized knowledge in areas of general education, Jewish education, evaluation, and survey methods. A list of consultations and participants is attached. In addition to those listed, we held an individual meeting with Harold Himmelfarb, a sociologist and author of a well-known study on the effects of Jewish education, who currently works for the U.S. Department of Education. Of those persons deemed most important for our consultations, the only one we did not see was Steven M. Cohen of Hebrew University's Melton Centre. We hope to speak with him at a later date.

Despite the diversity of participants, several common themes emerged in the consultations:

1) Overall there was substantial enthusiasm for the idea of an Indicators project. Almost all participants thought the project could serve a mobilization purpose; that is, by providing essential, basic information about the current state of Jewish education and ongoing changes, the Indicators could stimulate interest and support for policy decisions about Jewish education.

The strongest cautionary views were expressed by Len Saxe at the Research Network consultation. In Saxe's judgment, the most pressing issues are at the community level, and Indicator data may not be rich enough or sensitive enough to context to help the communities.

2) While not totally dismissing the value of indicators, Saxe's argument tilted strongly towards the community as the most important level of analysis. This emphasis is consistent with the views of many of the participants in all four consultations. The community is the most essential level of analysis for a variety of reasons: a) It is the locus of funding decisions; b) Individuals participate in a variety of institutions within a given community; c) Most existing survey data are at the community level.

3) Although many participants asked whether the Indicator study was *supposed* to be an evaluation of CIJE's work, few if any of the participants thought that it *should* be (except indirectly, in the sense that if Jewish educational indicators are moving in the right direction, CIJE's mission is being accomplished). Close evaluation of CIJE's work would not, for the most part, yield Indicator data of broad interest (e.g., the TEI evaluation), and Indicators that have wide relevance are too far removed from specific CIJE initiatives to constitute direct evaluation of CIJE. Most participants thought that gathering Indicator data would be a valuable activity, but it would not be a direct evaluation of CIJE.

4) Some causal inference, or at least speculation, is possible with Indicators data. However, demonstrating causal effects should not be the main focus of the Indicators study. Data that can serve adequately for causal analysis would likely be too narrow and restricted to serve the broad purpose of Indicators. For example, an in-depth study of a single cohort over time would not show how Jewish institutions and the Jewish population are changing over time.

5) Participants at the Professors consultation and at the CAPE consultation commented that the "CIJE Draft Visions" are not appropriate as the starting point for an Indicators study. The draft visions are too "soft" (i.e. hard to measure), too abstract, too value-oriented, and too distant from education. Instead, theories about quality in education should be considered as the basis for developing Indicators.

6) Participants noted a need for a theory, conceptual framework, or "causal maps" that would link the Indicators to one another. To make even the most speculative causal inferences possible, a set of theoretical connections is essential. For example, we have a theory that certain types of professional development are more effective than other types. We can use this theory to decide on the indicators of the quality of professional development. Admittedly, however, this does not test the hypothesis that such professional development is in fact effective.

7) Finally, participants at AERA, CAPE, and the Research Network agreed that "Leading" Indicators is not the proper term. "Leading" indicators refers to indicators used for forecasting, usually in economics. Instead, we are simply talking about "Indicators."

Participants in Consultations on the Leading Indicators Project

February 2, 1997: The CIJE Professors Seminar
Adam Gamoran
Ellen Goldring
Gail Dorph
Sharon Feiman-Nemser
Bill Firestone
Barry Holtz
Fran Jacobs
Barbara Neufeld
Anna Richert
Susan Stodolsky

March 27, 1997: AERA
Adam Gamoran
Ellen Goldring
Bill Robinson
Henry Levin
Aaron Pallas
Barbara Schneider
Lee Shulman
Rafe Stolzenberg

May 22, 1997: CAPE
Adam Gamoran
Hadar Harris
Annette Hochstein
Michael Inbar

June 2, 1997: Network for Research in Jewish Education
Adam Gamoran
Bill Robinson
Isa Aron
Jonathan Golden
Barry Holtz
Bethamie Horowitz
Leora Isaacs
Sherry Israel
Joan Kaye
Alisa Rubin Kurshan
Dan Pekarsky
Len Saxe
Lifsa Schachter
Rob Toren
Jonathan Woocher

CIJE Professors Seminar
Leading Indicators Discussion
2/2/97

The session began with Adam and Ellen introducing the project. Ellen had prepared a handout that included a list of discussion questions as well as the CIJE "Draft Vision Outcomes" and the Leading Indicator project schedule. A preliminary discussion was encouraged to clarify the issues that might be involved, followed by small group discussions led by Ellen and Adam, followed by a reporting and summary discussion.

<u>Preliminary Discussion</u>
The first question that came up was, "Is the purpose of this project to evaluate CIJE, or to examine the health of the Jewish community?" While the main purpose is the latter, discussion suggested the two purposes might not be mutually exclusive. If the indicators are widely discussed and valued, then that would be an impact of CIJE, in shaping the agenda. The project is not seen as one that uncovers causal relations, but rather as taking the pulse of North American Jewry. The group recognized that movement one way or another on indicators may have nothing to do with what any particular organization is doing. Furthermore, the CIJE lay board does not see this project as a way to evaluate whether CIJE's funds are being spent well.

Still, there are links between potential indicators and CIJE's efforts. Sue Stodolsky commented that assessments could be incorporated that are not the visions of outcomes, but are linked to outcomes in the long run. Some indicators could be more immediate, others could be longer term. In this way indicators could assess the sequence of change, and link the indicators to evaluation.

Bill Firestone noted that this list of outcomes (the CIJE "Draft Vision Outcomes") is not the type of list that people normally use to study outcomes; it is softer and more value-oriented than would typically be used. We need to get from these outcomes to indicators, and how to do that is not obvious.

At this point there was some discussion of whether it is worthwhile to take on the enterprise. The general sense was that more needs to be considered before the question of worth can be answered.

Anna Richert suggested that a Leading Indicators study helps define what we care about, what matters in the world. Sharon Nemser noted the following possible purposes for the project:

-- engage people
-- raise consciousness
-- stimulate discussion
-- put forth a vision

Sue Stodolsky wondered, what scale of effort would be required? What is the resource base already? Part of the project could be coordinating what is already going on.

With this framework for discussion, we moved to small groups.

Ellen's Small Group

The group began by thinking about a systematic way to look at the task of considering leading indicators. The group focused on a discussion of 'causal maps' rather than a list of indicators. That is, we reviewed the list and there seemed to be two "types" of indicators. One type refers to process, inputs or 'opportunity to learn' indicators. These are processes or opportunities that would have to be in place, but they are not outcomes. The second type of indicator is the outcome. For example, leadership and renewal are processes that should lead to outcomes, such as centrality of learning. The discussion centered on the need to have a set of hypotheses, or causal maps about how processes and inputs are related to the outcomes.

The group then discussed the difficulty of the task. There is not a body of knowledge or previous examples of how to measure the outcomes. There are numerous methodological issues that are suggested when using the term leading indicator, such as representation of the population. There would need to be both quantitative and qualitative methods used.

Because of these difficulties, the group discussed the idea of beginning with a pilot approach in the 3 lead communities. The data would be collected as community profiles on 'leading indicators'. The community profiles would be packaged in such a way so that communities could collect much of the data themselves. The data could include data from institutions (institutional profiles) , as well as data from the community, such as surveys of families, unaffiliated, etc. The initial data collected could focus on the opportunities to learn', the inputs and processes. While this data were being collected, groups of experts and clients' could be working simultaneously to develop measures to collect outcome data. Furthermore, the project should rely on existing data already available.

Adam's Small Group

Discussion began by asking what criteria one might use to prioritize the outcomes, if one wanted to develop Leading Indicators. The group identified four criteria: intrinsic merit, centrality to CIJE, feasibility of gathering information, and uniqueness to CIJE. We discovered that all the outcomes were high on intrinsic merit, so that criteria was not useful for prioritizing. We spent most of our time going through the list and rating each outcome as high, medium, or low on each of the other criteria (see below). Participants felt that the Professors Group can offer helpful advice on this project.

	Intrinsic Merit	Centrality to CIJE	Feasibility	Uniqueness to CIJE	Comments
1. Centrality of learning	high	high	medium	medium	cognitive/experiential —JESNA?
2. Jewish identity	high	low	medium	low	CJF survey (connec to Judaism hard to assess)
3. Moral passion	high	low	medium/low	low	important to federations
4. Jewish values	high	high	low	high	affective domain —possible to meas
5. Pluralism	high	low	low	high	what is the unit?
6. Involvement/commitment	high	high	high	low	cities have own data
7. Intensity/energy	high	???	low	medium	eg-JCC camps w/ no Jewish content
8. Relationship with Israel	high	low	high	low	can't leave it out==coordinate info
9. Leadership	high	high	medium	medium	eg- $ for Jewish ed, #lay involved in continuity, #prof ed leaders
10. Continuous renewal	high	high	medium/low	high	the methodology of CIJE

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Summary Discussion

Following a period of reporting out from the small groups, a summary discussion ensued:

Adam: Thinking less about what we could collect, but what exactly could be collected...use other work that is going on and coordinate with Synagogue 2000, Population data

Fran: concerned about how other people would view our numbers and what does it mean to put the CIJE name on it?

Bill: if start with opportunity to learn and then work with indicators and then work on a package, over time one would move out from 3 communities to others and have a methodology that could sell to other communities. Need a research staff to do this.

The two small groups just focused on different aspects of leading indicators.

Concerned about being inclusive. Many of these need the traditionally-defined affiliated communities. Need some way to "get out of the box"

Talking about major investments for all of these indicators because of the instruments that need to be developed.

Is this a worth while way to think about this? Or are there other ways?

Is this what CIJE should be assessing? This was a good way to frame what CIJE should be looking at within a larger agenda. But should CIJE put more effort into evaluating CIJE and its programs first, before embarking on the LI project?

Maybe what we need to look at is not what the successes are, but what the problems are. Indicators are important for a lot of things including telling us where we need to focus our energies.

Need to look at "improving personnel" —what does that mean? What would it look like? Do we need to make it look bigger, sexier? We don't really know what improving personnel means.

We need to articulate what the projects are. Each project within organization would have to attend to these goals. How is the program designed to achieve these goals? This means that the notion of indicators is something different.

Two types of efforts may be required for the Leading Indicators project:

- -- pulling together information that is already available or being collected, influencing what data are being collected by others
- -- collecting new data
  - -- this might be thought of in two dimensions: scope (national, community) method (quantit, qualit)

May 12, 1997

To: Members of the CIJE Indicator Task Force Committee

From: Barbara Schneider

Re: Notes and Interpretations of the AERA meeting Chicago, Spring 1997

During the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, in Chicago this past spring, a small committee met to discuss the feasibility of designing an indicator project that would focus on issues related to Jewish education and identity. The charge to the committee, consisting of Adam Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, Henry Levin, Aaron Pallas, Barbara Schneider, Lee Schulman, and Rafe Stolzenberg, was to examine the possibility of developing indicators of the presence and quality of Jewish life in North American, including but not limited to how the various components of the Jewish educational system--religious day school programs, after-school programs, and so on--affect the development of a Jewish identity. Ellen and Adam explained that CIJE is currently working with three communities, in Atlanta, Baltimore and Milwaukee. At this time, it is not entirely clear as to whether the indicator project should focus on designing a project around these three communities, other selected communities, or the nation as a whole. Even though CIJE's efforts have been targeted on a limited number of locations, these somewhat smaller efforts should not necessarily preclude the option of undertaking a more extensive indicator project that would be national in scope. Committee members were urged to think about a wide range of projects, some of them somewhat modest and others that may be more ambitious ventures. The assignment was to come up with several different strategies for undertaking an indicator project.

As for what the substance of the indicators would be, the committee was instructed to assume that we know what it is we want to accomplish and there is a large group of talented professionals driving improvements and innovations in education. The first question the committee was asked to address is: How do we begin to think about measuring where we are and whether or not we are making progress toward reaching certain moral goals? Second, should we be taking the "pulse" of the Jewish community every some odd years to generate a baseline of

information that could be compared over time? The thought was such a project might resemble the new national goals projects, and we would be able to discern for example, whether more individuals were attending religious services, more individuals were involved in continuing Jewish education programs, more young people were engaged in Jewish summer experiences or trips to Israel, more individuals were willing to identify themselves as practicing Jews rather than ethnic Jews.

The notion of defining the scope of an indicator project is central. Some of the important points made regarding what should be examined include the following:

First, the project should probably not be an evaluation of CIJE or its agenda, but rather a set of questions that are self-standing and that have long term consequences. The first task would be to develop some base line measures that seem reasonable and can help to inform how our Jewish educational institutions do their work.

Second, if the project is looking for indicators, such as a change in the community as a whole, then the items should be constructed around themes that were practical and could be designed and fielded in a relatively short period of time. For example, it would be difficult to study the effect of elementary Jewish education on the Jewish community overall. However, it would be relatively straightforward to study the impact current Jewish elementary education programs are having on the identity formation of Jewish adults, adolescents, and children.

Third, studying indicators abstractly can be problematic. A case could be made that designing indicators around the intervention sites would give a clearer view of what the goals of the project are and if they are observable in the community.

Fourth, that designing indicators that are just descriptive of the Jewish community right now could be very informative--a kind of Jewish population study. This effort would be broader in scope not focused on programs but informative on other kinds of issues. For example, are Jewish teachers in Jewish schools increasingly receiving richer Judaic educational experiences?
What proportion of the Jewish community is pursuing Jewish studies courses in higher education, as either majors or minors. From information like this we could monitor the seriousness with which the community is in fact developing an intellectual base for its future. Along these lines, one of the interesting things to monitor would be the growth of Jewish studies programs at colleges and universities and investments in these programs over a specific time period, such as five or ten years. This type of question might best be asked at the institutional level.

Fifth, it is important to have indicators that encompass both attitudinal and behavioral measures. It is the combination of both type of items that will make the indicator project richer in scope and depth. From individuals and targeted institutions it should be possible to obtain information of levels of religious and education participation. However, only through individuals can we obtain attitudinal and identity information.

With respect to designing an indicator project, several different options were considered. First, a project somewhat more limited in scope, would be to survey the Jewish families in the three communities who are being served by the current CIJE intervention programs. Some of the benefits of this design are that the questions could focus in part on some of the CIJE activities, the response rate of the families would likely be high, and the operational costs for undertaking such an effort would be considerably less than a national sample. The disadvantages are that it would not be a random sample of Jewish families in the U.S., the questions may be repetitive of present CIJE evaluation plans and activities, and some of the broader questions certain members of the committee were interested in asking--such as those targeted at higher education institutions--would be inappropriate for this subpopulation.

The advantages of a national design, particularly one that is stratified by region, and population, would be generalizability of results, broader base of questions, and possible linkages with other surveys (i.e this last point could also be accomplished with the three-community design). The major disadvantage of a broad national survey is the considerable cost of drawing the sample, fielding the enterprise, and analyzing results. Another disadvantage may be that the work of other surveys is replicated. Thus, special care would have to be made to ensure that this project was gathering unique information and that information could be linked with other efforts.

Costs could be minimized by designing supplements that could be attached to current surveys. Presently there are national population and educational surveys that would allow for supplements. Broad national surveys could be conducted on individuals or on institutions. If one of the criteria of the sampling frame was for example, type of religious synagogue--reform, conservative, orthodox, then the design could be a two stage effort whereby the institutions were selected and a number of families or individuals within those institutions would be surveyed.

There is also a third type of design, one that is built around a purposive sample of communities or institutions. In this case, the project selects a particular community or set of institutions and surveys them intensively. The disadvantage of this method is the lack of generalizability to the nation as a whole. However,

purposive samples that are selected with specific criteria can sometimes be more informative than national studies where the questions tend to be very broad.

Overall it would appear that the committee agreed that an indicator project would be useful and the extent of its usefulness would be colored by the type of questions being asked and the scope of the population being surveyed. The notion of nested surveys where individuals and institutions, such as synagogues or various types of religious schools, are surveyed in tandem, seemed particularly appealing. The possibility of a separate higher education survey would probably be best handled as a supplement to national higher education institutional surveys currently being conducted. Cost is a major consideration and will undoubtedly influence the design of the project.

As for next steps, it was suggested that CIJE staff examine current national Jewish surveys and other national surveys to see what type of information is presently being obtained. This review should include not only the range of questions but the sampling frame used to obtain the information. This first step will ensure that the questions and design of the indicator project will not duplicate the efforts of others.

CIJE Indicators Project
Summary of Consultation at CAPE
May 22, 1997
Participants: Annette Hochstein, Mike Inbar, Adam Gamoran, Hadar Harris (CAPE staff)

Adam began the meeting with a brief introduction to the Indicators Project. Mike, Annette, and Hadar had previously reviewed summaries of earlier consultations (CIJE "professors" and educational researchers).

Mike began his response by asking for clarification about the issue of cohorts. He noted that often, much of the variation that occurs in a social phenomenon is between cohorts rather than within cohorts. This indeed seems to be important for Jewish life in the diaspora. For example, most of the variation in intermarriage lies between cohorts. Hence, for an indicator project that purports to measure the status of the Jewish population on an ongoing basis, it is essential to include information from successive cohorts.

Mike also recommended that we create a group to review what indicator data exists already in North America, as a way to get the project started. Availability of such information would be part of a plan that could be presented to CIJE decision makers before the Indicators project begins in earnest. Possible sources of information include Brandeis (Sylvia Barack Fishman?), CCNY (Kosmin?), Stanford (Shulman, Lipset?).

Annette suggested that because the "draft visions" are very abstract and removed from education, they cannot provide good measures of what Jewish education can or will accomplish. Many other factors are involved in Jewish life, so the "draft visions" do not necessarily indicate the success or lack of success of education.

Annette and Mike urged us to present proposed indicators to a high-level group of decision-makers and clients. This would include key lay leaders and persons who deal with policy for Jewish education. We should obtain response and input from such a group.

In addition to advice about the Indicators Project from CIJE staff and lay leaders, we should get input from experts in Jewish educational research, with particular focus on standards of content for Jewish education. Barry Holtz and Seymour Fox would be good contributors.

We discussed the issue of causality. Mike noted that data-gathering always involves assumptions about causality; the question is at what level is causality assumed, and where can it be demonstrated. Adam asked for clarification, using the issue of teacher professional development: We assume pd leads to better teaching and more learning, but we do not try to demonstrate it. Mike agreed that it is difficult to show the causal link between pd and student learning. But suppose someone said, why is 5 hours of pd better than 1 hour? Causality might be inferred from changes in the extent of pd that coincide with other trends, such as increases in participation in Jewish education, or a stronger content focus in Jewish schools, etc. Causality is not demonstrated but can be inferred.

Adam raised CIJE's concern that such limited attention to causality does not answer the "big questions," e.g. does pd reduce intermarriage, etc. Mike explained that any action potentially has immediate consequences and a chain of consequences. It is impossible to study everything at once. Now, a decision-making group might legitimately say that if you can't study the whole chain at once, the project is not worthwhile. On the other hand, it is also legitimate to say, here's what we can do today. (Mike told a nice allegory to illustrate this point which I will pass on!) Mike commented that there probably is no doubt about the notion that we can influence the quality of education through teachers and teacher training. If this is agreed upon, then indicators about personnel and training seem warranted.

Annette noted that in the past, no real indicator data has been available. Community data collection has been of inconsistent (mostly low) quality. The CIJE Educators Survey and the NJPS are important new sources of data. More elementary, baseline data are needed. Annette urged us to gather baseline data on the quality of education, focusing on the presence or absence of Jewish content in educational settings. Basic data on this are needed.

Adam raised the question of levels of analysis. Annette suggested that for some questions, we may want to focus on specific institutions or programs, and for others we might focus on communities and the continent as a whole. As an alternative to the continent as a whole, we might focus on selected communities. This would allow us to interpret the indicators with a richer knowledge base about the specific communities. We discussed the issue of selecting a representative community. Annette suggested that most issues are common to many communities, allowing for variation in geography, size, and composition (% orthodox). This could be explored with analyses of the NJPS, although within-community sample sizes may not be large enough. We might also compare communities using recent community surveys.

Both Mike and Annette advised us to keep the Indicator Project separate from the evaluation of CIJE. The purpose of the indicator study is to provide information for CIJE (and other) decision-makers about the health of the Jewish community. Indicators are not well suited to adjudicating between alternative sources of success. For example, if teachers are better trained, is that because of TEI? Or because of the JTS education school? But this debate is beside the point.

Mike added that CIJE is one of the institutions of North American Jewry. Would you design indicators to measure the effectiveness of the U.S. Congress? No. Later on, it may be possible to connect the evaluation of CIJE with the indicators. For example, if professional development is effective, then one could say CIJE is effective because it has enhanced professional development.

What are indicators used for? Mike suggested that indicators provide information for decisions.

Adam summarized the implications of the meeting:

1. There should be a systematic review of available data, particularly community-level data.

2. The project should start with available data.
    A. CIJE data on educators and p.d.
    B. Links to community data
    c. Links to the NJPS

3. What is the highest priority for new data? Annette's view is that the top priority should be to find out what is going on in the educational settings (e.g. classrooms) of selected institutions in selected communities.

The process for this is to prepare a proposal outlining these activities. The proposal to present indicators as alternatives to the "draft visions." It should include, in an appendix, a listing of available data.

Mike agreed that "Leading" should be dropped from the title of the project. "Criterion Indicators," "Selected Indicators" or just "Indicators" were alternative suggestions.

LEADING INDICATOR CONSULTATION
Network for Research in Jewish Education Conference
Hebrew College, Boston -- June 2, 1997

IN ATTENDANCE:
Isa Aron (HUC-LA), Adam Gamoran, Jonathan Golden (Hebrew College - Graduate student), Barry Holtz, Bethamie Horowitz (NY UJA-Federation, Leora Isaacs (JESNA), Sherry Israel (Brandeis), Joan Kaye (Orange County BJE), Alisa Rubin Kurshan (NY UJA-Federation), Danny Pekarsky, Alex Pomson (York University, Graduate student), Bill Robinson, Leonard Saxe (Brandeis, Heller School), Lifsa Schacter (Cleveland College), Rob Toren (Cleveland BJE), and Jonathan Woocher (JESNA).

SUMMARY:
After Adam described the intended project, the group indicated that it wanted to begin with the first question ---Is the LI project a worthwhile idea? Most of the conversation centered on this question and a second question ---What types of data would be worthwhile to collect? Three primary conclusions can be drawn from the consultation:

1. While there was not widespread agreement, there was some sentiment that it would be important to collect certain types of data from a national sample, now. While we may not know for certain what the key indicators of the health of Jewish life or Jewish learning are, twenty years from now we will kick ourselves for not having collected data on these indicators. So we need to make our best guess. The participants gave two examples of this type of data: (a) the number of Jewish schools and their locations, (a) participation rates in (certain) programs.

2. We should make use of already existing means of gathering data, such as NJPS and community demographic studies. Instead of spending new resources, we should influence these studies to include questions that will gather the information that we deem important (see point #1 above). [Note: There may be no nation-wide studies of Jewish institutions currently being done.]

3. Before engaging in any new, nation-wide research, we should work with a community to build an inductive understanding of what is important to measure and how to measure it in ways that are valid and reliable. In addition, as several participants asserted (including Saxe and Horowitz), the appropriate level of analysis is the community (not the individual, the institution, or the nation).

MINUTES:

Saxe:

I'm not sure if it is a worthwhile idea. It will take a long time and a lot of money and won't provide answers to questions that are pressing on us in the next three years.

[In his own work:] Given changes in the management and collection of data [on issues like crime where collection is required by law], it became difficult to compare data sets over time.

Borrowing a line from James Carville, "It's the context, stupid!" We need to study people in community, not as individuals. The question is: What data can be collected in communities, where community people can be involved and feel ownership?

Horowitz:

We know too much about individuals in a behavioristic way and not enough about institutions ... though it would be nice to hand funders a book with lots of exact data that we don't know yet.

I agree with him [Saxe] on collecting community-level data. You need to be able to talk about "New York - ness." Yet, [we should also be aware that] people are mobile, so we also need national data.

Toren

As was said earlier, all education is local. This [LI] may not pick up institutional, cultural changes that occur, for instance, in ECE. In Cleveland, we are grappling with how this [our work] may have an impact on parents or kids. [We suspect that] the important "engagements" of Jewish education may be different that in public school. Perhaps, [we should] track cohorts of families, beginning with those first entering into the system, and ask them how are they making sense of Jewish communal life.

Woocher

Change should drive research and not vice-versa. We need to look at what people are trying to achieve and direct our research at this —collect data in places where they are trying to create change.

Nevertheless, there is a paucity of basic data, like the # of schools in the U.S. and where that are.

Israel

Be careful about making connections. We don't have much belief that teacher-training will lead to increased student commitment [in contrast to

student knowledge]. We don't know what the factors are that will make a difference [to be able] to know what indicators to choose.

Schacter

[There's a] problem with treating the field [of Jewish education] as if its an undifferentiated field. For instance, give how schools define "rich Jewish heritage" differently, you can't create a standard that applies to all groups. This raises the possibility of needing different indicators.

Aron

[The outcome of] "life-long learning" is different from the others. [It may be worthwhile to measure.] "Knowledge" is complicated [to operationalize]. "Teachers" raises the question of impact on students. [Perhaps, for life-long learning focus on] what and how are they learning, and in what contexts? Attach a NJPS question on this.

Horowitz

"Informal education" may also be similarly worthwhile.

Israel

If it is about the vitality of Jewish life, limiting it to "learning" leaves out many Jews.

Saxe

[In response:] That is a different issue. The question is: Is it an indicator of change?

Aron

[It would be] interesting to see which programs are sustained over time.

Saxe

[In response:] But, this is not an indicator.

Isaacs

The United Way makes a distinction between outputs and outcome. Outputs are like indicators, being clearly defined measures. Outcomes tell us what the outputs mean. An example of an output is the # of families participating in family education. An example of [a corresponding] outcome is the impact of the program on the families.

Pekarsky

[In other words::] What are the indicators indicators of?

Gamoran
The U.S. Dept, of Education tends to use "outputs."

Israel
Do the indicators (i.e., formal training of teachers) lead to impacts on students?

Holtz
There are things in the simple collection of data that are useful. In regard to Jon Woocher's comment, you could separate out some core/basic data that it seems bad that we don't know and common sense tells us this is good or bad news (e.g., participation rates, such as Bar/Bat Mitzvah schools). These would be an indicator of something; but what that something is we have to learn.

[Some conversation on the issue of "leading" indicator and what that means -- the same thing we discussed in Chicago.]

Saxe
Unemployment has been considered a leading indicator, but over the last few years it has not predicted inflation which we thought was well-connected to it. Yet, our understanding of what the indicator is has remained clear and stable.
I'd rather see us inductively build this up be doing community studies — how communities experiment with notions of how to develop these indicators. And, community involvement should help with the validity and usefulness of the indicators.

Axon
At the very least, some of us should be involved with the people constructing the NJPS to make sure that the questions are the best.

[Horowitz and Israel are on the advisory(?) committee of the NJPS.]

Woocher
From the point of view of those who will write our history, they will think that not collecting this data is a travesty. There are trends, like adult learning, that are important to monitor. But, from a change perspective, if we know that the #'s increased, so what? If there was a close link between professional development and student learning, then we may regret this.

Kaye
What makes a vital Jewish community and what do they need to do to become vital? We need to look at this. Some communities are established, but others -

like Orange County - are not established communities.

Schacter

We are steps away from collecting useful indicators. What steps should we take?

Saxe

[We should engage in] community-based research projects, were we study what's going on and let the community's agenda drive some of the questions.

BILL ROBINSON'S ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON THE THREE PRIMARY CONCLUSIONS

1. Collect some data now.

Participation rates seems to be a particularly likely measure that we would want to know about now and in twenty years. While participation in "bad" programs may not lead to more educated and committed Jews, I would assert that participation is a necessary, though not sufficient, factor in creating more educated and committed Jews. The key criteria for deciding what data to collect may be -- What are the necessary, though not sufficient, conditions for improving Jewish education?

Yet, collecting this data may not be as easy as we think. To use "participation rates" as an example, three problems confront us:

For what programs or institutions would we collect participation rates and which would we exclude? In other words, what counts as "Jewish education"?

What counts as "participation"? Showing up to one event in a series of events? Paying the membership fee (affiliation), regardless of attendance? Graduation (if there is such a concept in place)? How we measure "participation" affects the meaning and significance of the indicator.

Will institutions turn over their participation rates? Federation funding and denomination dues are tied to participation and affiliation rates. While assuring the anonymity of local institutions or programs may be a "rational" way of overcome some resistance, people are not always rational. Connected to this -- What obligation would we have to individual communities or institutions to share the data?

I think the second problem -- What counts as participation? -- is the most

difficult to resolve. This leads to Saxe's suggestion that we need to spend time working with and in communities in order to understand what measures will actually indicate what we want to know.

2. Make use of what is already being done

There are three types of research that are common in the Jewish world: national-level studies (such as the NJPS); community demographic and marketing studies (being conducted by Federations); and program or initiative evaluations (an example of the latter is New York's grant program). The question that confronts us is: How do we influence these studies to include questions that will gather the information that we deem important?

NATIONAL-LEVEL STUDIES —We should place ourselves on the advisory(?) board of the NJPS and other such national surveys.

COMMUNITY-LEVEL STUDIES —We should work cooperatively with the CJF to offer our services on request to communities, which want to engage in a demographic study, to assist them in constructing appropriate instruments and methodologies.

PROGRAM OR INITIATIVE EVALUATIONS -- We should NOT get involved in doing program evaluation, outside of CIJE initiatives. However, we should work with one or two communities in evaluating the totality of their work.

3. Work with one community in order to learn

At the "post-conference" program, teams from Boston and New York discussed the evaluation work they are doing for the family education initiative and continuity grants initiative, respectively. They focused on the difficulties inherent in this type of work -- (1) how the competing perspectives and interests of researchers, practitioners, and planners affect the content, form, and feasibility of the evaluation, and (2) how do evaluate 58 programs taking place in different institutions with different contents and goals (New York)? [THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY ALL THAT THE POST CONFERENCE WAS ABOUT!]

If we undertake this work, it should be done with a community that is "evaluation-ready." If attendance at this conference is any indication, then only Boston, New York, and Cleveland (who sent three people) are "evaluation-ready." Since Boston is working with Brandeis (Susan Shevitz) and New York has sufficient in-house capacity and the advice of JESNA, that leaves our buddies in Cleveland. [Notably, Lifsa asked me at the Conference and when I saw her in Cleveland last month to help her think about how to evaluate the work of the College.]

THE JEWISH INDICATORS PROJECT

Questions for Discussion
CIJE Board Meeting, December 3, 1997

1. Drawing on CIJE's strategic plan, our proposed indicator system includes measures of both Jewish education and Jewish life more broadly. Some of our advisors urged us to focus our limited energies on education alone, because this is the area we know best and for which we already have some instruments and data, and because it is the central focus of CIJE's activities. Others have counseled that because ultimately we are concerned with creating vibrant Jewish communities, the broader indicators of Jewish life are essential. How should we respond to this issue?

2. Our proposal focuses mainly on information at the community level. This approach was selected for several reasons: The community is the most likely site of influential policies, the community is a central focus for fundraising, and much community data are already available. However, the community is not the only possible level of analysis; others include the national/continental level and the institutional level. National data may attract more attention and may generalize to more communities. What is the right balance of indicators from the communal, national/continental, and institutional levels?

3. What do you think is the likely level of communal interest and willingness to participate in such a project?

4. Leaving aside issues of feasibility, methodology and cost, do you think this is roughly the right set of things to try to measure?

5. What role should CIJE ultimately play in the Jewish Indicators Project, if any? Alternatives we can envision include:

- A Policy Brief, stating our case but going no further
- Prepare a template based on existing data, and identify the need for more data
- Developing a methodology, which we hope others would use
- A full-service operation, i.e. we would develop and implement the project across communities
- Develop the methodology and rely on another organization to carry out the data collection

THE JEWISH INDICATORS PROJECT: GOALS, RATIONALE, AND PROPOSED INDICATORS

OBJECTIVE

The last decade has seen a flurry of activity by communities and institutions which has been loosely described under the rubric of "continuity." New programs, new approaches, and new institutions have been created, sponsored by Federations, foundations, and private givers. Some of these new endeavors are part of carefully planned strategies at the communal level; others are grassroots initiatives; still others come from the intersection of planning and grassroots activity. Fueled by findings of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, continuity efforts have taken on a sense of urgency even as they proceed without much coherence at the communal let alone the continental level.

How will we know if progress is occurring? In other fields, such as business, education, and medicine, widely accepted indicators are used to measure and track success. In the Jewish world, attention has thus far focused mainly on a single indicator --the intermarriage rate --which suggests that Jewish continuity, measured only in numbers, is on the decline. Demographic continuity, however, is at best a limited index of Jewish communal well-being. As CIJE has proceeded with its strategic planning, a richer and more elaborate vision of a thriving Jewish community has emerged, and we propose to use this vision as the basis for developing indicators that address the quality as well as the quantity of Jewish life. We believe that such indicators offer the potential for a more meaningful assessment of efforts to improve Jewish life. It is our hope that the methodology we develop would be adopted by enough communities to make possible useful comparisons between communities, and to give a sense of national or continent-wide trends over time. If this project is successful, it will be an invaluable tool for assessing progress towards realizing CIJE's strategic plan.

CONCEPT

To measure the success of attempts to revitalize Jewish life, it is necessary to first define the key characteristics of a thriving Jewish community. It is useful to focus on a small number of truly essential goals rather than to try to include all of the things that might be important. Keeping this in mind, we have created a working definition of a thriving Jewish community. Our vision is of a community characterized by:

- Centrality of Jewish learning
- Strong Jewish identity and values that permeate most aspects of Jewish life
- A high level of involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions
- Concern with social justice
- Strong leadership

Such a community, we believe, cannot exist without a strong system of Jewish education. Because of this conviction and because change in the system of education is a likely precursor of

broader changes in the fabric of Jewish life, our community vision also includes a system of Jewish education with:

- Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth.
- Strong, informed community support for Jewish education.
- High-quality Jewish institutions driven by a guiding vision, providing life-long opportunities for learning, and offering Jewish content infused with meaning for those who participate.
- Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work.

The educational system in this long-term vision is not just an element of a thriving community. *It also represents our principal strategy for making progress towards the kind of community we envision.* This strategy is grounded in the assumption that the closer we can approximate our vision of an optimal educational system, the more we will come to resemble the thriving Jewish community we are dedicated to nurturing.

We are proposing to develop nine sets of indicators, building around the nine goals articulated in this working vision. The purpose of the Indicators Project is to assess our current standing and monitor progress towards these goals. Some of the data are available from existing sources collected on a regular basis. However, the majority of the data would have to be collected through community-level surveys of households and institutions.

PROPOSED INDICATORS: JEWISH LIFE

Goal 1: Centrality of Jewish learning

Rationale: It is our strongly held belief that Jewish learning, in its broadest definition, is the cornerstone of Jewish life. We are after all "the people of the book." Learning for its own sake ("Torah L'sh'ma) is a core Jewish value, and the Talmud teaches us that "Talmud Torah k'neged kulam," the study of Torah is equal to all other mitzvot because it leads one to participate in all the other aspects of Jewish life. Children need to learn how to be participants in Jewish life. Even more important, life-long learning for adults is what keeps Jewish life fresh, alive, and meaningful.

Indicators:

- Rates of participation in Jewish education at all levels, from pre-school to adult education
- Jewish literacy

Goal 2: Strong Jewish identity

Rationale: Jewish identity, or seeing one's Jewishness as central to one's life, is a defining feature of a thriving Jewish life. It has an important effect on decisions about who to marry, how to raise children, where and how to conduct one's working life, and generally how to live one's life.

Indicators:

- Jewish identity survey

Goal 3: Involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions

Rationale: The extent of involvement in Jewish life and institutions is one important way we will know whether people find meaning in programs and activities that are available in their communities. Such involvement is also essential if Jewish institutions are to thrive. Institutions can nurture individuals, but only if individuals are prepared to invest in institutional life.

Indicators:

- Household survey of participation in a broad range of Jewish activities and institutions

Goal 4: Concern with social justice

Rationale: Grounded in prophetic teachings, the concern with social justice is so central to Judaism that it must be understood as a defining feature of a thriving Jewish community.

Indicators:

- Participation in volunteer work (Jewish and non-Jewish)
- Charitable giving (Jewish and non-Jewish)

Goal 5: Strong leadership

Rationale: From Biblical times, through the history of Zionism, down to the present, quality leadership has proven essential to Jewish progress and well-being. In our own day, the cultivation of strong lay and professional leadership is a necessary condition for a viable Jewish community. Leadership is the engine of ongoing innovation and renewal.

Indicators:

Professional Leaders of Key Agencies
- Preparation (experience and formal training)
- Salaries and benefits

Lay Leaders
- Preparation (experience, Jewish background)
- Diffusion of lay leadership (widespread participation)
- Lay leader satisfaction (leadership is meaningful and rewarding)

PROPOSED INDICATORS: JEWISH EDUCATION

Goal 1: Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth.

Rationale: As recognized in *A Time to Act*, enhancing the profession of Jewish education is one of the key building blocks for revitalizing Jewish education in North America. This goal also reflects the latest thinking in the field of education, which stresses formal preparation and ongoing professional development as a strategy for improving the quality of teaching (Darling-Hammond, etc.) Although being "richly prepared" ideally begins with formal training in appropriate areas, we recognize that not all teachers and informal educators in Jewish settings will undertake formal training prior to entering their positions. Nonetheless, in a high-quality system of Jewish education all Jewish educators, regardless of prior preparation, will engage in a continuous process of professional growth.

Indicators:

Leaders of Jewish Schools

- Formal training in education, Jewish studies and administration/leadership
- Classroom experience
- Professional growth (number of hours)
- Salaries and benefits

Teachers in Jewish Schools

- Formal training in education and Jewish studies
- Professional growth (number of hours)
- Salaries and benefits

Leaders of Informal Jewish Education (camp directors and JCC educators)

- Extent of Judaic background (formal and informal)
- Ongoing Jewish learning (formal and informal)
- Professional training in organizing an environment for educational growth -- this may be as varied as social work, psychology, education, etc.
- Salaries and benefits

Other educators: We recognize other categories of educators including tour leaders, family educators, camp counselors and unit heads, etc., but at this time we are not prepared to identify appropriate indicators of training and professional growth.

Goal 2: Strong, informed community support for education.

Rationale: The strength of a system of education depends heavily on financial and non-financial expressions of its importance among members of the community. For this reason, *A Time to Act* recognized community support for education as the other essential building block. Innovation in

Jewish education will require financial resources, as well as individuals who are prepared to champion the cause of Jewish education. More generally, the effects of the educational system will be enhanced when it is embedded in a supportive community.

Indicators:

- Percentage of community allocation to education
- Extent of other philanthropic contributions to education, e.g. local foundations
- Per capita congregational allocation to education

Goal 3: High-quality Jewish institutions driven by a guiding vision, providing life-long opportunities for learning, and offering Jewish content infused with meaning for those who participate.

Rationale: Jewish educators carry out their work in institutions. To revitalize Jewish education, it is necessary to enhance not only the key individuals working in the field, but also the contexts in which their efforts take place. This goal must be recognized and acknowledged by all participants; rabbis and other educators may take the lead, but all members must coalesce around the central vision of the efforts are to succeed. This goal emphasizes three key aspects of high-quality institutions:

-- *Purpose:* Driven by a guiding vision;
-- *Structure:* Providing life-long opportunities for learning;
-- *Content:* Providing content infused with meaning for those who participate.

Indicators:

By institution:

- High levels of attendance among members of the institution
- A compelling institutional vision
- Quality of content is rich and deep
- Participants report they gain knowledge that is meaningful to them as a result of their participation.

By community:

- Articulated system of in-service education
  -- Coherence and duration
  -- Emphasis on Jewish content
  -- Incentives for participation
- Proportion of school directors who work full-time in Jewish education.
- Survey data on community satisfaction with education.
- Survey data on knowledge of available options for Jewish education

Goal 4: Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work.

Rationale: The synagogue is a key setting for substantial Jewish learning. As the leader of the synagogue, the rabbi sets the tone for learning and stands as a role model. Also, the rabbi is fundamentally an educator, and his/her contribution to the quality of Jewish education in the synagogue is enhanced by appreciating the centrality of teaching and learning to his/her work.

Indicators:

- Formal training in education
- Time spent involved in educational activities

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED INDICATORS

Goals	Indicators	Availability
Jewish life		
1. Centrality of Jewish learning	Rates of participation in formal and informal educational institutions	NJPS; institutional rosters
	Jewish literacy	Development needed
2. Jewish identity	Identity survey	Widely used measures are problematic
3. Involvement in Jewish life	Participation survey.	Measures are available
4. Concern with social justice	Participation in volunteer work (Jewish and non-Jewish)	Measures are available
	Charitable giving (Jewish and non-Jewish)	Measures are available
5. Strong leadership	Preparation of agency leaders	Available measures need modification.
	Salaries of agency leaders	Measures are available
	Preparation of lay leaders	Development needed.
	Diffusion of lay leadership	Development needed.
	Satisfaction of lay leaders	Development needed.
Jewish education		
1. Prepared educators	Leaders of Jewish schools: formal training in education, Jewish studies, and administration/leadership; classroom experience, time for professional growth; salaries and benefits	Measures are available

	Teachers in Jewish schools: formal training in education and Jewish studies; time for professional growth; salaries and benefits	Measures are available
	Leaders of informal Jewish education: Judaic background; ongoing Jewish learning; professional training; salaries and benefits	Available measures need modification.
2. Community support	Percentage of Federation allocation to education	Measures are available
	Other philanthropic contributions to education	
	Per capita congregational allocation to education	
3. High quality institutions	High rates of attendance per institution	Measures are available
	A compelling institutional vision	Development needed
	Quality of content is rich and deep	Development needed
	Participants report they gain knowledge	Development needed
	Coherent system of in-service education for educators	Measures are available
	Proportion of full-time school directors	Measures are available
	Community satisfaction survey	Development needed
	Community survey on knowledge of options available	Development needed
4. Rabbis involved in education	Formal training in education	Measures available
	Time spent in educational activities	Development needed

March 1998

THE JEWISH INDICATORS PROJECT: GOALS, RATIONALE, POSSIBLE INDICATORS, AND OUTLINE OF SUGGESTED APPROACH

THE CHALLENGE

The last decade has seen a flurry of activity by communities and institutions which has been sometimes described under the rubric of "continuity" and sometimes positioned under the umbrella of "Jewish education." New programs, new approaches, and new institutions have been created, sponsored by Federations, foundations, and private givers. Some of these new endeavors are part of carefully planned strategies at the communal level; others are grassroots initiatives; still others come from the intersection of planning and grassroots activity. Fueled by findings of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, these efforts have taken on a sense of urgency even as they proceed into somewhat unknown and uncharted territory.

How can communities and institutions know if progress is occurring? In other fields, such as business, education, and medicine, widely accepted indicators are used to measure and track success. In the Jewish world, there seems to be a growing interest in developing quantitative measures of success at the communal, institutional and programmatic level. Some instruments have been created to evaluate the success of education and continuity programs but these evaluations often fall short of what policy makers and funders want to know, "Is this program contributing in a meaningful way to Jewish continuity, to the Jewish involvement and commitment of the participants?"

The challenge becomes even greater when one looks at an entire institution and greater still when a whole community is assessed. Too much attention has thus far focused on a single indicator --the intermarriage rate --which suggests that Jewish continuity, measured only in numbers, is on the decline. Demographic continuity, however, is at best a limited index of Jewish communal well-being. Further, it takes decades to find out whether programs and policies have an impact on the intermarriage rate. We need indicators with shorter time frames. We believe that a richer set of indicators that address both the inputs and the outcomes of the "system" of Jewish education, could be a critical tool in the revitalization of Jewish life in America. Such indicators could offer the potential for a more meaningful assessment of strategies to ensure Jewish continuity through education.

The development of more standardized tools and approaches for program evaluation would allow easier comparisons between different programmatic strategies. If standardized indicators could also be developed at the institutional and communal level, it would make possible useful comparisons between institutions and between communities, and could even give sense of national or continent-wide trends over time.

THE INDICATORS CONCEPT

To measure the success of attempts to revitalize Jewish life through education, it is necessary to first layout hypotheses about the key inputs and to define the desired outcomes of the endeavor. It is useful to focus on a small number of truly essential goals rather than to try to include all of the things that might be important. Each community has its own goals and its own ideas about key inputs but nonetheless, it is probably possible to create a set of common indicators that cut across the spectrum of Jewish communal life. Such a list might include:

OUTCOMES

- Commitment to ongoing Jewish learning
- Strong Jewish identity
- A high level of involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions
- Jewish values spilling over into everyday life
- Strong Jewish leadership

INPUTS

- Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth.
- Strong, informed community support for Jewish education.
- High-quality Jewish educational institutions.
- Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work.

We are proposing to develop a set of indicators, built around a list of goals such as those articulated above. The list would be created by a team of people representing multiple communities and institutions. For each goal, an instrument or several instruments would be created that could be used or adapted for use in a variety of settings. All of the instruments could be used for evaluation at the community level, to assess the community's current standing and monitor progress towards these goals. Some could also be used for evaluating programs and whole institutions. Some examples of the type of indicators might be:

POSSIBLE OUTCOME INDICATORS

Goal 1: Commitment to ongoing Jewish learning

Rationale: It is our strongly held belief that Jewish learning, in its broadest definition, is the cornerstone of Jewish life. We are after all "the people of the book." Learning for its own sake (torah l'shma) is a core Jewish value, and the Talmud teaches us that "talmud torah k'neged kulam," the study of Torah is equal to all other mitzvot because it leads one to participate in other aspects of Jewish life. Children need to learn how to be participants in Jewish life. Even

more important, life-long learning for adults is what keeps Jewish life fresh, alive, and meaningful.

Indicators:

- Rates of participation in Jewish education (formal and informal) at all levels, from pre-school to adult education
- Jewish literacy
- Attitudes toward Jewish learning

Goal 2: Strong Jewish identity

Rationale: Jewish identity, or seeing one's Jewishness as central to one's life, is a defining feature of a thriving Jewish life. It has an important effect on decisions about who to marry, how to raise children, where and how to conduct one's working life, and generally how to live one's life.

Indicators:

- Jewish identity survey

Goal 3: Involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions

Rationale: The extent of involvement in Jewish life and institutions is one important way we will know whether people find meaning in programs and activities that are available in their communities. Such involvement is also essential if Jewish institutions are to thrive. Institutions can nurture individuals, but only if individuals are prepared to invest in institutional life.

Indicators:

- Survey of participation in a broad range of Jewish activities and institutions

Goal 4: Jewish values in everyday life

Rationale: Grounded in prophetic teachings, Rabbinic Sources, and Medieval Communities, the actualization of Jewish values and ethics is so central to Judaism that it must be understood as a defining feature of a thriving Jewish community.

Indicators:

- Participation in volunteer work (Jewish and non-Jewish)
- Charitable giving (Jewish and non-Jewish)
- Workplace ethics

Goal 5: Strong leadership

Rationale: From Biblical times, through the history of Zionism, down to the present, quality leadership has proven essential to Jewish progress and well-being. In our own day, the cultivation of strong lay and professional leadership is a necessary condition for a viable Jewish community. Leadership is the engine of ongoing innovation and renewal.

Indicators:

Professional Leaders of Key Agencies
- Preparation (experience and formal training)
- Salaries and benefits

Lay Leaders
- Preparation (experience, Jewish background)
- Diffusion of lay leadership (widespread participation)
- Lay leader satisfaction (leadership is meaningful and rewarding)

POSSIBLE INDICATORS: INPUTS

Goal 1: Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth.

Rationale: As recognized in *A Time to Act*, enhancing the profession of Jewish education is one of the key building blocks for revitalizing Jewish education in North America. This goal also reflects the latest thinking in the field of education, which stresses formal preparation and ongoing professional development as a strategy for improving the quality of teaching (Darling-Hammond, etc.) Although being "richly prepared" ideally begins with formal training in appropriate areas, we recognize that not all teachers and informal educators in Jewish settings will undertake formal training prior to entering their positions. Nonetheless, in a high-quality system of Jewish education all Jewish educators, regardless of prior preparation, will engage in a continuous process of professional growth.

Indicators:

Leaders of Jewish Schools
- Formal training in education, Jewish studies and administration/leadership
- Classroom experience
- Professional growth (number of hours)
- Salaries and benefits

Teachers in Jewish Schools
- Formal training in education and Jewish studies
- Professional growth (number of hours)

- Salaries and benefits

Leaders of Informal Jewish Education (camp directors and JCC educators)

- Extent of Judaic background (formal and informal)
- Ongoing Jewish learning (formal and informal)
- Professional training in an organized environment for educational growth —this may be as varied as social work, psychology, education, etc.
- Salaries and benefits

Other educators: We recognize other categories of educators including tour leaders, family educators, camp counselors, museum staff, etc., but at this time we are not prepared to identify appropriate indicators of training and professional growth.

Goal 2: Strong, informed community support for education.

Rationale: The strength of a system of education depends heavily on financial and non-financial expressions of its importance among members of the community. For this reason, *A Time to Act* recognized community support for education as the other essential building block. Innovation in Jewish education will require financial resources, as well as individuals who are prepared to champion the cause of Jewish education. More generally, the effects of the educational system will be enhanced when it is embedded in a supportive community.

Indicators:

- Percentage of community allocation to education
- Extent of other philanthropic contributions to education, e.g. local foundations
- Per capita total spending on education

Goal 3: High-quality Jewish institutions.

Rationale: Jewish educators carry out their work in institutions. To revitalize Jewish education, it is necessary to enhance not only the key individuals working in the field, but also the contexts in which their efforts take place. This goal must be recognized and acknowledged by all participants; rabbis and other educators may take the lead, but all members must coalesce around the central vision of the efforts are to succeed. This goal emphasizes three key aspects of high-quality institutions:

-- *Purpose*: Driven by a guiding vision;
-- *Structure*: Providing life-long opportunities for learning;
-- *Content*: Providing content infused with meaning for those who participate.

Indicators:

By institution – an institutional review that might include:

- Levels of attendance among members of the institutions
- Participants reports
- Survey data satisfaction with education.

Goal 4: Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work.

Rationale: The synagogue is a key setting for substantial Jewish learning. As the leader of the synagogue, the rabbi sets the tone for learning and stands as a role model. Also, the rabbi is fundamentally an educator, and his/her contribution to the quality of Jewish education in the synagogue is enhanced by appreciating the centrality of teaching and learning to his/her work.

Indicators:

- Formal training in education
- Time spent involved in educational activities

A LONGER-TERM VISION FOR THE PROJECT

STEP 1: Conduct a survey of available tools and indicators

- Contract with leading scholars to survey available approaches within and outside the Jewish Communities in three of the most difficult areas: identity, literacy, and institutional evaluation
- Gather existing instruments from within the Jewish Community
- Review existing data sets from within and outside the Jewish Community

STEP 2: Work with a team of advisors representing communities and National Agencies to refine the list of input and outcome indicators

STEP 3: Select (or develop where necessary) an initial set of instruments to be used in the pilot test site

STEP 4: Pilot the instruments in 1-2 communities

STEP 5: Refine the instruments based on the pilots and develop a kit for use by others

STEP 6: Set up an Evaluation Institute whose responsibilities would be to:

- Maintain data from Community and Institutional surveys and do cross-comparisons
- Train Community, Foundation and Institutional lay leaders and professionals in:

  - The basics of evaluation
  - The use of the Indicator instruments as a communal evaluation tool
  - Adaption of the Indicators tools to specific program and institutional evaluation needs
- Consult with Communities, Foundations and Institutions who need assistance with evaluation projects.

Exhibits 3 and 4 layout a projected timeline and budget for the above activities.

NEXT STEPS

1) Engage researchers/academics to create a scan of the currently available tools in the areas where there are weaker measurement instruments (see exhibit 1 and 2). These scans would outline relevant tools from other fields of endeavor (e.g. general education) and discuss their applicability to measurement of Jewish educational outcomes and inputs.

2) Find 1-2 communities that would like to become pilot sites for the development of these indicators and engage with these communities and with their key institutions in the development of a list of goals that reflects a broadly defined communal agenda. Then tools and instruments would then be created that would be useful to communal and institutional leaders in assessing and evaluating new and ongoing initiatives. These tools would be tested and refined.

Exhibit 1 – Outcome Measures

	Communal	Institutional	Programmatic	Availability of measurement tools
Participation in educational activities – Jewish life	X	X	X	Not available but can be easily developed
Literacy instrument	X	X	Standard measures unlikely to be useful	Needs major work
Identity survey	X	X	X	Needs major work
Participation in volunteer work	X	X		Available
Charitable giving	X	X		Available
Survey of lay and professional leaders	X	X	X	Mostly available needs minor work

Exhibit 2 – Input Measures

	Communal	Institutional	Programmatic	Availability of measurement tools
Preparation of educators	X	X	X	Available
Analysis of community support	X	X	X	Currently being developed by CUE
Institutional review	X	X		Needs major work
Rabbis involved in education	X	X		Not available but can be easily developed

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	1999	2000
	X	
	X	
		X
	X	X
		X
		X

Exhibit 3

PROJECTED TIMELINE

	1998
PHASE 1	
Survey available tools, indicators and data sets	X
Convene Advisory Board and refine indicators list	X
Develop Instruments	
PHASE 2	
Test Instruments	
Refine the Instruments	
Develop and Publish Kit	
PHASE 3	
Develop Institute Curriculum	
First Institute "Class"	

Notes From Meeting on Indicators Project
Jerusalem, June 23, 1998

Participants:
Karen Barth, Adam Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, Bethamie Horowitz; Steven Cohen

1. Ellen reviewed the purpose of the indicators project in terms of providing the American Jewish community a pulse on a number of indicators about Jewish Life. The project is progressing on two fronts: short term and long term .

2. Short term: We are focusing on utilizing secondary data analysis to use available data to provide information on indicators. Examples of exploring secondary data analysis and its usefulness for providing possible indicators are ABDATA; Steve Cohen's follow-up study and National Data Sets.

3. Long term: We decided to focus initially on three indicators: Jewish Identity; Jewish Literacy; and Institutional Effectiveness. For each of these three indicators our approach is to develop a 'scan' of the conceptual and practical ways of developing indicators. The first scan is on Jewish Identity by Bethamie Horowitz. Steve Cohen will begin to think about the literacy domain.

We clarified that we are not going to provide causal interpretations to the indicators. We want to follow the progress of change in the measures: more will always be 'better' than less.

Jewish Identity:

We reviewed three current approaches to understanding the concept of Jewish Identity.

A. Calvin Goldscheider (Brown University): Community Cohesiveness Model Assesses Jewish identity by the extent to which one joins communities that have a high number of other Jews in occupations, residence, friendships, etc. The extent to which networks are differentiated from others is an example of one definition of Jewish Identity. Examples of indicators zip codes, number of Jewish institutions;

B. External Action -Steve Cohen: Jewish Identity is the extent to which there is 'objective' actions that are associated with Jewish life. This goes beyond the normative view of Jewish observance, and may include any action.

C. Individual Disposition: Bethamie Horowitz: This approach views Jewish identity as the individual, subjective "feelings" or dispositions that a person holds. This is based on personal stories and experiences.

We discussed the three views of Jewish identity and agreed that any serious indicator of Jewish identity would need to encompass all three aspects of Jewish identity.

For example, we may find people high on the subjective dispositions, but very low on external actions.

We then agreed that if Jewish continuity is the ultimate purpose, then crucial to Jewish Identity is the external action indicators.

We discussed a possible model suggesting that
Cohesiveness & Dispositions lead to } External Actions

Next Steps:

Karen Barth will distribute papers from Steve and Bethamie.

Adam and Ellen will prepare next steps for the preparing indicators of Jewish Identity after everyone has reviewed the papers.

Steve Cohen will visit Milwaukee regarding ABDATA.

Steve Cohen will prepare proposal for the study of Jewish Literacy.

Papers/Presentations
Spring/Summer 1998

"Towards Building a Profession: Characteristics of Contemporary Jewish Educators in American Jewish Schools." Paper to be presented at the conference on Judaism, Jewish Identity, and Jewish Education, Bar Ilan University, April 6, 1998. Also invited for inclusion in a book edited by Yisrael Rich and Michael Rosenak.

"Social Indicators of Religious/Ethnic Heritage: The Case of North American Jewry/" Presentation at the World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, July 1998.

"Professional Development for Teachers in Religious Schools: Inherent Contradiction or Realistic Policy?" Presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, July 1998. Also invited to be submitted for publication in a special issue of Educational Evaluation and Effectiveness.

TOWARDS BUILDING A PROFESSION: CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY EDUCATORS IN AMERICAN JEWISH SCHOOLS

Adam Gamoran, Ellen B. Goldring, and Bill Robinson
Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education

May 1998

This paper was written while the first author was a Mandel Fellow at the Mandel Institute of Jerusalem, Israel. The generous support of the Mandel Institute is much appreciated.

TOWARDS BUILDING A PROFESSION:
CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY EDUCATORS IN
AMERICAN JEWISH SCHOOLS

Ever since Jewish education confronted modernity on the shores of North America early in the twentieth century, reformers have dreamed of a "profession" of Jewish education. One advocate of change was Emanuel Gamoran, a student of John Dewey at Teachers College, Columbia University, and the first director of education for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Reform Movement in the U.S. In his first year on the job he wrote (1924, p.5):

> Very few people today would think of entrusting their legal affairs to anyone but a lawyer who had received special training entitling him to engage in his professional activities. Still less would people permit anyone who had not received a long and arduous course of training followed by a period of practice in medicine to minister to their physical ailments. Yet those who are entrusted with the responsibility of molding the character of the young —of developing the Jews of tomorrow -- are too often people who present no other qualification for their task than that of availability.

The dream of professionalizing Jewish education has been expressed repeatedly over the years (e.g., Chipkin, 1936; Schoolman, 1966 [1960]; Pilch, 1969; Aron, 1990). This long-sought ideal gains renewed importance in today's educational arena, as recent initiatives and research in general education have linked teacher training and professional development with improved student learning (e.g., McLaughlin and Oberman, 1996). A changing paradigm in education that is focusing on "teaching for understanding" in contrast to "teaching for the transmission of knowledge" provides the impetus for the widespread redesign of both preservice teacher

preparation programs and ongoing professional development work with teachers (Cohen, Talbert, and McLaughlin, 1993; National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1996). These initiatives are reinforcing the importance of staffing schools with professional educators who posess knowledge, skills and commitments to implement critical changes in education.

In 1991, the Commission on Jewish Education in North America declared that building the profession of Jewish education is essential for improving Jewish education in North America. The Commission's manifesto, *A Time to Act*, envisioned strategies for building the profession, including better recruitment, expanded training facilities, intensive in-service, improved working conditions and career opportunities, and empowerment for educators. How should we prioritize among these strategies? Which efforts are most likely to bear fruit? To reach effective decisions, we need to answer three questions: (1) What do we mean by "building the profession"? (2) What are the professional characteristics of teachers and leaders in the Jewish schools of today? (3) Which strategies offer the best chance of building the profession?

We respond to these questions with evidence from research on Jewish educators in the United States. One source of data is a survey of 77 educational leaders and 982 teachers carried out by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, the successor to the Commission, in collaboration with three communities: Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee. In 1993, all educational administrators and all teachers of Jewish subjects in the day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools in these communities were targets of the survey. Response rates were 77% for educational leaders and 82% for teachers. As a supplement to the surveys, 125 educators in the three communities responded to in-depth interviews. Gamoran et al. (1998) and

Goldring, Gamoran, and Robinson (forthcoming) provide more information about the CIJE Study of Educators, and many of the computations in this paper are drawn from those reports.

The second source of evidence is the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) of 1990-91, carried out by the U.S. Department of Education. This national survey of public and private schools included teachers and principals in three categories of Jewish day schools: Torah U'Mesorah schools, Solomon Schechter schools, and "other Jewish" schools (schools sponsored by communities and other movements). Response rates for SASS were over 80%. Our tabulations for this paper are compiled from published data reported in *Private Schools in the United States: A Statistical Profile, 1990-91* (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995).

Jewish Education as a Profession

After considering an extensive academic literature on professionalization, Aron (1990) argued that three criteria are essential for thinking about Jewish education as a profession. These criteria of a profession are:

(1) Specialized technical knowledge: that is, knowledge held exclusively by members of the occupational group, formally transmitted through training institutions.

(2) Collective control over conditions of work: the ability to regulate the boundaries of the occupational group, and to determine collectively the structure of tasks, rewards, advancement, and so on.

(3) Commitment to the occupation: the view of the occupation as a "calling," that is, a career to which one is devoted over the long term.

Although many writers argue that Jewish education does not meet these criteria, the most interesting starting point is to recognize the weak degree to which education *in general* meets

these criteria. Despite the formal preparation of educators, which is nearly universal in the United States (Choy et al., 1993), education in general and teaching in particular has a weak base of specialized knowledge. When teachers talk with one another, they rarely use specific technical language (Jackson, 1968). A non-educator sitting in the teacher's lounge would have little trouble following the conversation. Contrast that situation with the resident's room of a hospital, where an outsider would have difficulty keeping up with the medical talk. The field of medicine provides another sharp contrast in the area of occupational control: unlike the certification of doctors, which is regulated by a medical board, educators have relatively little role in certifying teachers or principals. Entry into educational occupations is controlled by the state, not by educational practitioners. However, the degree of control at the work site is very high in education, insofar as teachers have substantial autonomy within their classrooms (Gamoran, Porter, and Gahng, 1995). Finally, educators tend to exhibit occupational commitment. Although "burnout" is often cited as an important problem, and educational administrators change jobs with regularity, turnover tends to be within the field of education, not an exit from the occupation. Overall, the weak links between education and the criteria of professionalization, at least compared to occupations such as law and medicine, have led some writers to refer to education as a "semi-profession" rather than a full-fledged profession (Etzioni, 1969).

All of the limitations of education as a profession are evident for Jewish education as well. Still, our analysis of data on Jewish educators will show that the differences between Jewish and general education relative to the criteria of professionalization are differences of degree, not of kind. That is, like general education, Jewish education is not a full-fledged profession -- but it has many important aspects of professionalization which should not be ignored. To make this case, it

is useful to reflect on the features of Jewish education which are usually considered to be distinctive aspects in contrast with general education. First, Jewish education lacks a centralized authority structure (Aron, 1990; Ackerman, 1990). Schools are typically attached to congregations or communities; many day schools are affiliated with national organizations, but the governance of each school is localized at the school site. Yet public education in the United States is also highly decentralized; not as decentralized as Jewish education, but principals and teachers have substantial autonomy within their spheres of work, and federal and state authorities provide broad latitude for diversity within their regulatory functions (Borman et al., 1996). Second, Jewish education lacks a base of technical knowledge. As noted above, however, weak technical knowledge is a pervasive feature of education in general. Third, one would not find a consensus on goals within Jewish education, particularly when comparing across the various constituencies of Jewish education. Yet the same is often said about education in general: competing and even conflicting goals are an endemic feature of education (Cuban, 1990). Fourth, most Jewish educators work part-time in the field, whereas general education usually involves full-time work. Nonetheless, there are reasons to see the difference in hours of work as one of degree rather than kind. Even full-time educators do not usually work *year round*. Although the proportion of teachers who work part time in general education is small, it is growing (Choy et al., 1993). Moreover, our evidence will show that a sizeable number of Jewish educators work full time during the school year, particularly in day schools, and among educational administrators in all types of settings.

In contrast to this list of similarities, there is one way in which Jewish education differs dramatically from general education: the absence of regulation over entry into the occupation. In

Jewish education, "availability" is still a chief criterion, as Gamoran (1924) noted long ago, but in public education, state certification is almost always required. When we consider the implications of the evidence for building the profession of Jewish education, we will need to keep in mind this crucial distinction from general education.

Some scholars claim that efforts to build Jewish education as a profession cannot bear sufficient fruit in recruiting and developing a teaching force for Jewish education. Aron (1988) argued that Jewish schools, especially supplementary schools, could not pin their hopes on recruiting and training a professional core of teachers. Aron recommended that policies should focus on Jewish teaching as an "avocation" rather than a profession. The term avocation refers to "a quasi-religious calling and a task one does for love, rather than for the necessity of earning a living" (Aron, 1997, p. 434). In practice, the idea of avocational teaching commonly refers to recruiting congregants, often parent volunteers, to teach in the religious school because they have shared values and commitments with the religious school. These values and commitments are then supplemented with specific training to prepare avocational teachers to work in the classroom (see Feiman-Nemser, 1997). As Dorph and Feiman-Nemser (1997) pointed out, for parent volunteers with limited time and limited background in Jewish content or education, "the distinction between preservice and inservice teacher education made no sense." The volunteers' 'training"...needed to be situated in the context of their ongoing work with students" (p. 460). An avocational teacher model suggests that a recruitment and preparation of teachers is primarily a local matter.

In this paper we take up the question of whether professionalism and part-time teachers are inherently incompatible. The avocational model points out the difficulty of recruiting trained

teachers for part-time work. Yet it is worth examining more closely the levels of preparation that currently exist among teachers, including those in supplementary schools, and it is important to examine the nature of teachers' commitment to their work. To the extent that teachers exhibit occupational commitment in the field of Jewish education, it may be possible to enhance their professionalism despite shortages of formal training.

Characteristics of Contemporary Jewish Educators

In examining the data, we focus on two issues: Whether it is reasonable to speak of Jewish education as a "profession," as defined by the criteria above; and if so, what strategies are best suited to improving the quality of Jewish education as a profession. We present the evidence organized according the criteria of professionalism: specialized knowledge, control over working conditions, and career commitment.

Specialized Knowledge

On the one hand, educators in Jewish schools have less specialized knowledge than their counterparts in general education, at least as measured by indicators of formal training. On the other hand, a large proportion of educators have some formal training for their roles, a finding that perhaps contradicts the view of Jewish education as avocational.

Pre-service preparation. If teaching were a profession, one would expect to see specialized knowledge in two areas: pedagogy, or methods of teaching, and subject matter. According to the CIJE Study of Educators, over half of the teachers surveyed reported a degree in education, either from a university or a teacher training institute. This figure included 60% of day school teachers, 46% of supplementary school teachers, and 61% of pre-school teachers (Gamoran et al., 1998). Findings for day schools from the SASS were comparable: 64% of Torah

U'Mesorah teachers, 70% of Schechter teachers, and 52% of teachers in Other Jewish schools were certified in education (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995). (The SASS data include general studies teachers as well as Judaica teachers, whereas the CIJE data refer only to teachers of Jewish subject matter.)

In contrast to the substantial numbers of teachers trained in education, fewer have formal preparation in Jewish subject matter. According to the CIJE survey, only 31% overall are certified in Jewish education or have some sort of degree in Jewish studies, such as a college major or rabbinic ordination. About half the day school teachers had this level of training, but the figures were much lower among supplementary and especially among pre-school teachers (Gamoran et al., 1998). Figure 1 shows that overall, almost two-thirds of the teachers were formally trained in education, Jewish studies, or both; this included 19% trained in both, 35% trained in education only, and 12% trained in Jewish studies only. At the same time, 34% of the teachers did not have formal preparation in either field of knowledge.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 about here

Compared to teachers in Jewish schools, educational leaders had even more professional preparation in education and Jewish studies. Figure 2 shows that 35%, almost twice the proportion of teachers, had formal training in both fields, and only 11% lacked all formal training in these areas. However, professional preparation for administrators includes a third area -- administration or leadership -- and in this field, the leaders of Jewish schools are deficient. Only

27% overall have a degree or certification in administration, and as Figure 3 shows, less than half of those trained in both education and Jewish studies had a degree or certification in administration as well. Thus, the leaders of Jewish schools do not have the full extent of professional preparation, but they have many of the important components.

Figure 3 about here

If we focus only on rates of advanced degrees, the SASS data indicate that principals of Jewish schools are more professionalized than those in other private schools, but less trained than public school principals. (Whereas the CIJE Study of Educators included persons in leadership positions such as vice principals and department heads, the SASS administrator survey included only principals.) Almost all public-school principals have an advanced degree ---usually a masters degree ---the total is over 98%. Figures for Torah U'Mesorah, Schechter, and Other Jewish day schools are 88%, 79%, and 73%, respectively. This compares favorably with a figure of 66% for all private schools (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995). Like teachers, then, the principals have substantial professional training, although they have less professional preparation than their counterparts in public schools.

In-service workshops. In public education in the United States, amounts of required professional development vary widely from state to state. Some states have no specified amount for ongoing professional development, whereas other states require a specific amount of professional development to maintain a teaching and/or administrating license. For example, the State of Wisconsin requires 180 hours of workshops, or 6 college credits, over a five-year period,

for maintaining educator licenses. By this measure, Jewish schools hold low standards for professional development. Table 1 shows the average number of workshops that teachers and administrators reported for a two-year period in the CIJE Study of Educators. The figures range from a low of 3.8 workshops reported by day school teachers, to a high of 6.2 workshops reported by pre-school teachers. If we assume a typical workshop lasts three hours, that adds up to about 29 hours of workshops over five years for day school teachers, or less than one-sixth of the Wisconsin standard. Interestingly, the relatively high figure reported for pre-school teachers probably results from external requirements. Most pre-schools are certified by their states, and certification requirements often include a mandated number of hours for in-service. Gamoran et al. (1997) found higher numbers of required workshops reported by teachers in state-certified pre-schools, compared to teachers in uncertified pre-schools.

Table 1 about here

In contrast to quantity, the *quality* of professional development in Jewish education appears comparable to that in general education. As in general education, workshops in Jewish schools and communities are usually isolated events, disconnected from one another and lacking opportunities for follow-up and integration with teachers' practices (Fullan, 1991; Gamoran et al., 1998). Teachers tend to regard workshops as helpful if they offer a new tool that they can immediately apply in the classroom, but there is no conception of professional development as a long-term process of growth. Thus, in-service work in Jewish education is less extensive, but has the same limitations with regard to professionalism as in general education.

Control over Working Conditions

Jewish education, like general education, lacks an all-encompassing professional guild that regulates entry into the occupation, as in law and medicine (Aron, 1990). Also comparable to general education, there are a variety of professional organizations for Jewish educators, such as local principal's councils, the National Association of Temple Educators (the Reform movement's principal's group), the Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education (CAJE), and so on. These groups provide collegial networks, opportunities for sharing information, and sponsor conferences, of which the largest and most important is the annual CAJE conference, which is attended by thousands of Jewish educators from across North America (Gamoran et al., 1998).

Unlike general education, however, entry to specific jobs in Jewish education is not regulated, neither by a professional organization as in law or medicine, or by the state, as in Jewish education. Interviews from the CIJE Study of Educators revealed that teachers, in particular, often fall into their jobs almost accidentally, with little prior thought. One teacher in a supplementary school explained:

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

This entry pattern results in a total lack of preparation among some teachers, and partial lack of preparation among others. It contrasts with general education, where years of planning and preparation are normally necessary to obtain a teaching job. Still, it is interesting to observe that most teachers in Jewish schools have some relevant professional training. Although supplementary teachers, rather than teachers in day schools or pre-schools, tended to relate the "accidental" entry experience, the proportion of teachers with formal training in education was only modestly lower in supplementary schools (46%) compared to teachers in day schools and pre-schools (60% and 61%, respectively).

Autonomy of teachers. Teacher empowerment is a common theme in educational reform efforts (Gamoran, Porter, and Gahng, 1995). Generally, we find that teachers in Jewish day schools have similar or better opportunities to influence their schools and to control classroom activities as do teachers in other contexts. According to the SASS, teachers in private schools report higher levels of control and influence than teachers in public schools, and teachers in Jewish day schools fit the private-school mold. For example, on a scale of 1 - 6 with 6 as high, public school teachers rated their influence over school curriculum policy as 3.6, whereas private school teachers perceived more influence, with an average of 4.3. The comparable figures for Jewish teachers were 4.1, 4.7, and 4.3 for those in Torah U'Mesorah, Schechter, and Other Jewish day schools, respectively (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995). Supplementary teachers likely experience less influence over school policies, because they have few opportunities to participate in decision-making processes at the school level (Gamoran et al., 1998; but see Aron, 1990, for smaller differences between supplementary and day school teachers in reported influence). In any case, supplementary school teachers, like Jewish day school teachers and

teachers in other educational contexts, exercise substantial control over activities within the classroom.

The pattern of findings on control is both ironic and promising. The irony is that Jewish teachers have so much say in their working lives, yet many are poorly prepared to exercise that autonomy, particularly in terms of Jewish content knowledge. Yet the findings are also promising in that if the professional knowledge of teachers could be enhanced, they would have opportunities to put their knowledge into practice.

Rewards from work in Jewish education. By considering the nature of rewards and satisfaction from work in Jewish education, and through comparisons with general education, we obtain another glimpse into the possiblity of professionalism in Jewish education. The most salient rewards for Jewish educators are intrinsic, just as in general education (Gamoran et al., 1998; compare with Lortie, 1975). Jewish educators enter and remain in the field because they enjoy working with children, and because they are committed to teaching Judaism. Equally comparable to general education, some aspects of extrinsic rewards are lacking. Findings from the SASS indicate that salaries for day school teachers compare favorably with those of teachers in other private schools, but they are far below the typical public-school teaching salary. This pattern, along with the findings for autonomy noted above, is consistent with the research literature which claims that teachers in private schools trade off lower salaries for more control (Chubb and Moe, 1990). Interestingly, salaries for day school principals (in contrast to teachers) are much closer to the levels of the typical public-school principal than the average private-school principal. These results appear in Table 2.

Table 2 about here

In the CIJE Study of Educators, teachers and educational leaders were asked whether they were satisfied with their salaries. Not quite half of the day school teachers said they were somewhat or very satisfied, but over two-thirds of the day school leaders said they were (see Table 3). This pattern seems consistent with the findings from the SASS, both in the comparison to public-school salaries and in an absolute sense.

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Table 3 about here

The group with the highest level of salary satisfaction was the supplementary school teachers: three-quarters said they were somewhat or very satisfied (see Table 3). By contrast, only 37% of pre-school teachers reported that level of satisfaction. Whereas levels of satisfaction among teachers differed substantially across the three settings, satisfaction levels among the leaders were roughly similar, with about two-thirds of the leaders satisfied on average in each setting.

Perhaps the sharpest departure from professional working conditions for Jewish educators is in the area of fringe benefits. Among educational leaders who work full time (i.e., 25 hours per week or more), only 73% reported that health benefits were available to them, and just 64% said they could receive pension benefits from their work in Jewish education. The failure to provide benefits is even more severe among teachers: Of those working full time, only 48% reported

access to health benefits and 45% had pension benefits available. The lack of benefits for teachers stems partly from the failure of some institutions to provide benefits to teachers who work as much as 25 hours per week, and partly because many teachers reach 25 hours of weekly work in Jewish education by combining two or more part-time jobs. Among those working less than full time, of course, a minority of leaders and very few teachers had access to health or pension benefits.

General satisfaction. For teachers in Jewish day schools, the SASS provides a gauge of overall satisfaction, which we may compare with teachers in non-Jewish schools (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995). A composite scale based on three questions (do you like teaching? do you look forward to coming to school each day? does teaching have more advantages than disadvantages?) was scored 0 - 10 with 10 as high. On this scale, public school teachers averaged 7.7 and private school teachers responded with 8.4. The average scores for teachers in Jewish schools were 8.3 in Torah U'Mesorah, 8.4 for Schechter, and 8.7 for Other Jewish day schools. In relative terms, teachers in Jewish schools are more satisfied than the norm, and moreover we regard satisfaction scores of over 8 on a 10-point scale as indicating a high level of satisfaction in an absolute sense as well.

In the CIJE study, educational leaders across all settings were generally very satisfied with the amounts of time they spent on the various activities that compose their working lives. For example, 63% reported that they were satisfied with the amount of time they spent on curricular issues. Educational leaders were equally satisfied with the amount of time they had to spend on school administrative issues (fund raising, marketing, etc). Tellingly, they were least satisfied with the time they spent on training staff: forty-nine percent of all educational leaders indicated

dissatisfaction with the amount of time on this activity. Although we can not be certain about the interpretation of this finding it is most likely, given the limited background and training of teachers, that the educational leaders would prefer to spend more time working with teachers.

Career Commitment

Jewish teaching is overwhelmingly a part-time occupation. In the CIJE study, 72% of the teachers worked fewer than 25 hours per week in Jewish education; this included 98% of supplementary teachers, 57% of those in pre-schools and 53% of those in day schools. For early reformers, this situation was inimical to professionalization. Rather, full-time work was the *sine qua non* of professionalism. Schoolman (1966 [1960], p. 180), for example, stated that "Jewish teaching can and must be made a full-time profession that will command life-time commitment by creative personalities." Today, however, it is no longer self-evident that part-time work and professionalism are incompatible. Many workers, particularly women and particularly in the field of education, are able to establish a professional commitment within the context of part-time work (Hochschild, 1989). Rather than assuming that a part-time occupation cannot be professionalized, it is worth enquiring about the professional commitment of Jewish educators.

In a survey of teachers in Jewish supplementary and day schools in Los Angeles, Aron and Phillips (1988) had asked respondents whether their work was best described as a career, something that provides supplementary income, or something done for satisfaction. These categories reflected an assumption that a "career" is separate and distinct from something done for supplementary income or the satisfaction of the job. But in fact the categories are not mutually exclusive, and teachers had a great deal of difficulty selecting only one response (Aron 1997). Mindful of these difficulties, the CIJE survey focused more narrowly on the question of whether

respondents saw their work in Jewish education as a career. ("Do you think of your work in Jewish education as a career?") A response of "yes" to this question, we maintain, indicates a commitment to Jewish education that offers the potential for professionalism, regardless of the number of hours worked per week.

Overall, 59% of teachers and 78% of educational leaders said they view their work in Jewish education as a career. Even among supplementary school teachers, of whom almost all work part time, 44% responded "yes" to the career question. Table 4 provides a breakdown of responses to this question by hours of work. Only among those working 1-4 hours per week did a minority respond affirmatively (32%). Among teachers working 5-12 hours per week, 63% responded yes. The highest proportion was among teachers working 13-24 hours per week, of whom 76% viewed their work in Jewish education as a career; the proportion was slightly lower (69%) among those working in Jewish education 25 hours per week or more.

Table 4 about here

Almost all the educational leaders who responded to the CIJE survey viewed their work in Jewish education as a career. The figures for day, supplementary, and pre-school leaders were 100%, 91%, and 93%, respectively, with an overall average of 95%. These leaders have expressed a strong professional commitment, regardless of their part-time or full-time status.

Commitment to work in Jewish education also comes through in the substantial longevity of Jewish educators. Experience in the field is admittedly a double-edged sword: On the one hand, it may indicate that persons who have found their "calling" remain to continue their fine

work; but it could equally indicate that their work becomes stale and uninspired. We make no attempt to distinguish among these interpretations purely from evidence about experience. However, we contend that high levels of experience indicate a high degree of commitment to the occupation, which again offers a potential for the development of a profession. According to the CIJE study, teachers exhibit substantial experience in Jewish education, with only 6% in their first year at the time of the survey, and 38% with more than ten years' experience when they responded (Gamoran et al., 1998). Educational leaders reported even more experience in Jewish education, as 78% had been working in the field for more than 10 years. (However, only 31% had spent more than 10 years in educational leadership, and only 55% had even as much as 6 years' experience as leaders.)

Data from the SASS suggest that principals of Jewish schools have roughly similar levels of experience, both in teaching and as principals, compared to principals in public and other private schools (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Reis, 1995). As Table 5 shows, principals of Schechter and Other Jewish schools had slightly less experience in their current schools and slightly more experience as principals of other schools, compared to principals in non-Jewish schools, hinting perhaps at more turnover in these categories of Jewish schools. Principals of Torah U'Mesorah schools exhibited similar levels of experience in other schools and more years on average as principals in their current schools, compared to the other Jewish and non-Jewish categories.

Table 5 about here

According to the CIJE study, educational leaders in supplementary and pre-schools as well as those in day schools reported substantial prior teaching experience. Eighty-one percent of the educational leaders had taught in a Jewish day, supplementary or pre-school and 61% had worked in general education before assuming their leadership positions in Jewish education.

Findings on career orientation and experience provide evidence of professional commitment or, at a minimum, the potential to develop professional commitment. Among educational leaders, most are full-time, think of themselves as having a career in the field, and indeed have followed career paths from teaching to leadership. Among teachers, a majority are experienced and career-oriented, even among those working part time as Jewish educators.

Summary of Research Evidence

What conclusions can we draw from the research evidence? First, specialized knowledge among Jewish educators is weak, even weaker than in general education. Whereas general educators are professionally trained in pedagogy and subject matter, most teachers in Jewish schools are missing one or the other of these key ingredients, if not both. Principals are much more likely to be trained in education and Jewish content, but most lack formal preparation in educational administration. Still, professional preparation is not entirely absent, and there is much to build on, especially in the case of principals.

As in most areas of education, Jewish teachers have substantial control within their classrooms. Day school teachers influence school policies, even moreso than teachers in public education. Day school salaries are low for teachers, but not for principals, compared to public education. Surveys on satisfaction point to pre-school teacher salaries as an area of special concern. In addition, many Jewish educators —even those who work full time —lack access to

benefits that are the norm in American society. In these aspects of working conditions, the degree of professionalization is lower in Jewish than in general education, but not fundamentally different. The one crucial distinction is in the lack of regulation over entry into the occupation of teaching.

Finally, Jewish educators show signs of professional commitment. Even though teachers are mainly part-time, many are career oriented and levels of experience are high. On the basis of these findings and in light of the partial professional preparation of almost two-thirds of the teachers, we reject the contention that the part-time, unregulated nature of Jewish teaching means there cannot be a profession of Jewish teaching (Aron, 1990). Teachers now in the field of Jewish education offer a rich base on which to build an increasingly professionalized work force, uniquely suited to Jewish education. Educational leaders show strong evidence of professional commitment, including almost universal career commitment and long years of experience in the field. These findings also suggest that a base exists on which a profession of Jewish education can be built and enhanced.

Implications for Building the Profession

To determine the essential strategies for building the profession, we begin with the facts, and consider the alternatives. We recognize the value of all the strategies listed in *A Time to Act* (recruitment, training, in-service, salaries/benefits, career tracks, and empowerment), and it is not our purpose to reject any of them. At the same time, it is crucial to establish priorities for action, and that is the policy thrust of this paper.

Implications for Teachers

What are the key facts about teachers? First, they work part time. Second, there are a great many of them ---perhaps as many as 30,000 teaching positions in Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools in North America.[1] Third, the professional training of most teachers ranges from partial to none, as only 19% are trained in both pedagogy and Jewish content. Fourth, teachers exhibit substantial commitment and stability in their work as Jewish educators.

Given this evidence ---part-time work, a large number of teachers, lack of content knowledge, and commitment ---what strategy should have the highest priority? The vast scope of the problem makes pre-service training of professional teachers an impractical solution for the large scale. In our view, however, this does not preclude building a profession of Jewish education that includes part-time as well as full-time teachers. The strong commitment of teachers and the partial professional training of most provides a base on which to build, a base that is stronger than many observers have previously assumed.

The most promising strategy for building the profession under these circumstances, we believe, is extensive, ongoing professional development for teachers who are already in the field of Jewish education. Professional development as a reform strategy turns the "accidental" entry of teachers from a weakness into a strength. It takes advantage of the diverse backgrounds of teachers in Jewish schools, including the educational training of many who had not intended to become teachers in Jewish schools. It also encourages tailoring of professional development to the particular needs of Jewish educators in the field. Whether part-time or full-time, teachers in Jewish schools are likely to respond favorably to high-quality professional development, in light of

their commitment to their work. Financial incentives for teachers and their schools are likely to enchance the favorable response (Gamoran et al., 1997). Viewed from this light, the avocational "calling" that leads many teachers to Jewish schools is not incompatible with professional commitment and standards. Indeed, our emphasis on professional development for teachers is consistent with the conclusions, if not the conceptual analysis, of the avocational model (Aron, 1997; Feiman-Nemser, 1997). In the avocational model as in our analysis, existing knowledge and commitment to Jewish teaching can serve as the foundation for enhancing teaching quality through teacher learning.

In the ideal implementation of professional development as the primary strategy for enhancing Jewish teaching, each teacher would have an individualized growth plan tailored to his or her needs and constraints. At a minimum, we call for opportunities for professional development organized by schools and communities that improve on past efforts. Instead of one-shot, isolated workshops, and a fragmented approach, high-quality professional development would be coherent, sustained, focused on teachers' specific needs, and rich in Jewish content (Gamoran et al., 1994; Holtz, Dorph, and Goldring, 1997).

Implications for Educational Leaders

For principals and educational leaders, the facts are different. First, most principals work full time. Second, the total number of principals is much smaller, probably around 3,000.[2] Third, current levels of professional training are much higher among principals than among teachers. Almost 90% of the educational leaders in the CIJE study are formally trained in at least one essential field. Still, half lack formal preparation in Jewish studies. For both symbolic and substantive reasons, this is a glaring weakness. Of course, a principal cannot be trained in all

areas of educational subject matter. But for a Jewish school, it would seem essential that the principal carry specialized knowledge in the area of the school's primary mission. Finally, a large majority of educational leaders lack formal training in administration.

The more manageable number and relatively strong base of formal preparation, the sizeable proportion of full-time positions and the overwhelming career commitment of principals, point to a combination of recruitment and pre-service training as the primary strategy for building leadership within a profession of Jewish education. This strategy could have four main components:

(1) Building on existing institutions that train principals for Jewish schools, the administrative component of the training curricula could be enhanced. In addition, the enrollment of these institutions could be substantially expanded, through investments in the institutions and by publicizing the demand for well-trained educational leaders.

(2) Standards for educational leaders could be established and disseminated. These standards would recognize three essential components of formal training (education, subject matter, and administration), and would emphasize the importance of Jewish studies for the leaders of Jewish schools.

(3) Professional working conditions, including health and pension benefits, and better salaries for pre-school directors, would improve recruitment prospects and bring Jewish schools in line with the norm for professions in America.

(4) Professional development is essential for principals as it is for teachers; first as a short-term response to the lack of formal preparation among many current leaders, and

ultimately in the long-term as a component of professional growth that is central in any profession.

The goal of these reforms would be that within one generation --say, by the year 2020 -- the leaders of all Jewish schools in North America will be fully prepared for their work and engaged in on-going professional development. Because the number of leaders is not that great, and because the vast majority of leaders already have at least part if not most of this preparation, this is a realistic and manageable goal towards which future initiatives should be directed.

Notes

1. The number of teachers in Jewish schools has increased over time, but current estimates are difficult to pinpoint. In 1927, Benderly (1949 [1927]) estimated there were more than 10,000 teachers in American Jewish schools. By 1959, the estimate was 18,000 (Schoolman, 1966 [1960]), and a similar estimate was given in the late 1970s (Ackerman, 1989). The SASS of 1990-91 estimated close to 10,000 teachers in day schools, but this figure included secular as well as Jewish studies teachers. A 1987-88 census of Jewish schools in the United States estimated about 40,000 positions, but this figure also included general studies teachers in day schools. The CIJE study counted 1192 teachers of Jewish subjects in the day, supplementary, and pre-schools of Atlanta, Milwaukee, and Baltimore. Relative to the number of Jews in the populations of these communties, that figure would extrapolate to over 35,000 teachers across North America, but the estimate may be too high because the systems of Jewish education may be especially developed in those cities. Including all three types of schools (day, supplementary, and pre-schools), it is nonetheless reasonable to estimate conservatively that there are around 30,000 teaching positions in Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and preschools in North America.

2. The SASS enumerated 511 day schools in the United States. A 1987-88 census of Jewish schools in the United States found 532 day schools, 138 preschools, and 1800 supplementary schools (JESNA, 1992). *A Time to Act* estimated a larger number of day schools (800) but a similar number of supplementary schools (1700). Even taking the higher number from each report, and allowing for expansion during the 1990s, the total number of positions for principals is probably around 3,000.

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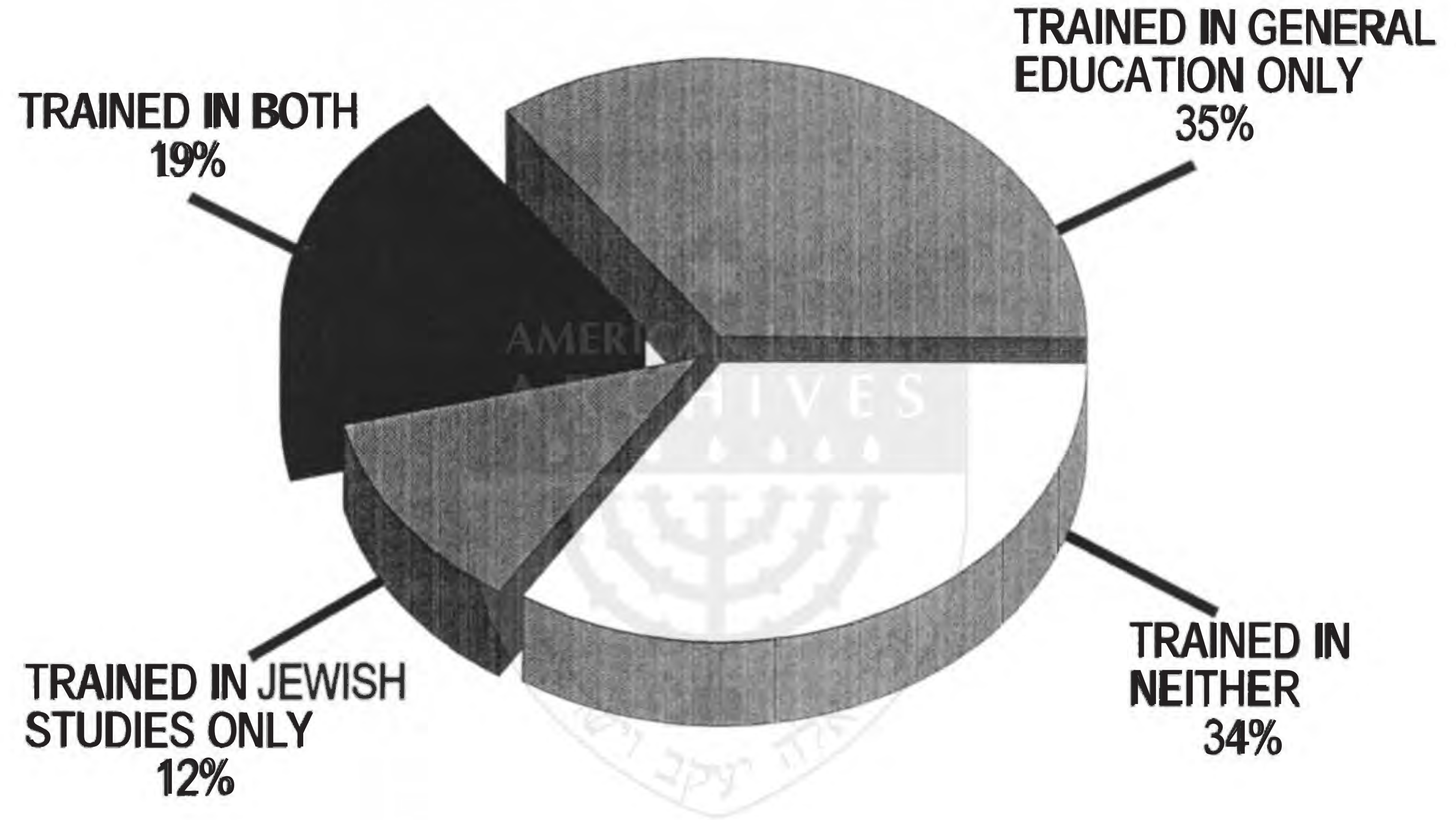

Figure 1: Teachers' Preparation in Education and Jewish Studies

Source: CIJE Study of Educators

Presentation at the World Congress of Sociology
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SOCIAL INDICATORS OF RELIGIOUS/ETHNIC HERITAGE: THE CASE OF NORTH AMERICAN JEWRY

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ABSTRACT

Social indicators are an essential gauge of the health and well-being of a community or society. Applied to a religious/ethnic group, they describe the extent to which a heritage of lore, tradition and values is preserved across generations. Based mainly on demographic information, many observers of North American Jewry forsee a dramatic decline for this religious/ethnic group. About half of U.S. Jews currently intermarry, and only about one quarter of their children are raised as Jews. These figures would result in a population decline of 40% over one generation. Although the figures may be exaggerated, the fact of Jewish population decline cannot be disputed. At the same time, there is a need for more information about the quality of life in the Jewish community. What is the current status of participation in Jewish institutions? Is Jewish learning central to those who remain committed to their heritage? Jewish education is seen as a key aspect of Jewish life as well as a possible mechanism for preserving Jewish continuity. This paper describes a new indicator system for describing the status and trends in Jewish life in North America. Based on a survey of educators in three communities, it provides data on the quality of the educational system. Broader indicators of Jewish life are outlined for future research.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR NORTH AMERICAN JEWRY

I. INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION: INPUTS

A. Preparation and Working Conditions of Educators

- Formal Educators: Training, professional growth, salaries and benefits
- Informal Educators: Formal and informal learning, ongoing development, salaries and benefits

B. Community Support for Education

- Communal financial allocation to education
- Other philanthropic contributions to education
- Per capita spending on education
- Lay participation in educational initiatives

C. Quality of Institutions

- Attendance/participation
- Satisfaction

II. INDICATORS OF JEWISH EDUCATION: OUTCOMES

A. Jewish Identity

- Strength and persistence of Jewish identity
- Rates of intermarriage

B. Centrality of Jewish Learning

- Participation in Jewish education
- Attitudes towards learning
- Jewish literacy

C. Involvement in Jewish Life and Jewish Institutions

- Participation in various activities and institutions

D. Concern with Social Justice

- Participation in volunteer work
- Charitable giving

DRAFT -- COMMENTS WELCOME

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR TEACHERS IN RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS: INHERENT CONTRADICTION OR REALISTIC POLICY?

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A paper prepared for presentation at the
World Congress of Sociology
Montreal, July 1998

This paper was prepared while the author was a Mandel Fellow at the Mandel Institute, Jerusalem, Israel. The generous support of the Mandel Foundation is much appreciated. The data were collected under the auspices of the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE), and the research was carried out in collaboration with Gail Dorph, Ellen Goldring, Barry Holtz, and Bill Robinson of the CIJE. The author is also grateful for contributions from Julie Tammivaara and Roberta Louis Goodman at an earlier phase of the research.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR TEACHERS IN RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS: INHERENT CONTRADICTION OR REALISTIC POLICY?

ABSTRACT

The term "professional development" may be something of a misnomer in education, for it usually consists of isolated workshops that offer fragments of information rather than a sustained, coherent body of knowledge. Recently, a broader and deeper concept of professional development for teachers has emerged. In this vision, professional development focuses on long-term learning instead of immediate payoffs. Because it promotes collaboration and reflection about teaching and learning within a professional context, it may contribute to professional communities among teachers, and thereby enhance the practice of teaching. What are the prospects for such enhanced professional development among teachers in religious schools? This paper uses survey data collected by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education in collaboration with educational institutions in five communities in the United States, to assess the current status and future possibilites for professional development of teachers in Jewish schools. Among teachers in Jewish day schools and supplementary schools, the paper examines the extent and nature of professional development activities, including workshops, courses, and informal study. Focusing next on the least professionalized segment of the Jewish teaching force -- the supplementary school teachers -- the paper asks what opportunities are available, and whether these opportunities are of sufficient quality to help establish professional communities of educators.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR TEACHERS IN RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS: INHERENT CONTRADICTION OR REALISTIC POLICY?

As a "semi-profession" (Etzioni, 1969), the occupation of teaching is faced with inherent tensions and contradictions. Public school teachers complete years of formal training and their positions require state certification, yet the work of teaching lacks a rigorous base of technical knowledge (Dreeben, 1970, 1996). When teachers converse with one another about teaching, their language is typically that of everyday life, in contrast to the professional vocabulary one commonly hears among incumbents of other occupations (Jackson, 1968). The term "professional development" may be something of a misnomer, in that it usually consists of isolated workshops that offer fragments of information rather than a sustained, coherent body of knowledge. Typically, a workshop is seen as useful if it provides information of immediate practical value, and there are no expectations for creating or maintaining a technical knowledge base (Fullan, 1991). This approach to professional development is compatible with the organization of most schools, in which teachers work in isolation from other adults, insulated and autonomous within their classrooms.

Recently, a broader and deeper concept of professional development has emerged. In this vision, professional development consists not only of formal workshops and courses, but also informal learning opportunities such as peer coaching, research, networks, partnerships, and collaboratives (Lieberman, 1996). Because this conception focuses on long-term learning instead of immediate payoffs, and because it promotes collaboration and reflection about teaching and

learning within a professional context, it may contribute to professional communities among teachers, and thereby enhance the practice of teaching (Gamoran, Secada, and Marrett, in press).

Professional Development among Teachers in Religious Schools

What are the prospects for such enhanced professional development among teachers in religious schools? In the United States, religious schools are largely independent from governmental regulation, and standards for entry into teaching positions are often much looser. For example, a study of teachers in Jewish schools found that only about half the teachers had formal training in education, and less than a quarter had specialized subject matter training (Gamoran et al., 1994). This pattern held for religious studies teachers both in "day schools," where students study both a secular and a religious curriculum, and "supplementary schools," which students attend during the afternoon, evening, or weekend in addition to attending a secular school. Levels of subject matter training were particularly low among teachers in Jewish supplementary schools. A study of Catholic schooling in the United States similarly indicated that teachers in supplementary Catholic education are generally not professionalized (Elford, 1994). In contrast to public schools, where virtually all teachers are certified, proportions of uncertified teachers range from one fourth in Catholic schools to around half in conservative Christian schools (Choy et al., 1993). Given that the professional knowledge base tends to be even weaker in religious schools than it is in public schools, at least for religious subject instruction in the United States (where all state-supported schools are secular and most private schools are religious), it may be particularly difficult to use professional development in a way that contributes to the growth of professional communities among teachers in religious schools.

Conceptions of Enhanced Professional Development for Teachers

In considering the possibility of enhanced professional development, one must examine issues of both quantity and quality. Generally, teachers in private schools in the United States (most of which are religious) participate less in formal professional development than teachers in public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 1996). Moreover, private school teachers are less likely to receive incentives for participating in professional development, such as released time and professional credits, compared to teachers in public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 1996). The quality of professional development may be similar in public and private schools in the U.S., but given the harsh criticisms of professional development for public school teachers, improving the quality of professional development also belongs on the agenda for change in private school reform.

New conceptions of high-quality professional development have emerged in the last decade or so. In place of one-shot workshops, teacher educators are calling for sustained and coherent programs in which long-term growth, rather than short-term application, is the primary goal (Goldenberg and Gallimore, 1991). According to this view, professional development must be related to practice, but not in a straightforward, "quick-fix" way. Instead, professional development is expected to be more effective if it offers opportunities for experimentation, consultation with colleagues, and repeated efforts over time (Ball, 1996). The notion that professional development should be related to practice is not new, but the emphasis on a long-term relation between ongoing learning and practice reflects new insights into the nature of teacher learning (Ball, 1996; McLaughlin and Oberman, 1996). Finally, emerging views of professional development stress the important of subject matter knowledge as the content of in-

service activities. Successful teaching is not a generic process, but is highly related to the context, particularly that of the subject matter (Stodolsky, 1988). Enhanced knowledge of subject matter -- a particular weakness of teachers in religious schools —enables teachers to find new ways of reaching their learners (McDairmid, Ball, and Anderson, 1989).

Jewish Schools as a Context for Professional Development

This study takes up the case of Jewish schools in the United States as a context for studying professional development in religious schools. We examine the current status of professional development among teachers in Jewish schools, and assesses the prospects for enhancing the quantity and quality of professional growth opportunities. Among teachers in Jewish day and supplementary schools, the paper examines the extent and nature of professional development activities, including workshops, courses, and informal study. How much professional development occurs? Focusing next on the least professionalized segment of the Jewish teaching force -- the supplementary school teachers -- the paper asks what opportunities are available, and whether these opportunities are of sufficient quality to help establish professional communities of educators. To what extent is professional development sustained and coherent, offering opportunities to reflect on practice, and focused on Jewish subject matter?

A brief introduction to the structure of Jewish education in the United States will help set the stage for the study (Ackerman, 1990). It is important to be aware that due to the separation of church and state in the United States, all public (state-supported) schools are secular. Consequently, Jewish children receive a formal Jewish education mainly in one of two ways: in a day school or a supplementary school. Jewish day schools are privately funded, i.e. they receive no state support, although students in day schools learn secular as well as religious subjects.

Many day schools are affiliated with one of two groups of day schools: Torah U'Mesorah, an association of orthodox schools, or Solomon Schechter, an association of conservative schools. In addition, a variety of schools fall under other sponsorships, including community schools, orthodox schools not allied with Torah U'Mesorah, and a small number of schools affiliated with the reform movement. The Schools and Staffing Survey of 1990-91, a nationally representative survey of schools and educators sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, identified 170 Torah U'Mesorah schools, 52 Schechter schools, and 289 other Jewish day schools in the United States, with a total enrollment of around 114,000 students (McLaughlin, O'Donnell, and Ries, 1995). The Jewish Educational Services of North America (1992) identified a slightly higher number of day schools (532) but a much larger number of students (about 168,000).

Students who do not study in day schools but who wish to receive a formal Jewish education may study in supplementary schools, which offer lessons once, twice, or three times per week, on the weekend and/or in the afternoon, for roughly between two and ten hours of instruction weekly. The vast majority of supplementary schools are affiliated with congregations, and they are about evenly split between those affiliated with the conservative and the reform movements (Jewish Educational Services of North America, 1992). There are about 1,800 Jewish supplementary schools in the United States in which around 287,000 students are enrolled (Jewish Educational Services of North America, 1992).

Jewish education is highly decentralized in the United States (Ackerman, 1990). Each school is generally accountable only to its parents and sponsoring institution, such as a synagogue. Most Jewish communities have central agencies, often called the "Bureau of Jewish Education." These agencies have no regulatory power but they often provide services, including professional

development. Central agencies are generally funded by the local communal organization, or "federation," which coordinates local Jewish fundraising. The central agencies are usually accountable to the local federation, not to the schools they serve.

Data and Methods

The data for this paper come from two sources. One is a survey of teachers carried out in three major Jewish communities, by local communal representatives in collaboration with the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, a national organization that promotes educational change (Gamoran et al., 1994). The survey covered the entire population of teachers in the Jewish schools of the three communities, and almost 1000 teachers responded out of about 1100 who were surveyed, for a response rate of 82%. For this paper, analyses focus on about 700 teachers in day and supplementary schools, omitting about 300 teachers in pre-schools. The teachers provided a wide range of information about their backgrounds and training experiences, including information about professional development. The data were collected in 1993. The survey was supplemented with interviews of 125 educators, including teachers and educational leaders, in the same communities.

The second source of data was also gathered by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education in collaboration with the same three communities plus two more for a total of five Jewish communities, in 1996. These data focused not on teachers, but on programs available for teachers in supplementary schools. Leaders in synagogue supplementary schools and in central community agencies for Jewish education filled out a form describing each professional development program offered by their school or agency. These data allow one to characterize the

extent of professional development available to teachers. Each program can also be characterized as to its length, coherence, relation to practice, subject matter emphasis, and so on.

Because the research questions for this study are primarily descriptive, analytic methods are also descriptive, mainly frequencies and crosstabulations. The descriptive statistics on the quality of professional development rely on a coding system developed specifically for the second set of data.

Findings

Surveys and interviews carried out in 1993 provide basic information about the quantity and quality of professional development. We report on these results first. The 1996 survey went into much greater depth on the characteristics of professional development for teachers in supplementary schools. We use this evidence subsequently to flesh out the earlier findings.

Basic Features of Professional Development

The most basic finding on quantity has been reported previously (Gamoran et al., 1994): Jewish subject matter teachers in Jewish day schools reported that they were required to attend an average of 3.8 workshops over a three-year period, and teachers in supplementary workshops reported an average of 4.4 workshops. At that time the survey did not ask the number of hours the workshops lasted, but it is clear the quantity of professional development is far below standards such as that of the State of Georgia, which requires 100 hours of in-service workshops over a five-year period, or the State of Wisconsin, which requires 180 hours, for teachers wishing to maintain their teaching licenses. In addition to workshops, a number of teachers participated in courses in Jewish subject matter and in private Jewish study groups. Table 1 presents the details of these findings.

Interviews with educators indicated that professional development for day school teachers tended to be fragmented rather than coherent. No overall plan was evident, and participation was inconsistent. In-service education was equally fragmented for supplementary teachers in two of the three communities. In the third, the central agency and synagogues combined to send supplementary teachers to a series of three or four workshops over the course of a year. Both schools and individual teachers received financial incentives to encourage participation. A between-community analysis suggests that the incentive system succeeded at elevating the quantity of professional development (Gamoran et al., 1997). Even in this community, where professional development for supplementary teachers had a coherent *structure*, the *content* of programs was fragmented, as there was no special attention to substantive linkages from one workshop to the next.

Conversations with teachers about the nature of professional development confirmed our impression that workshops tended to be isolated events. Moreover, teachers seemed to value workshops to the extent they provided information of immediate practical value. As one teacher commented,

> Some of them are really wonderful, and they really do address just the issues that you need to hear about. Very practical things like dealing with parents....I went to a wonderful one that covered several of the major Jewish holidays. She showed us some very useful things that we could take back to the classroom.

This teacher exemplifies the view that professional development is valuable if it is immediately useful, and otherwise is not worth the time. Other teachers revealed the same perspective, as illustrated by the following comment: "Some of the presenters are just terrific, and I find a direct

application to teaching. Others are just like way up in the sky, pie in the sky type of thing." What is missing from this conception is the idea that professional development can be a long-term process of growth, with benefits that emerge over time rather than in the short-term application to the classroom.

Further Details on Professional Development for Supplementary Schools

The 1993 survey provided general information on quality and quantity from the teachers' standpoint, but did not give a comprehensive picture of what opportunities are available. By focusing on opportunities for professional development for supplementary teachers, we get a richer picture of opportunities, one that is not dependent on teacher self-reports. The unit of analysis here is not the teacher but the program. Programs were quite varied, ranging from two-hour workshops to all-day meetings, courses, retreats, and so on. Information was reported by central agency staff and school directors, the two main providers of professional development opportunities for teachers.

Because central agency staff also carried out workshops for day school teachers, the data set also contains information on professional development in that sector, and it appears very similar to what we will report for supplementary schools. The data on supplementary schools is more complete because it was reported by school directors as well as agency staff, but it is unlikely the picture would change substantially if programs for day school teachers were added to the analysis.

Sustained and coherent programs. We counted 146 programs for supplementary schools across the five communities. Of these, 116 were offered by central agencies and 32 by individual synagogue schools. Table 2 shows that about two-thirds of the programs offered by synagogue

schools were one-shot workshops, that is, programs that met for one session only. Among the central agency programs, 37% were one-shot workshops, 57% lasted for 2 to 5 sessions, 4% spanned 6-9 sessions, and 7% lasted for 10 sessions or more. The total number of hours these programs lasted corresponded to the number of sessions they met. Of the programs sponsored by synagogue schools, 56% lasted two hours or less in total, 38% lasted 3-9 hours, and 6% lasted 10 hours or more. Agency programs tended to have longer durations as 34% lasted for 10 hours or more, but 19% of the programs lasted for two hours or less (see Table 2).

Even the programs that lasted over a period of time, were usually not part of a comprehensive plan for teachers' professional development. Only 21 of the central agency programs (18%) and one synagogue school program (3%) had that characteristic. Types of coordination within comprehensive plans included a linked series of programs, programs offered by an ongoing educator's network, and programs tied to national initiatives. The one synagogue program in this category was linked to a broad plan for curriculum renewal in the school.

Opportunities to reflect on practice. The survey included an open-ended question in which respondents were asked what opportunities teachers had to reflect on their practice in the context of the professional development. Most programs —about 80% -- did not formally provide any opportunity for reflection on practice. Indeed, only one of the programs offered by a synagogue school had this character. Of course, individual teachers may have taken what they learned from any program and tried it out in their classrooms. But that approach does not carry the same benefit for establishing a community of educators, compared with programs that explicitly invote participants to reflect on their practice by sharing their experiences with others.

Among the 20% of programs that did have a formal component for reflection, three categories could be discerned: coaching or mentoring, experimentation and reporting back, and educator networks (ongoing forums for conversations among educational leaders, usually principals.

Jewish content. We found two approaches to incorporating a rich focus on content in professional development. In one, the Jewish content material itself is the main focus of the workshop. For example, participants might study a selection of sacred text, with some discussion of how the text relates to teaching or how students might understand the text. In the second approach, the main focus is on teaching a particular Jewish subject matter. In this approach the workshop is not about the content per se, but it involves deep exploration of the content in the course of learning ways of bringing the material to children.

Professional development programs sponsored by synagogue schools rarely had either of these features. As the right side of Figure 1 shows, only 16% focused explicitly on content and another 6% explored a particular subject matter in the context of learning how to teach it. Most programs (72%) emphasized pedagogic strategies without any particular relation to a specific content. Examples include discipline and management, relations with parents, storytelling, lesson-planning, and so on. These workshops are typically presented as if they are generic and can be applied to any subject matter, despite current research suggesting that the success of pedagogic strategies depends on subject matter context. Another 6% of the programs focused on other topics that did not include a major component of Jewish content.

The left side of Figure 1 provides similar information for programs sponsored by central agencies. Here the proportion emphasizing Jewish content is somewhat greater (35% including both types), but still that leaves 65% without a major Jewish content orientation.

Discussion

The survey of professional development programs confirms the impressions gleaned earlier from the surveys and interviews with educators. Most programs meet for a limited duration —of those offered by supplementary schools, a majority lasted only one session. Few programs are part of a comprehensive plan for teacher development, and few offer formal opportunities for reflecting on practice. Most programs do not place Jewish content at the fore; this is particularly true of programs sponsored by synagogue schools. In fact, every indicator revealed substantially more programs that meet new standards for professional development among those sponsored by central agencies as compared with those sponsored by synagogues. Still, both settings have far to go if they are to embrace the new vision whole-heartedly.

What, then, are the prospects for professional development as a policy tool in religious education? In the face of the lack of professionalism among teachers in religious schools, Jewish and otherwise, our assessment is surprisingly positive. Using Jewish schools as the case in point, three conditions support the conclusion that although professional development has substantial room for improvement, it is a viable strategy. First, teachers in principle express substantial commitment to professional development, particularly when they receive an incentive for attending (Gamoran et al., 1994, 1997). This seems true even of supplementary school teachers, the least professionalized sector in Jewish education. Teachers may lack a vision of how professional development could contribute in the long term, beyond immediate classroom needs,

but they seem favorable to the idea of professional development, as evidenced by their participation and assessment.

Second, an infrastructure for professional development of teachers in Jewish schools is evident in the survey responses. The central agencies in these communities are quite active, and they have substantially supplemented the offerings provided by synagogue schools. Current professional development, though below ideal standards in many ways (but probably little different than that of public education in this regard), provides a strong foundation on which to build.

Third, ideas about professional development from general education are entering the lexicon of Jewish education (e.g., Feiman-Nemser, 1997; Holtz, Dorph, and Goldring, 1997). We may see a change over time in the quality and intensity of professional development for Jewish schools as educators come to understand and attempt to meet high standards.

Despite this optimism, there are at least two major barriers to professional development as a successful reform strategy. The first is time. Almost all teachers in supplementary schools work part-time, and so do most teachers in day schools (Gamoran et al., 1994). For many if not most of these teachers, part-time work is a matter of choice rather than necessity (Gamoran et al., in press). In that case, what are the chances of finding additional time for professional development? The experience of one community suggests that a balance of individual and school incentives can foster participation for supplementary teachers. Further experimentation along these lines seems well warranted.

Second, the quality of professional development has far to go before it will reach the highest standards. Improving quality is not simply a matter of changing the programs. For

example, if programs begin to focus more on long-term goals and subject matter content, which may lack immediate relevance to the classroom, teachers may at first object, failing to see the payoff. It appears that a shift in the culture of professional development, which includes a vision of professional growth over a long period of time instead of "quick fixes," may be necessary for a successful transition.

Programs currently offered by synagogue schools are particularly weak according to the criteria we examined. Two thirds are one-shot workshops, almost three quarters lack a focus on Jewish content, and only one of 32 programs contained a formal opportunity to reflect on practice. In contrast, the programs offered by central agencies more nearly approximate the vision of long-term improvement. Thus, a successful approach may involve central agencies and schools working together to change both the culture and the character of professional development for teachers in Jewish schools.

The lack of time, along with the current character of profesional development, combine to impede the likelihood of establishing professional communities among teachers in Jewish schools. Our evidence on this situation is clearest for teachers in supplementary schools, but it may well be the case for day school teachers as well. Communities form through repeated interaction over time, but if teachers are generally isolated in their classrooms with few opportunities to collaborate, there is little chance to establish the bonds of community. Teacher workshops that consists of one or a small number of sessions, and that do not provide opportunities for reflecting with colleagues about practice, are not designed to foster professional communities. Moreover, the lack of focus on Jewish content in in-service education means that to the extent teacher communities are formed, they may lack a distinctive Jewish character. If professional

development is to transform Jewish teaching, therefore, it will need to follow a different approach as well as carve out sufficient time.

What lessons does this study offer for other religious sectors? Many of the limitations of educators in Jewish schools are also evident in other religious communities in the United States. Central agencies for Jewish education provide an infrastructure for professional development that meets relatively high standards, at least compared to programs offered by individual schools. With that finding in mind, other religious sectors may wish to consider communal organization as a mechanism for providing professional development to teachers in a number of schools.

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Table 1. Quantity of Professional Development

	SETTING	
	Day School	Supplementary School
Number of Workshops[a]	3.8	4.4
Course in Judaica or Hebrew[b]	32%	44%
Private Jewish Study Group	36%	49%
Number of Teachers	302	392

Notes:

a Required workshops over a two-year period. Excludes first-year teachers.

b At a university, community center, or synagogue during the past 12 months.

Source: Gamoran et al. (1994) and the CIJE Study of Educators.

Table 2. Duration of Professional Development Programs

Number of Sessions per Program

	PROGRAM SPONSOR		
	Central Agency	Synagogue School	TOTAL
1 session	32%	66%	39%
2 - 5 sessions	57%	19%	42%
6 - 9 sessions	4%	13%	6%
10 sessions or more	7%	3%	6%
Number of programs	114	32	146

Number of Hours Addressing a Coherent Theme

	PROGRAM SPONSOR		
	Central Agency	Synagogue School	TOTAL
2 hours or less	19%	56%	27%
3 - 9 hours	39%	38%	38%
10 - 19 hours	36%	6%	29%
20 hours or more	7%	0%	5%
Number of programs	114	32	146

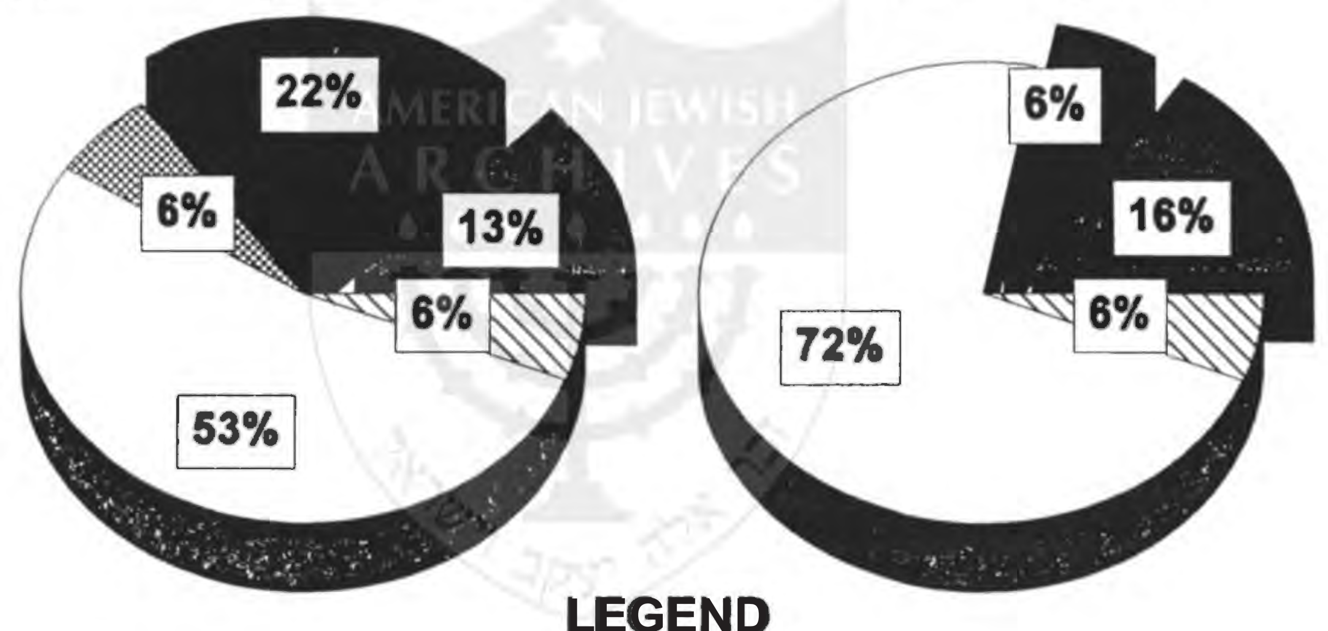
Note: Percentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: CIJE Study of Educators

Figure 1: Emphasis on Jewish Content

Central Agency Programs for Supplementary Schools

Supplementary School Programs



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

LEGEND

- Focused on Jewish Content
- Focused on Teaching a Jewish Subject Matter
- Focused on Leadership
- Focused on Pedagogy
- Focused on Other Issues

cc: KHyu
VHH

David Hirschhorn
The Blaustein Building
P.O. Box 238
1 North Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21203

October 14, 1998

Dear David:

I am writing to confirm the discussion we had in your office on September 3, 1998. Both Cippi and I enjoyed our visit with you and hope this letter finds you well.

We discussed the parameters of the grant from The Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation and the modifications for 1998/1999. CIJE would like to modify the allocation of the Blaustein Foundation funds for 1998/1999 to reflect the following:

- Continuation of work on the Teacher Educator Institute (TEI) Evaluation
- Revision and distribution of position paper for the National Center for Research and Evaluation
- Ongoing development of the Indicators Project

The first two items above are consistent with our original plan. The third item relates to the Indicators Project and is where we are requesting a shift of resources in 1998/1999. We are planning to develop instruments that will be able to be utilized eventually in the curriculum design for the Evaluation Institute. It is our intent in 1999 to move ahead with the Indicators project and for Dr. Adam Gamoran to be the Project Director. In addition to Dr. Gamoran, we will need to hire a researcher and administrative support. An Advisory Board will be developed for the Indicators Project as well as the instruments to be used to measure the indicators themselves. These instruments will be tools for evaluation.

It is our hope for the grant to be modified to reflect this change. Revising the allocation of financial resources in this way will enable us to develop the measurement instruments that can then be utilized as barometers for meaningful evaluation of Jewish educational programs. Having these tools developed and available will aid in the monitoring and measurability of success. We are hoping to raise additional funds for this project in order to be able to test the instruments in 1999, if that is not feasible, we will have to shift this aspect of the project to a future date.

Attached you will find both a revised proposal for the allocation of funds for 1998/1999 and a copy of the most recent plan for the Indicators Project.

← "The most recent plan" is earlier -- the package dated March 1998

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I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your flexibility and willingness to work with us on this exciting endeavor. It is our sense that being able to learn as we go and modify the plan is a crucial component to continued quality.

We wish you and your family a New Year filled with health and happiness.

Sincerely,

Karen A. Barth
Executive Director

Mr. David Hirshhorn
President
The Blaustein Foundation
Baltimore, Md.

1/28/99

Dear David,

Adam Gamoran and I would like to have the opportunity to meet with you in person and fill you in on the Mandel Foundation in New York's current work in the area of research and evaluation. I will call your secretary to find out when is convenient. One suggestion (from the standpoint of our calendars) is February 24 in the afternoon.

We have been continuing the work on the Indicators Project as well as the Teacher Educator Institute evaluation. Just to keep you posted in the meantime:

- Dr. Bethamie Horowitz is completing her review of identity indicators. She is completing a major new study of Jewish identity and her paper will be of great value in guiding our work.
- Dr. Ellen Goldring is currently reviewing the literature of indicators of high quality institutions. This is the second of the three areas, which we identified as highest priority of development work. Dr. Goldring's review will be completed this spring.
- A consultation with a variety of experts, in North America and in Israel is scheduled for February 17 to make progress about the content areas or types of questions that can legitimately serve as indicators of Jewish learning across a broad spectrum of the population.

Enclosed with this letter are two documents:

- The evaluation report of the second cohort of the Teacher Educator Institute. Renee Wohl, one of our researchers has prepared this report under the direction of Dr. Susan Stodolsky, a professor of Research and Evaluation at the University of Chicago.
- Pathways, the handbook on program evaluation that we have produced with JESNA.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Gail Dorph
Senior Education Officer

The Jewish Indicators Project
Advisory Meeting
February 17, 1999

1. Overview and update on the Indicators Project

   A. Project Goals
   B. Project Activities to Date

2. Review of Jewish Indicators in U.S. National Data Sets
   Piloting an Indicator Report

3. The Process for Developing Indicators
   Jewish Identity
   High Quality Jewish Institutions
   Jewish Literacy

4. From Development to Implementation: Next Steps
   Data Collection: National and Communal
   Pilot Community Involvement

5. Globalizing the Indicator Project

6. Next Steps

The Jewish Indicators Project

The Need

With all the activities occurring under the rubric of "continuity," how will we know if the efforts are making progress? In other fields, such as business, education, and medicine, widely accepted indicators are used to measure and monitor success. In the Jewish world, one indicator --the intermarriage rate --has gained the headlines, but there are many other ways to judge success. We need a rich and nuanced indicator system that allows us to assess the quality of Jewish education, and the quality of those aspects of Jewish life, which may be seen as outcomes of education. The Indicators Project offers a coordinated strategy for assessing whether the wide array of initiatives in Jewish education and communal life are making a difference. It can help galvanize attention and mobilize support for Jewish education.

A system of Jewish indicators would allow us to describe the current status of Jewish education --both inputs and outcomes --and to monitor change over time. We propose to provide reports at regular, ongoing intervals, about indicators that reach beyond the intermarriage rate. In addition, the indicators we are developing could also be applied, with modification, to narrower purposes, such as the self-assessments of individual communities, and the evaluation of specific programs.

The Plan

To develop this project, we engaged in several rounds of consultations which enhanced our planning. These consultations helped us identify key features of the inputs and outcomes of Jewish education for which indicators need to be developed. By inputs, we mean features of a high-quality system of Jewish education; by outcomes, we mean results that characterize a thriving, meaningful Jewish life in North America.

INPUTS

Educators who are richly prepared and committed to ongoing professional growth.
Strong, informed community support for education.
High-quality Jewish institutions driven by a guiding vision, providing life-long opportunities for learning, and offering Jewish content infused with meaning for those who participate.
Rabbis who view teaching and learning as integral to their work.

OUTCOMES

Jewish literacy and the centrality of Jewish learning
Strong Jewish identity
High level of involvement in Jewish life and Jewish institutions
Strong leadership
Concern with social justice

For some of these elements, indicators are fairly well developed. For example, our own work has yielded indicators of prepared educators. In other areas, such as Jewish identity, substantial changes are needed to existing indicators. In still other domains, such as the centrality of learning and the quality of institutions, we are working almost from scratch. In consultation with our advisors, we identified three areas that will require substantial work to which we are giving our highest priority. These areas are Jewish learning (or literacy), Jewish identity, and high-quality Jewish institutions.

Current Activities

At this time our work on this project has three aspects:

1) Developing indicators

The major current emphasis within the project is on developing indicators for the three areas of highest priority. We have commissioned papers on two of them: Dr. Bethamie Horowitz is reviewing the literature on identity research, and Dr. Ellen Goldring is reviewing research on high-quality institutions. Both of these scholars are charged with examining current approaches, in both the Jewish and secular arenas, and providing us with recommendations for developing indicators for Jewish education.

In the third high-priority area, Jewish literacy, we are in the process of forming a committee of experts to help us identify content domains that could guide the development of indicators of Jewish knowledge. We are considering, but have not yet adopted, a process whereby we will first identify content domains, then rely on experts within the domains to prepare test items, then carry out a pilot study, refine the items, and ultimately engage in a larger study of Jewish literacy. Dr. Steven M. Cohen is a key advisor on the survey approach, and we are in the process of developing our committee of content experts.

We have also participated in the development of the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) for the Year 2000. Partly in response to our input, we expect that the survey will provide data that can be used for the Indicators Project. Dr. Bethamie Horowitz has served as our liaison to the NJPS planning team.

2) Using secular data sets for Jewish indicators

A number of U.S. national data sets provide information about American Jews that may be useful for the Indicators Project. For example, the General Social Survey (GSS) provides information about religious background, current religious identity, and spouse's religion for a period stretching from the 1970s to the 1990s. These data allow us to replicate and extend findings about changes in Jewish identity, and to monitor the relation between identity and intermarriage.

3) Examining Jewish community data

A number of Jewish communities have collected information that is relevant for the Indicators Project. However, the collection of data tends to be sporadic, and the quality is inconsistent. Consequently we are not currently using the Jewish community data. However,

after we have developed our new indicators, we may wish to work with selected communities to pilot our new indicator system.

Participants

The project is led by Adam Gamoran, University of Wisconsin, and Ellen Goldring, Vanderbilt University. Our long-time consultant is Barbara Schneider of the University of Chicago. Bethamie Horowitz, HUC-JIR, and Steven M. Cohen, Hebrew University, are advising us on item development. The next consultation of the project takes place February 17, 1999, and participants at that meeting will be: Gail Dorph, Seymour Fox, Adam Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, Annette Hochstein, Alan Hoffmann, Barry Holtz, Bethamie Horowitz, Michael Inbar, Daniel Marom, Nessa Rapoport and Barbara Schneider.

Review Paper on Jewish Identity
Bethamie Horowitz

The Mandel Foundation has undertaken the "Indicators Project," the goal of which is to monitor the pulse of the American Jewish community regarding a number of indicators about the quality and condition Jewish life. One area of key concern is Jewish identity.

In this context I have been asked to review the literature regarding Jewish identity (both Jewish identity in particular and ethnic, religious, social and/or group identity in general) in terms of the conceptual and practical issues. and to make recommendations about ways of developing indicators.

I am assuming that the indicators of identity could relate to multiple levels of analysis – individuals, their families, institutions, local and national communities and the larger Jewish aggregate. As I pull together the material I will be guided by the issue of conceptualizing factors that enhance or detract from robust Jewishness.

The paper will address:

1. What are the alternative conceptions of Jewish identity and the factors that affect it?

2. What is the current state of the art regarding our understanding of Jewish identity?

3. What are the gaps our understanding?

4. How can we develop meaningful and practical measures of Jewish identity for tracking purposes at the national level, and for local communities and for specific programs and program evaluation?

An Outline for the Review of Literature on Indicators of High-Quality Jewish Institutions

Ellen Goldring

The purpose of the review paper on *Indicators of High-Quality Institutions* is to scan the literature in general education, Jewish education and communal services, and the non-profit and profit sectors, to analyze the ways in which indicators of high-quality institutions are conceptualized, defined and measured.

The paper will be organized in four sections.

I: **What are possible indicators of institutional quality?** This first part of the paper will review types of institutional indicators. Three types of indicators have been applied to the study of high-quality institutions (Scott, 1987). These will be employed as an organizing framework for this paper.

A. **Outcomes:**
One approach to identifying high-quality institutions is a focus on outcome indicators. Thus, the argument goes that high-quality institutions are those which have clearly identifiable goals and standards and are meeting those goals as measured by specific indicators. This could refer to student knowledge as measured on tests or high participation rates.

B. **Processes:**
A second approach to identifying high-quality institutions is a focus on institutional or organizational processes or activities. Examples of process indicators may include the types of programs offered, level of the curricula, and the type/level of Jewish content in the programs.

C. **Capacity:**
A third type of indicator refers to level of capacity to ensure high quality. Examples of these types of indicators may include, level of training of personnel, ongoing professional development, financial support, and leadership.

An important theory of organizational effectiveness (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967) posits the importance of all three types of indicators: the importation of resources (capacity, such as money and qualified personnel) + their use in specified activities (processes, such as teaching and learning)+output (outcomes, such as student knowledge, or heightened Jewish identity)= organizational effectiveness.

II. **How can information on indicators be collected and measured?** The second part of the

paper will address the measurement of each of the various types of indicators. Each of the indicators has implications as to the ways relevant information has been collected and measured.

III. What is unique to institutional indicators for Jewish institutions?

To address this question three sources of information will be used:

A. A review of the best practice volumes to see if any indicators emerge across institutional settings.

B. In 1994 the staff began working on a project called "institutional profiles". In the beginning stages of that project, the MEF team interviewed 21 senior educators, across institutional types, and asked them a series of questions pertaining to their definitions and perceptions of an "effective Jewish educational institution". These interviews will be reviewed to learn about these practitioners' views about what constitutes a high-quality Jewish educational institution.

C. A literature review on Jewish education, Jewish communal services will be conducted to see if there is information specific to Jewish institutions.

IV. Recommendations

The final section of this paper will make specific recommendations for developing indicators of High-Quality Jewish Institutions for our purposes based on the review conducted and a critique of

what was learned.

Developing a Jewish Literacy Instrument
Adam Gamoran

Objective
The goal of this project is to develop an instrument that can be used in North America as an indicator of Jewish literacy. The project faces special challenges because there is no consensus on what constitutes literacy, and much ambiguity over whether literacy can be measured in a meaningful way across a broad spectrum of the Jewish population.

Proposed Activities
As a frame of reference, consider the usual process for the development of national tests. This consists of the following steps, which may carry on for three to five years, at a cost of several million dollars:

1. Identify content domains. At this stage, content experts help the test developers identify the domains in which test items will be developed.

2. Write test items. Once the content domains are identified, content specialists write hundreds of items; approximately five times as many items as they intend will ultimately appear on the test. These specialists may include some of the same experts as in step 1.

3. Review test items. The draft items are circulated for comment to other content specialists, and to testing specialists, who examine the items for bias, etc.

4. Pilot test. The items are administered to a small group of respondents.

5. Item analysis. Based on a statistical analysis of the pilot test, items are dropped, modified, etc.

6. Field test. A large scale pre-test is conducted to ensure that the test serves its purpose. This may lead to further revisions, presumably less extensive than in step 5.

7. Test is ready to use.

Although we lack the resources to go through the full process, we are considering a scaled-down version of this approach, in which we would write fewer items, limit the time period of consultation, and carry out only one pilot test (e.g., do step 2 in a single retreat, and skip step 6).

Steven M. Cohen has offered to lead this process, along with a co-director who is a Jewish content specialist. (He proposes Jonny Cohen for this role.) Once the literacy instrument is ready to use, Steve would implement the instrument with a sample that he has surveyed in the recent past. A significant advantage to accepting Steve's proposal is that the literacy study would be conducted with a known sample, allowing more space for literacy items which could be linked with already existing information on the Jewish backgrounds and identity of respondents.

At this stage we are seeking content specialists who can help us decide whether the literacy instrument is feasible at all, and if so to specify the content domains. If those steps can be accomplished it may then be possible to bring together teams of content specialists to write items within the specified content domains.

Questions for Discussion
1. Is the project at all viable? Is it conceivable that we could create a literacy instrument?

2. Who are the content experts we should consult about the viability of the project, and the content domains if the project is viable?

3. Shall we accept Steve Cohen's proposal to lead this process, along with a content specialist?

Background Information

SUMMARY REPORT ON TEI COHORT II

Renee Soloway Wohl

INTRODUCTION

In the 1970's staff development was regarded as "education's neglected stepchild" (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978). Today it is assumed that all reform initiatives will involve some form of staff development. So too in Jewish education. No one in Jewish education would dispute the significant role that staff development plays. The Teacher Educator Institute (TEI) is a two – year initiative designed to create a cadre of teacher educators in the field of Jewish education. The central goal of TEI is to develop educational leaders who can affect teaching and learning through designing and implementing substantive professional development for teachers in their local institutions.

TEI participants meet six times over the course of a two —year period to learn about new ideas and practices in teacher education. The first two cohorts who completed the program by May of 1998 included over 50 Jewish educators who worked as directors or consultants in central agencies, as principals of supplementary schools or as directors in early childhood programs. Participants have come to TEI as part of communal or national movement teams. There have been participants from ten communal teams (Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Hartford, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Rochester, San Francisco) and four national movement teams (Conservative, Reconstructionist, Reform and Florence Melton Adult Mini-School Project for Teachers). The team structure is a key part of TEI's change strategy. The experience of TEI provides local teams with a common vision of Jewish teaching and learning. This experience in

turn will guide new teacher educators in implementing professional development opportunities in their own settings.

DATA COLLECTION

This analysis report on cohort II is based on interview data collected from seventeen participants in June, July and August of 1998. The interviews were conducted by phone, taped and transcribed professionally. Most interviews were approximately an hour in duration.

The interview process helped many of the educators consolidate their thinking and reflect more deeply on how the image and practice of professional development shifted for them over the two-year period. The interview protocol (See Appendix One) included questions on the participant's projects, the place of Jewish subject matter, collegiality, teams, influences of TEI on their professional development thinking and practice and programmatic suggestions for future cohorts. I have tried to share some of the words of the participants rather than collapse the data too radically and mute the powerful voices of the participants.

The seventeen participants interviewed for this report came from seven different teams. (See Appendix Two) Five of the teams were of a geographic, communal nature and two represented the Reconstructionist and Conservative movements. The professional roles of these individuals included; seven educational directors, four central agency consultants, three family educators, two early childhood directors and one central agency head. Ten of the seventeen participants had been interviewed in 1996 prior to their attendance at TEI seminars. A Base Line Description was prepared which reported on the interviewees' conception of professional development, place of Jewish content,

collegiality, and reflections on their own learning. During the course of TEI seminars, many of the participants altered their self-perceptions as professionals and remodeled their views on professional development. What this analysis report represents is a descriptive account of how these individuals shifted in their formulations and practices of professional development.

NEW IMAGES OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Many of the individuals involved in this enterprise as noted by the Base Line Description of Participants (1996) had an "anemic" conceptualization of what professional development was and what was involved in the process. The majority of those interviewed for this initial study reported that professional development involved a set of tools and skills. They described work with their teachers as "discrete opportunities for the transmission and acquisition of techniques."

After two years of learning in the TEI seminars, the participants that I interviewed no longer held these images of professional development. Their formulations were robust as opposed to anemic and their capacity to articulate a vision of professional development had substantively grown. Researchers (Ball & Cohen, in press; Little, 1994) involved in the reform of professional development have contrasted these two formulations by describing the traditional "anemic" paradigm as intellectually superficial, fragmented, unfocused, disconnected from deep issues of curriculum and learning, non-cumulative, and reliant on quick fixes. This orientation offers teachers one-shot workshops with advice of tips and the latest educational ideas. The more "robust" forms of professional development are often characterized as serious, sustained learning for teachers which is inquiry based and represents some coordinated effort. This orientation views teachers as

serious learners who need ongoing opportunities for investigating curriculum, students and teaching.

The TEI educators' new awareness sensitized them to the purposes and power of professional development for teachers. They no longer focused on workshops, programs or tools that they could give to their teachers. Instead they became more acutely aware of the complexities of the professional development process and focused on their teachers as learners and the premises undergirding their programs. Several of the participants gave voice to their new perspective on professional development in the following ways:

- There's more to it than I had originally thought, it's not little bits and pieces, it's more complicated. Professional development used to be lesson planning and bulletin boards for me. I think I've learned that it's a lot more complicated
- I guess I thought of it as hit or miss but it's an empowering kind of process. I don't think I every thought about it so carefully before, it wasn't thought out. It was hit or miss.
- Like others, we would develop programs and plug people into the programs... but professional development is a long term processing journey with teachers. It helped me formulate what a long-term plan would look like.

What these comments reflect is how professional development is a complex change process which entails a deep commitment on the part of the teacher and teacher educator. Professional development no longer is conceptualized as bits and pieces or discrete opportunities but ongoing inquiry and reflectiveness about practice. Many came to realize that professional development was a legitimate subject matter. They disclosed that prior to TEI, it had been a peripheral or background activity. Never had they been given the opportunity to discuss the issues of professional development so deeply. Professional development shifted into the foreground of their thinking after this experience.

THE PLACE OF JEWISH SUBJECT MATTER

Their remodeled orientations of professional development also included a new place for Jewish content learning. Prior to TEI, the participants had not incorporated

Jewish content learning into their formulations of professional development. As reported in the Base Line Description, three of the participants did not emphasize or mention Judaic content, four viewed it as a separate activity from professional development and three viewed it in terms of pedagogical content knowledge. Following TEI, all of the participants reflected more richly on the role of Jewish learning in professional development. Their comments suggest that new insights emerged as a result of having studied in a pluralistic environment. This is especially true for those who participated in the Israel experience and were more articulate about the role of Jewish text study.

- Maybe it reinforced for me the power of text and how empowering it was for the participants in the group to see for themselves that learning and teaching are totally interrelated.
- Most people assume that only someone at an advanced level can participate in text study. I am now confident that this is absolutely not true.
- I learned how to access text in a much more significant way and again teachers need to be really engaged in it before they can really own it and communicate it to kids and that was the same for me. Suddenly I was able to use text in my professional development. I was no longer just paying lip service to Jewish texts.
- Before the Israel experience, I never wanted to admit this little secret but studying text was a chore. Now, I really love studying Midrash. I didn't want to admit that before. I really didn't get it.

These Jewish educators examined their own learning through collaborative text study helped them clarify their thinking about accessing Jewish texts as adults. They gained a new understanding about the holiness of communal text study and its power to build community. They also reported deepened personal meaning that became a significant component in their own formulations of professional development for their teachers. In the words of the participants:

- I realized after studying with these magnificent wonderful people, most of whom do have more knowledge of Hebrew than I do, but that wasn't the emphasis.... The emphasis was getting behind the words, understanding the layers in it, and recognizing that in the experience of studying text, that it

builds a tremendous sense of intimacy with a colleague…and it never occurred to me. I think of studying text because you want to know more. Studying text because you want to increase your ability to do Hebrew. But it never occurred to me that one of the tremendous benefits of studying text with a group is creating that sense of intimacy….it became very holy work and very beautiful to me. Every time we did it, I would walk away with just feeling elevated.

- The impact was personal on me. I started to think about God differently, the whole element of my belief, my practices differently. Professionally I was still growing but the bigger impact was personal. It was so rich.

The text study contributed to a sense of empowerment and confidence in their process of becoming a new kind of teacher educator. This newly found confidence with texts was a crucial byproduct for many of the participants. These realizations that emerged from several of the participants regarding the spiritual dimension of the learning process and the power to build community through this activity was directed towards their own professional work in their home settings.

INVESTIGATIVE STANCE

Many of the educators reported taking more investigative stances on teaching and learning. The faculty modeled a form of teaching and learning that was new for many of these participants. They had never participated in professional development where they were required to investigate and research their own thinking and practice about teaching and learning. Many commented that by observing the faculty and themselves in the process of thinking, they began to integrate this orientation into their own work. These are some of the comments of the educators regarding their newly formed stance.

- I think the discipline and consistent modeling of how to think about thinking and how to think about learning over an extended period of time, that sort of discipline became so much a part of how I worked with my teachers. And the language, I find myself using the word conversation instead of discussion and I use framing and think of TEI discourse.
- When I tried to describe this unpacking thing that obviously had a profound effect on me, what I found was that it's part of listening too, because you're not assuming that you understand the other person. And it kind of puts the

other person on the line to be clear about what they think. So it works for the person listening and the person speaking. And that's the goal of let's push it a little farther to understand the core of what a person's saying.

- We had to do a lot of discovery work and one of the teachers emphasized it's the kinds of questions you ask. A good teacher asks good questions. Just getting away from the teacher that has to stand up there and recite, like I ask you a questions and want you to recite what's in my mind. We got away from that at TEI. It was more open-ended and lots of questions. It gave me a lot more confidence to deal with that as a leader of adult learners. I think that influenced the most.

Some of the participants also commented about the ways in which the collaboration of the faculty had an influence on their thinking about professional development. The ways in which the faculty probed the participants' thinking facilitated their own reflectivity about teaching and learning. This investigative stance was subscribed to by many of the participants in reflecting on their own changes in thinking and practice throughout the interview process.

INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD

One of the TEI assignments for participants was the development of a professional development project. Many of the educators realized through this project how difficult it was to translate their new learning into practice. The implementation of projects provided multiple challenges for these individuals. Some of the initiatives highlighted at TEI which they attempted to incorporate in their projects were: collegial learning, investigative stances, journal writing, deeper text analysis and mentoring. Their professional development projects included two curricular investigations, one videotape of a teacher, four mentoring initiatives, nine text-based study groups and one family interactive homework initiative.

Two of the early childhood educators recognized the value of adult learning for their staffs and chose to develop projects wherein teachers discussed ideas that emerged

from the texts from an adult perspective. They reported about their projects in the following ways:

- It wasn't exactly a text study because they were not anywhere near ready to do anything like that. It was merely a discussion about Rosh Hashana and the ideas of teshuva. I had to pull them back from talking about teaching the children to talking as an adult and how you would prepare yourself as an adult for this holiday. So it was both enlightening and different for them to think in those terms.
- I wanted to develop a collegiality between me and the staff and help teachers lean and work at sharing with one another, talking with one another as adults. It's hard for all of us to have conversations that are thoughtful and critical without criticizing. I want to involve teachers in the process of looking at their own thinking.

These educators adapted their TEI learning to accommodate their staff needs. They recognized the power of adult learning, collegiality and conversation yet were cognizant of their own particular contexts and medicated these through their adjustments.

Many of the participants spoke about their frustrations during the implementation process. Yet this resulted in heightened awareness regarding implementation of a staff development project. One participant commented that she eventually realized that good professional development means taking "baby steps." She realized that her undertaking was overwhelming and she felt like a failure. She felt like such a failure that she considered not participating in the last session. This frustration led to a conversation with another TEI colleague who encouraged her to share her learning with the group. She recognized how much she had learned even thought the product did not represent it. In her own works, she stated:

- If the purpose of the product was to get me to think more deeply about some of the core concepts and approaches that TEI was introducing, well,... thinking about it more deeply and bringing it all together and having a collaborative group to talk about it... I got a lot out of it because it gave me a change to bring it to a more sophisticated level... and encouraged me to

problem solve with the group. I'll get there. I don't know when, but I'll get there.

This educator was acutely aware of the process while developing her project. This heightened consciousness is represented in many of the participants' comments in their discussions of enacting a professional development project in the field. Many of the other educators disclosed that they had learned a great deal but couldn't actualize it all in their work.

- I don't think I have actualized everything I've learned at TEI. It hasn't all come out. I don't know why. I learned a lot at TEI but somehow when I come back to my school, I can't do everything differently. Some of it is probably coming out in subtle ways.
- Motivated by TEI, I kept saying I'm going to do this... but I didn't do very well at all. And it wasn't until I was in Israel, where one of the other staff members and I were processing through some of my challenges that I made connections of how to help this person that I was mentoring.

These accounts represent how difficult it is to incorporate new learning into practice yet how determined these educators are to develop new forms of professional development based on their new learning.

THE PLACE OF COLLEGIALITY AND TEAMS

Research in the 1980's and 1990's suggests that teachers can create, improve and sustain new practices more effectively when in the company of like minded colleagues (McLaughlin, 1993). Prior to their participation in TEI, the educators reported (in the Base Line Description) that they were only using "private paths to professional development." This suggests that they relied on themselves rather than on colleagues for their professional growth. Critical collegiality and mentoring were not elements in most of their support systems. They stated in the Base Line Description that educator council meetings did not provide ongoing support or the types of relationships to sustain them professionally.

Only two communities were satisfied with how their teams functioned. The five other teams had mixed reviews regarding the support received from colleagues. Two participants who were members of a very supportive team made the following statements:

- All of us have found ways to really help each other that were informed by the activities we did in TEI. It opened us up, really open to letting others in the guts of what we do.
- From the mundane jokes to real serious work, that's been an incredible outgrowth of TEI. . . .sometimes we've sat through each other's sessions and then we've met for a few minutes afterwards to break that down. . . . .we have begun to plan together and we sort of push our thinking.

These comments emerge from team members who shared similar roles in the institution and were in close proximity to each other. There were no outside catalysts within the institutions who promoted this form of collegiality other than the TEI model which influenced their working relationships. This team reflected a qulaitative difference in how they conferred with one another as professionals.

Another team that understood the value of collegiality reported that their cohesiveness was encouraged by an outside catalyst. Their director created opportunities for them to connect about professional development and enact programs for others in their communal organization. One of the members of this successful team noted that between TEI sessions, the team did not seek each other out in terms of problem solving. It was because of their director's initiative that they learned to operate more collectively.

Although the value of collegiality was stressed at TEI and practiced during these seminars, many of the participants had difficulty enacting this in their home community. Some ideas that may contribute to this gap between belief and practice regarding teams is the nature of the workplace in Jewish education. Collegiality is not a norm for Jewish educators nor is it an institutional expectation. Educators may collaborate on

community-wide programming but don't usually share their own professional practices with others. There is no real history of collaboration in their work. According to the participants' comments, their work and the work of their teachers are highly individualistic.

The idea of taking initiative to create collegial opportunities was not part of their workplace repertoire. In asking several participants about their communication with other members of the cohort, it appeared from their responses that this was a foreign practice. Several commented that the question was a good one but couldn't figure out why they didn't share with others outside TEI when they recognized the value of this kind of exchange at TEI seminars. The participants' comments suggested that if a structure i.e., a web site or listserve were created to communicate with one another, it may improve collegiality across communities between sessions.

According to our interviewees, people in like roles within close proximity or an outside catalyst promote team collegiality. These, of course, are not the only ways that teams can be generative in their work. Perhaps the notion of team collegiality was not transferred to the home community because it was seen as an artifice of TEI and institutional patterns are not easily altered.

TEI – AN AFFIRMING PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY EXPERIENCE

A commonly heard refrain from the participants was the level of professionalism exercised by TEI staff and how this bolstered their sense of professionalism. Being treated professionally as Jewish educators and having the opportunity to reflect on the practice of Jewish education was a new phenomenon for many of the learners. In the words of participants:

- It was the first time in my experience as a Jewish educator, and I've been in the field for 20 years, where I truly felt as a professional in Jewish education. We were looking at Jewish education as an entity.
- It has really boosted my belief that I have a tremendous amount to contribute and that how or what I do is distinctly different and valuable.
- There was a respectability at TEI that I was unfamiliar with and it made me respect myself more because of it. The treatment was different than teachers are normally treated in Jewish education.

These reflections attest to how affirming the experience of TEI was for these educators. As indicated in the quotations above, TEI seminars legitimated their thinking and actions as Jewish educators and provided them with stimulating opportunities to expand their professional identities. Respectful treatment and seminars that were intellectually challenging validated their sense of professionalism and self-worth as Jewish educators. This finding reveals the dearth of professional opportunities for serious Jewish educators.

TEACHER CHANGE IN PRACTICE

Teacher change is a multi-dimensional process which includes beliefs, skills and practices. As many researchers have suggested (Joyce & Showeres, 1988; Fullan, 1991; and Loucks-Horsley & Stiegelbauer, 1991), the change process is a highly personal experience. In listening to the responses of the interviewees, I have noted several dimensions that many have incorporated in their new conceptions of professional development. These include: developing new formulations of professional development, placing Jewish content knowledge in the foreground of their practice and assuming an investigative stance towards their own work thus clarifying and expanding their role as Jewish teacher educators.

Since change is multi-dimensional and highly personal, it is clear that participants have not been totally transformed in their beliefs, skills and practices within the course of two years. Many of the changes that can be verified involve aspects of their beliefs about

professional development. How much of their practice is aligned with their new beliefs needs further exploration.

NEXT RESEARCH STEPS

This research analysis has shown how TEI seminars over a two-year period influenced a sample of individuals in their role as Jewish teacher educators. Specific information is now needed about what their actual practice is. The interview process served to clarify how their thinking as teacher educators had been altered but did not fully clarify the nature of their actual work. How did TEI influence their work within their schools and organizations? Did it change the culture of professional development? Did it change the role of collegiality within the school or organization? Were they able to operate as teams within their community following TEI? How did it impact their own teachers' learning and teaching? To what extent did they induct their own teachers into a TEI mode of thinking and practice? What do teachers' classrooms look like in their schools? The underlying question is: To what extent were these teacher educators able to translate TEI's orientation into practice in their local settings?

All the teacher educator graduates seemed to be struggling to turn their new visions into practice. This struggle appears to be part of the process of moving their practice in the right direction. Through their descriptive accounts, they have all demonstrated that many new aspects of professional development are being integrated into their practice. They report that they are listening more, processing more, clarifying more, collaborating more and mentoring more. Many of the participants' orientations have shifted inwardly as one of them noted in her interview, "we are putting ourselves into the equation." Their capacity for reflectivity about their own practice and identity has

grown as has the awareness that their work is a complex, long - term commitment. This new orientation impelled many of them to adapt their practice to fit their new vision of professional development. What many of these seventeen individuals conveyed in their responses is an attempt to reinvent themselves in their new roles as Jewish teacher educators – intensely personal work. To document the full story of how this process of acquiring a new professional role and practice unfolds in the field, further research will be required.

To answer these questions will require follow-up research on how complex conceptions of professional practice are integrated into practice. To study how these teacher educator graduates translate their new formulations into practice will necessitate field visits and interviews with the people that are their constituents. Interview analysis can locate changes in their thinking about professional development but less so in their actual practice. Developing several case studies of how new images of professional development become new practices would contribute to a knowledge base on successful Jewish teaching and learning. Analyzing how teacher educators conduct their work in practice following TEI seminars would provide valuable insights for TEI staff on how to build a program that breeds success not only in thinking but in practice as well.

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Appendix One: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Could you briefly describe the project that you developed during your TEI involvement?
2. How has TEI influenced your thinking about professional development?

   Probes: In the ways you think about teaching and learning?
   In the ways you think about the role of Jewish subject matter in professional development?
   In the ways you think about your own professional development?
   Could you reflect on how you used to think about professional development prior to TEI (if this doesn't come up in conversation)
3. We've been talking about your thinking and how it relates to your TEI experience. Now let's talk about what you are doing and how it relates to your TEI experience. Could you give some examples from your daily work?

   Probes: If what you are doing now is different, how so?
   Can you give some examples of ways in which this enters your everyday work?
   In the ways you interact with colleagues?
   In the kinds of programs you design?
   In the project you designed as part of your TEI assignment?
4. Are there ways in which your interactions with your collegial peers have been influenced by your TEI experience?
5. What difficulties have you encountered in trying to create experiences that you consider in the TEI mode?
6. How has your team served to support you in your work?
7. What kind of impact did the Israel experience have on your views of professional development?

   Probes: In what ways did it influence your thinking about Jewish subject matter?
   In what ways did it help you develop your project?
8. It would be very helpful in thinking about future TEI cohorts to get your reactions to the experiences you have had. Are there specific things about your experiences with TEI that you have found particularly significant?

   Probes: Activities, faculty, colleagues, structure, assignments?
9. Did you have specific experiences with TEI that were problematic or not especially helpful?
10. Do you have any suggestions to improve TEI?

Appendix Two: COHORT II SAMPLE

PARTICIPANT	ROLE	TYPE OF TEAM	TOTAL INTERVIEWED IN TEAM	ISRAEL SEMINAR ATTENDANCE
Rebekah *	Educational Director	Community	3\3	No
Sarah *	Professional Development Coordinator	Community	3\3	Yes
Leah *	Family Educator	Community	3\3	Yes
Esther	Educational Director	Community	3\3	No
Miriam *	Educational Director	Community	3\3	Yes
Rachel *	Preschool Director	Community	3\3	Yes
Elissa	Family Education Consultant	Community	3\3	No
Gail	Family Education Consultant	Community	3\3	No
Raya	Consultant, Professional Development	Community	3\3	Yes
Yael *	Educational Director	Community	4\4	Yes
Naomi *	Director of Technology Resources	Community	4\4	No
Ruth *	Preschool Director	Community	4\4	No
Judith *	Planning Associate	Community	4\4	Yes
Vivian	Educational Director	Organization	1\3	Yes
Wendy	Educational Director	Organization	1\3	No
Karen	Bureau Director	Community	2\3	Yes
Sandra	Educational Director	Community	2\3	Yes

* Interviewed for Base Line Description

Indicators of High Quality Educational Institutions:

Developing a System for Jewish Education

Ellen B. Goldring

DRAFT

Discussion Paper Prepared for the Mandel Foundation

June, 1999

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Indicators of Educational Institutions

Indicators are tools used in education, social services and other public policy arenas to provide decision makers, clients, and staff information about the 'state of affairs' of their enterprise. Indicators are central to the discourse about how to measure and monitor the quality of services provided. Most social service delivery, including educational services, is provided via organizations or institutions. Thus, a central aspect of many indicator systems pertains to the measurements of the quality of the organization or institution.[1]

This paper is written to provide a basis for discussion for the Mandel Foundation regarding the development of an indicator system of high quality educational institutions. Although this paper will focus primarily on indicators in formal educational settings, namely schools, it can serve as a guide for examples of the types of issues that would need to be addressed when considering the development of indicators for other institutional settings as well. Specifically, this paper will: 1) review some of the major purposes and uses of educational indicators, 2) discuss some of the indicator systems that have been developed for educational institutions, 3) critique the use of indicator systems, 4) provide alternative methodologies and perspectives, and 5) suggest recommendations for the development of institutional indicators for Jewish education.

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[1]Throughout this paper the term educational institutions and organizations will be used synonymously and refers primarily to formal school settings. This paper does not specifically review informal educational settings. However, the general topics addressed and issues raised pertain to diverse educational settings.

Jewish education has many unique features, especially when compared to general education in America. Jewish education is a voluntary system with widespread diversity of settings, locales, standards, and norms. Ideology, values , and purpose are at the center of the enterprise and are also highly debated. There are few regulations, mandates and licenses. Professional personnel have varying routes of training and socialization into their institutions. The context of Jewish education provides unique challenges for developing institutional indicators.

Purpose and Use of Indicators Systems

Indicators are a widespread policy tool "designed to provide information about the status, quality or performance of the educational system" (Burstein, Oakes, & Guiton, 1992, p. 410). A review of the literature suggests five general uses and corresponding purposes of educational indicators: 1)description, 2)advancement of policy agendas, 3)accountability, 4)evaluation, and 5)management information (Ogawa and Collom, 1999). Although these specific purposes are often differentiated in the literature, they are highly interrelated with one another.

Indicators provide a **description** of the general health of the educational institution. Thus, over time, indicators can chart trends and describe the status of education. The descriptive use of indicators can help policy makers and educators identify and describe problems (Oakes, 1986). An example of a descriptive indicator is the percent of Jewish educators in educational institutions that participate in high quality professional development.

Indicators are instruments of **policy**. As Oakes (1986) reminds us, indicators are political constructs that reflect assumptions about the nature and purpose of education. What is measured will be what is important. Therefore, indicators simultaneously reflect and define an educational agenda or promote specific educational policies (Special Study Panel on Education Indicators,

1991). Often, policy makers employ indicators to advance, highlight or defend their educational and ideological views (Ruby, 1994).

The ability to focus attention on critical policy issues is often viewed as the most important use of indicators. "The strength of indicators ...is that they focus attention on critical issues. This focusing property means that they can become levers for change; indicators, by themselves, can become tools of reform because they are such excellent devices for public communication" (Special Study Panel on Education Indicators, 1991, p. 7). For example, in the ongoing reporting of the percent of teachers who participate in high quality professional development, community leaders can begin focusing attention on the importance of professional development.

Indicators are often used as vital signs of **accountability.** Two aspects of accountability can be achieved through the use of indicators, regulatory compliance and performance monitoring (Ogawa & Collom, 1999). Regulatory compliance often involves the monitoring of organizational inputs and processes, such as, proper reporting of finances, or following specific procedures. An example of regulatory compliance is when federations provide day schools with scholarships and day schools provide annual reports about scholarship recipients. Performance monitoring involves indicators that report outcomes. Typical performance monitoring for students usually involves standardized test scores, participation rates, attitudes, and drop out rates. Teacher accountability indicators can include levels of preparation, participation in professional development, and implementation of curriculum as well as linkages to student learning.

When indicators are used as mechanisms for accountability, a system of sanctions and

rewards is often utilized so there are incentives to hold institutions accountable (Adams and Kirst, 1998). These incentive systems can include both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. Examples of incentives include granting a financial award to an institution based on superior performance or steady improvement, public recognition, or professional assistance if performance is lacking.

If the incentives of an accountability system are meaningful and important to an institution, indicators can serve as mechanisms for continuous improvement. Thus, indicators serve as levers of change for institutions as a whole. Indicators can benefit institutional growth, above and beyond the outcome measures associated with individuals in that institutions. For example, in many state reform initiatives in general education, schools meeting certain standards receive cash awards, while schools that are not improving must develop and implement two-year school improvement plans (Massell, 1998). These school improvement plans are aimed at helping the schools develop capacity.

Closely related to the accountability purpose, indicators are often used in **evaluation.** When indicators have a standard against which they can be judged, indicators can be used as data for evaluation. In most cases, the evaluation standard employed is a comparison of an indicator with itself over time, or a comparison of the measure against the same measure in other contexts, other organizations or locations. Most indicator data are utilized in three ways for accountability and evaluation: comparing against an absolute standard, calculating educational progress (value-added), and comparing gains with predicted performance. All these comparisons are reported and calculated for educational institutions or schools.

Using indicators as an evaluation mechanism provides policy makers with feedback about the system. This information should not be used to infer causality, but rather provides data for

working hypotheses about the educational enterprise and provides warning systems regarding already established relationships within the system (Burstein et. al., 1992). Therefore, if indicators simultaneously suggest that participation rates are dropping off after Bar Mitzvah years and teachers in the institution are turning over at a higher and higher rate each year, we may hypothesize that lack of stability amongst teachers is affecting the willingness of students to stay engaged in Jewish education.

Beyond describing educational organizations, promoting policy agendas, monitoring and evaluating the system, indicators "can purportedly provide diagnoses and prescribe treatments for emergent problems" (Ogawa & Collom, 1999, p.15). As an information management tool, indicators can serve as " warning systems' to future problems (Nuttall, 1994). Thus if an important indicator is monitored over time, such as the availability of scholarships for camp, a trend that indicates fewer and fewer scholarships can be the early warning for the need to address fund raising before camp participation rates decline.

As mentioned, the uses and proposed purposes of educational indicators are highly interrelated with one another. For example, once an indicator is used to describe an educational organization, it quickly becomes an instrument of policy to signal to various audiences "what is important." As indicators are collected over time, or across various contexts, inevitability, they begin to be used to monitor or evaluate. If sanctions and rewards are used, indicators become part of accountability systems. For example, if participation rates are used to describe the level of engagement in a Jewish community, and those levels decline, or are less than those levels in other, comparable communities, they can be used as a vehicle of evaluation and assessment as well as warnings about possible problems that may require intervention. In sum, a viable and

comprehensive system of indicators can simultaneously monitor the health of the organization, identify problems, and illuminate the road ahead (Special Study Panel on Education Indicators, 1991).

Developing Indicator Systems

To achieve these multiple purposes, it is almost universally agreed that indicators of educational organizations must be part of a system of indicators. "Indicator systems are developed, which (ideally) measure distinct components of the system of interest but also provide information about how the individual components work together to produce the overall effect (Oakes, 1986, p.7). In other words, individual indicators should have "an understandable relationship to the health of the system and to each other so that together they can be viewed as a model of the system" (Burstein, et. al., 1992, p. 410.). In our case, system refers to educational institutions.

A system of indicators for educational organizations requires a model or working schema of the nature of the educational enterprise. In other words, a model should answer the question, "How do the various components of the organization interact with one another"? The model specifies the important components of the organization, and presents assumptions, hypotheses or empirically validated information about the nature of the relationships between the various components. Each component is then operationalized and defined by specific measures.

Conceptual Models: What Can be Measured?

There are various models, or conceptual maps of indicator systems of high quality educational institutions or organizations in the general education literature. Three examples are presented here. These examples represent prevailing views in general education literature today.

I. The RAND Model: Input/process/output

Most indicator systems applied to the quality of educational organizations are based on an input/process/output model of organizational functioning and effectiveness (Scott, 1987) . An important theory of organizational effectiveness (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967) posits the importance of all three types of indicators: the importation of resources (capacity, such as money and qualified personnel) + their use in specified activities (processes, such as teaching and learning)+output (outcomes, such as student knowledge, or heightened Jewish identity)= organizational effectiveness. One part of the indicator system refers to the level and types of **inputs**, or capacity available to ensure high quality. Examples of these types of indicators may include, level of training of personnel, ongoing professional development, financial support, and leadership. A second part of the model to identifying high-quality institutions is a focus on institutional or organizational **processes** or activities. Examples of process indicators may include the types of programs offered, level of the curricula, and the type/level of Jewish content in the programs. A third aspect to identifying high-quality institutions is a focus on **outcome** indicators, such as participation rates, drop out rates, and achievement and attitudes of participants in the institution, such as students.

How has this basic model, input/process/output, been applied to indicator systems for high quality educational institutions? Figure One presents one of the models developed by RAND (Oakes, 1986). Inputs refer to fiscal and other resources, teacher quality and student background characteristics. Process indicators within the educational institution or school include school quality, curriculum quality, teacher quality and instructional quality, while outcomes refer to achievement, participation and dropout, and attitudes and aspirations. In the case of Jewish

education, attitude and aspirations could refer to Jewish identity, while achievement could refer to specific skills and knowledge, such as ability to read Hebrew.

II. Education Counts: Issue Areas

Another prevalent model of institutional quality has been set forth by the Special Study Panel on Educational Indicators, a panel of teachers, analysts, school administrators, employers and academics from across the US who met and deliberated to suggest a strategy to develop "a comprehensive education indicator information system capable of monitoring the health of the enterprise, identifying problems and illuminating the road ahead" (p. 6). This panel was constituted in response to the articulation of national educational goals, *America 2000*. They organized their indicator system around six "issue areas" of significant and enduring educational importance. For each issues area, the panel identified two to five main concepts and three to six sub-concepts. Indicators would be measured for each of the sub-concepts (see Figure 2).

For the purposes of our interest in the quality of educational institutions, two issue areas identified by The Panel will be discussed: learner outcomes and quality of educational institutions. The panel conceptualized learner outcomes in three broad areas, or in terms of three main concepts: core content, integrative reasoning, and attitudes and dispositions. Core content refers to "the store of facts and knowledge grounded in traditional subject matter" (p. 30). Integrative reasoning are indicators of "the ability to reason about, and apply insight to, complex issues, drawing on knowledge from distinct areas of core content" (p. 30), while attitudes and dispositions refer to tolerance, self-direction, participation, engagement with learning, etc. These indicators are measured using achievement tests and national assessments, but many of these learning outcomes are not currently measured. The panel noted the difficulty in developing

"authentic" assessments, beyond multiple choice tests. The panel encouraged the development of these types of indicators. It should be noted, that the panel did not view these outcomes as necessarily a part of the indicator system of educational institutions. They conceptualized learner outcome indicators at the institutional, state and national levels.

Quality of educational institutions (see figure 3) is defined in five major indicator areas, each with specific sub-concepts that are measured: 1) *Learning Opportunities* refer to exposure to subject matter, nature of learning opportunities, assignment of teachers and students, and curricular integration; 2) *Teachers* refers to quality and characteristics of those entering the profession, pre-service training, and competence in the classroom; 3) *Conditions of Teacher's Work* includes measures of basic classroom resources, supporting resources, influence over core matters of work and support for ongoing teacher development; 4) *Institutions as Places of Purpose and Character* refers to clarity of mission, human environment, basic order and safety, and press toward academic work. The final issue in the indicator system for high quality educational institutions is 5) *School Resources*, such as buildings, libraries, labs and technology, and professional personnel. According to the panel, high quality educational institutions are those that exhibit high levels of each of these indicators.

Some of the measures for these indicators are available through national data bases in the US. For example, the Schools and Staffing Survey and NELS (National Educational Longitudinal Study:88) provide information on teacher preparation, certification status, and self reports of efficacy. Other national data sets have measures of school climate and academic press. Opportunity to learn has been measured by using a three prong approach. The intended curriculum is articulated by school system officials, as they report what is supposed to be taught.

Implemented curriculum is measured by a survey questionnaire administered to teachers, and the attained curriculum is measured by student achievement and attitudes toward the subject matter (McDonnell, 1995).

III. Committee on the Evaluation of National and State Assessments of Educational Progress: Research based system

Recently, a panel of scholars was charged with evaluating the status and purpose of the National and State Assessments of Educational Progress (NAEP) (Pellegrino, 1999). NAEP, known as the "nation's report card", first administered in the late 1960s, is the only continuing measure of the achievement of US students in key subject areas. In the context of those deliberations, the panel recommended the following:

> The nation's educational progress should be portrayed by a broad array of education indicators that include but goes beyond NAEP's achievement results. The U. S. Department of Education should integrate and supplement the current collections of data about education inputs, practices, and outcomes to provide a more comprehensive picture of education in America" (Pellegrino, 1999, p. 22).

The panel advocates an indicator system that suggests relationships among students, schools, and achievement variables. This model of an indicator system is presented in Figure 4. This model relies on the previous RAND and Special Study Panel models, and relies on areas that have been documented through empirical research to have associations with student achievement. Specifically, this model does not specify inputs and processes, but the goal is to "embed measures of student achievement within a broader range of educational measures" (Pellegrino, 1999, p.42). These indicators, beyond achievement, are based upon school organizational processes that have been examined in prior research and provide a useful context for both understanding student achievement and support policy relevant implications (Peak, 1996). Thus, the NAEP panel

suggests collecting indicator data on aspects of school organization that impact student achievement, both in and out of the educational institution. Included in this indicator system are measures of home and community support for learning, school climate/environment, financial resources, organization and governance, teacher education and professional development, standards and curricula, and instructional practice.

Summary. The three examples presented above suggest that a conceptual model about the interrelationships among components of an educational organization or institution is a central step in designing a comprehensive indicator system of institutional quality. The conceptual models presented above are heavily based upon decades of empirical research about the correlates of school achievement and are rooted in the political values about education in the United States. In these models, there is an explicit assumption that the goal of schooling is academic achievement. High quality institutions are those that exhibit indicators that contribute to this overall goal. Although not all of the models ascribe to an input/process/output approach, they highly resemble that conceptual view of organizational effectiveness.

A synthesis of the three models provides an example of a comprehensive system of indicators of high quality educational institutions from general education. Rather than organize the indicators in an input/process/output model, we chose to organize them in terms of embedded levels of the organizational system: namely indicators for the student, classroom, institution, and community (See Figure 5). Thus, high quality educational institutions are those that exhibit "high" levels on each of the indicators specified. This diagram serves only as an example; there is a wealth of recent research that provides guidance into other, although related, indicator systems (Newman and Wehlage, 1995; Kruse, Louis and Bryke, 1995).

Indicator Systems of High Quality Jewish Institutions

In contrast to the literature on indicators of educational institutions in general education, there is relatively little systematic attention to institutional quality, effectiveness, or success in the Jewish education community.[2] A reading of the literature suggests that certain institutional indicators are mentioned more than others, and are offered as tools for evaluation, but indicator systems based on conceptual models or empirical research are not widespread (Kalkstein, 1999). The main source of information on institutional quality are the CIJE Best Practice volumes and a recent book by Joe Reimer (1997).

Educational excellence or success of the Jewish educational institution is usually defined in terms of expert opinion (see Kurshan, 1996; Schoem, 1982). For example, in the Best Practice series (Holtz, 1993, 1996) and Joseph Reimer's (1997) book, Succeeding at Jewish Education: How One Synagogue Made It Work, the authors asked respected informants to identify successful institutions. Reimer states, "I chose this synagogue and its school for study after consulting with well-informed Jewish professionals in its metropolitan area and learning that this school had the reputation for providing "an exceptionally good" educational program" (p. 73). This methodology reflects, in part, the lack of available indicators in the Jewish educational arena.

Three sets of indicators will be presented below to reflect indicators of institutional quality in Jewish education. First, we will briefly present those indicators that seem to be mentioned in the literature most often. These indicators are not necessarily mentioned in the context of indicator

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[2] I acknowledge the work of Danna Kalkstein, who reviewed the literature on indicators of institutional quality in Jewish education. The sources quoted and summarized are based upon her draft paper entitled, "Literature Review of Indicators of Excellence in Jewish Education".

systems, or conceptual models, but they do represent the focus of writers in the field of Jewish education. Second, we will present indicators developed by the organization, Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education (PEJE), as they have recently developed criteria of institutional quality. Lastly, we discuss indicators that emerge from the field, based upon a series of interviews with prominent, senior Jewish educators.

I. Institutional quality of Jewish educational institutions: The Literature

There are some commonalities across researchers, writers, and evaluators in articulating indicators of success for Jewish educational institutions. Woocher (1989) for example, speaks about "high points on the Jewish educational landscape". For example, money invested in Jewish education, participation rates, enrollments, more extended Jewish education programs (from Sunday only to multiple days) and increased variety and types of programs are indicators mentioned. These indicators refer to the availability of programs, or inputs. Another indicator of quality, in terms of participation are institutions where students continue their Jewish education past Bar/Bat Mitzvah (Holt, 1996). Thus, a very important indicator in Jewish institutions is engagement. Engagement or participation is not mandatory and is not taken for granted by any means.

Other writers, in the spheres of both formal and informal Jewish education, mention indicators that pertain to the 'process' domain, that is aspects relating to how programs are delivered. One indicator mentioned by many is high quality personnel, defined in terms of content knowledge, stability, commitment to the program, modeling values and behaviors consistent with the program, and ongoing professional development (Holtz, 1993, 1996; Alexander and Russ, 1992). Another indicator of program quality refers to the extent to which the

be a substratum of articulated Jewish values which characterize the institution".

In regard to learners or program participants, interviewees suggested six indicators: student satisfaction, participation and graduation rates, student involvement, parent satisfaction and involvement, and outcomes (change in learner attitudes or behaviors).

The review thus far suggests that there is some overlap between possible indicator systems in general education and Jewish education in their 'names'. However, the uniqueness of Jewish education emerges in the specific definitions and articulations of indicators.

Defining Measures: What Data are Collected?

Once a conceptual model of an indicator system has been delineated to provide an organizing framework for the relationships among components in the institution, the next step is to operationalize the concepts with component measures (Burstein et. al, 1992). What specifically should be measured for information on each indicator? Obviously, the models provide very broad conceptions, but provide little by way of definitions: What do we mean by clarity of mission? What is teacher quality?

Deciding upon specific measures to reflect the indicator system is very complex, and requires multiple trade offs and judgements. It also involves keeping in mind the purposes of indicator systems. Porter (1991) reminds us that indicators are statistics that can be easily aggregated. Therefore, three criteria are often used when deciding upon specific measures: 1)importance/usefulness, 2) technical quality, namely reliability and validity, and 3) feasibility, such as cost (Blank, 1991).

The major substantive and conceptual issues should be addressed by clearly articulating a model or system of indicators that defines the components of high quality educational institutions

curriculum or program content is infused with Jewish content, values, culture and symbols. This aspect is highlighted in the information of many Jewish accrediting organizations and Best Practices volumes (Holtz, 1993;1996). A related indicator of quality, also highlighted in the Best Practice volumes, is a sense of internal consistency relating to the Jewish content and values. In other word, the Jewish "space", content and values are an integral aspect of the institution's daily life; these are enacted, not just discussed (Reimer, 1997).

Many other indicators of high quality Jewish institutions are similar to those in the general education models, such as strong and effective professional leadership, quality of teaching, financial support, good facilities and organizational climate and environment (Holtz, 1993; 1996). These components appear in the RAND model. Effective professional leadership, for instance, is often referred to in the general education literature, as a crucial part of governance and school quality.

Two areas seem to be unique to Jewish educational institutions. One area pertains to the relationship between the educational program and the family and the other area is the relationship between the educational program and the larger organization with which it is associated. The nature of family involvement is unique in the Jewish educational institution. High quality Jewish educating institutions have a strong connection to the family around Jewish content, values and practices. However, this relationship seems to develop in two directions: from the children to the family and visa versa. High quality Jewish institutions involve the family. "By working with the family, educators increase their chances of success and magnify their influence on the child" (Holtz, 1996, p. 8).

Since many Jewish educational institutions are not totally autonomous, that is, they are

embedded in larger organizations, such as synagogues and Jewish Community Centers, a unique indicator of these institutions seems to be the extent to which they are integrated and supported by their 'host' institutions. High quality Jewish institutions are supported by the rabbi or chief executive of the larger organization and have mutually supportive goals (Holtz, 1993;1996; Cohen and Holtz, 1996).

Outcomes do not seem to receive much attention in the Jewish educational literature. In most cases, assessments of outcomes is primarily subjective. For example, the Best Practice volume on supplementary education states, "Yet looking at the projects of each of the grade levels, looking at the programs in which they participate, and taking into account the overall level of participation in temple life, it does seem that learning is going on" (p. 47). Furthermore, the JCC Best Practice volume lists six "principles that seem to guide the most educationally effective programs... The program succeeds in general terms. That is clients are attracted to the nursery school because it is a good school compared with other options in the community" (p.21).

The lack of discussion of outcomes, and corresponding absence of indicators for outcomes of Jewish education, reflects a complex aspect of the field. While the Best Practice volumes emphasize the importance of "well articulated educational and Jewish goals", there is little discussion of how goal attainment is measured and what it means. Are all goals legitimate as long as they are well articulated? Morever, the field does not have measures available to assess goals. Furthermore, the field does not seem to have common understandings about goals for Jewish education that may fit across individual institutions. "This means that one school may be doing an excellent job with Hebrew acquisition and another may be doing outstanding work with living out Jewish ethics and values, and yet neither school would necessarily feel that what the other was

doing was what a Jewish school 'should' do" (Kalkstein, 1999, p. 3).

II. Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education: Domains of excellence

Partnership for Excellence in Jewish Education has developed a grant program to "strengthen the North American Jewish Community by increasing the number of children who receive an excellent Jewish day school education". They have developed a list of criteria used to assess grant applicants. These criteria provide a useful conceptual framework for institutional quality in a Jewish educational institution. The domains of excellence, or indicators of institutional quality, include the following 10 areas (PEJE, 1997):

- compelling, coherent, educational and Jewish educational vision
- effective board composition and functional successful lay-professional collaboration
- skilled professional leadership-administrative and teaching
- solid financial management
- sound planning and decision making by the lay and professional leadership
- defined role for Jewish text, study and practice
- the presence of key elements derived form the effective schooling and learning literature
- ongoing professional development program for principals and teachers
- ongoing reflectivity and self-evaluation
- cultivating and maintaining key community linkages

Each of these indicators is conceptually developed and defined. For example, in terms of the role of Jewish text study, PEJE states, "Jewish knowledge, learning, study, and practice should permeate many facets of the school's planning and operation" (p. 13). Some of the indicators are common to these in general education, while others, such as text study, are unique to Jewish education. It is interesting to note, that the PEJE criteria are mostly input and process indicators, with no to little mention of outcomes. Therefore, according to this framework, there is not an indicator relating to whether the the students have reached the goals of the institution.

III. Interviews with key Jewish educators: Ideas about indicators of Jewish institutional quality

During 1994, the Monitoring, Evaluation and Feedback Project of CIJE began an exploratory process to try to articulate indicators of Jewish institutional quality. Twenty-one senior educators from both formal and informal Jewish education were interviewed. Interviewees included members of the senior CIJE staff, camp movements, JCC movement, supplementary and day schools, and central agencies. They were asked open ended questions about their views of characteristics of effective Jewish educational institutions in general, and their institution in particular. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a complete report of those interviews, a summary of the responses suggests a conceptual framework of institutional quality that includes four main domains: the organization, the learners, the educators, and the program (See Figure 6). For example, respondents suggested that institutional quality in Jewish education was reflected by several features of organization. They defined this as an organization that had a clear vision, a supportive climate, effective educational leadership, strong and positive relations with the larger organization or board, and positive external relations with the community. In terms of vision, for example, one respondent explained: The institution "has an image of the person they want to create. You can like it, you can hate it, but they have an image of the person they want to create and an image of what the Jewish community would look like that can support that person. They have an image of what we need to do in school in order to get there. Now, some of those images are written and articulated and explicit and some of them aren't".

In describing the institutional climate, respondents referred to both general support and well being, but also articulated the need for a Jewish culture to be evident in a high quality Jewish institution. "I think in some way, whether it's the board, the faculty, the principal, there needs to

be a substratum of articulated Jewish values which characterize the institution".

In regard to learners or program participants, interviewees suggested six indicators: student satisfaction, participation and graduation rates, student involvement, parent satisfaction and involvement, and outcomes (change in learner attitudes or behaviors).

The review thus far suggests that there is some overlap between possible indicator systems in general education and Jewish education in their 'names'. However, the uniqueness of Jewish education emerges in the specific definitions and articulations of indicators.

Defining Measures: What Data are Collected?

Once a conceptual model of an indicator system has been delineated to provide an organizing framework for the relationships among components in the institution, the next step is to operationalize the concepts with component measures (Burstein et. al, 1992). What specifically should be measured for information on each indicator? Obviously, the models provide very broad conceptions, but provide little by way of definitions: What do we mean by clarity of mission? What is teacher quality?

Deciding upon specific measures to reflect the indicator system is very complex, and requires multiple trade offs and judgements. It also involves keeping in mind the purposes of indicator systems. Porter (1991) reminds us that indicators are statistics that can be easily aggregated. Therefore, three criteria are often used when deciding upon specific measures: 1)importance/usefulness, 2) technical quality, namely reliability and validity, and 3) feasibility, such as cost (Blank, 1991).

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while discussions around the measurement of the indicators and collection of data should address practicalities. The specific measures implemented should provide information that is easily understood to a wide audience. Furthermore, measures should be 'few in number'. "Policymakers and the public will not wade through hundreds of pages of tables describing each of hundred and thousands of characteristics of curriculum, instruction, and school processes" (Porter, 1991, p.24). Therefore, indicators are often based upon averages of various measures. An indicator of quality teaching could be an average across ten measures of characteristics of 'good' teaching. "Despite the complexity of school processes, indicators must provide straightforward and parsimonious description, or they will lack utility" (Porter, 1991, p.24).

Other criteria are offered for deciding upon specific measures. Indicators should measure ubiquitous and enduring features of schooling, that is, aspects of educational institutions that can be found throughout the system over time for purposes of comparison, across locals and settings (Oakes, 1986). If post Bar Mitzvah programs were only offered one year on an trial basis, this would not be an appropriate indicator of participation. Furthermore, specific measurements should include measures that can estimate change over time, or comparability from one system, context or location to another. This implies that the measures must be broad enough in their definition to encompass practices expected to be implemented across numerous institutions, rather than something so narrow that it is unlikely to exist. If Hebrew immersion programs are never implemented in supplementary schools, this would not be an appropriate measure of high quality Hebrew instruction.

Issues of validity and reliability are of major concern. One concern is stability of measures. Measurements taken at different times and by different data collectors must be valid. Another

concern is the validity or distortion of self-reports. What is the relationship between what teachers say they are doing in the classroom and what actually transpires in the classroom? A third concern is non-response rates. How do we interpret measures when few participants respond? (Porter, 1991).

Feasibility and costs are other major criteria for selecting specific measures. As attempts are made to increase reliability and validity, costs are often increased. Therefore, policy makers often decide to measure fewer indicators in the system of institutional quality. Limited measures of institutional quality may be implemented and reported over time, based on the criteria of importance, technical soundness, and feasibility. Often, those indicators and corresponding measures with the most consensus are those implemented, such as teacher quality, or participation rates.

Measures of Indicators in General Education

Presented here are some examples of how specific indicators of institutional quality are defined and measured. Effective schools are often defined as schools that are identified with high academic achievement after adjusting for family circumstances. In a recent survey of outstanding high schools conducted by US News and World Report with the assistance of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, outstanding schools were similarly identified as those schools that show high academic achievement after adjusting for family circumstances (Toch, 1999). Characteristics of the institutions that were associated with the high performance were identified. These measures or indicators of high quality include:

- Curriculum: high academic standards and a common core curriculum
- Teachers: high quality teachers and strong mentoring for new teachers,
- Home: partnerships between schools and parents

- Policies: rewards and incentives for attendance
- School Organization: high levels of familiarity and joint shared responsibility for students.

Darling-Hammond and colleagues (1996) have studied high performing schools, schools that are successful in sustaining learning for all children, especially children that traditionally fail. Relying on reforms in both education and business, parallels are emerging as to common organizational characteristics associated with institutional quality. As mentioned, this type of analysis provides insights into the specific 'definitions' of indicator concepts. For example, one indicator often specified in conceptual models of high quality schools include is **School Climate/Environment**. Darling-Hammond and associates (1996) have defined the school climate or environment of a high performing, high quality educational institutions as "caring-forms of organization that enable close, sustained relationships among students and teachers...typically, this is achieved by redesigning teaching assignments and grouping practices so that teachers work for long periods with smaller total numbers of students" (p. 148). Measurements for this indicator, therefore, could include both administrator reports about teacher assignment of students, as well as teacher reports on survey questionnaires about their teaching assignments, relationships with students and their assessments as to the extent to which teachers sense they work in a caring environment. These types of surveys are widely available and are used in many national data bases.

Another indicator that is mentioned in many indicator models is **governance and leadership.** Research on high performing businesses and schools suggest that participatory structures allowing for teacher autonomy, enhanced interactions with colleagues, staffing arrangements that facilitate teamwork, and involvement in decision making are all indicators of governance of high quality educational institutions (Newmann and Wehlage, 1995). Specific

measures of these indicators, include reports of specific opportunities for shared collaboration, such as shared planning times, and reporting of who is involved in decisions, such as teacher hiring, evaluation, and choosing curricula materials.

Another important indicator of high quality institutions is effective institutional leadership. Two central aspects of school leadership are often associated with high quality educational institutions. Instructional leadership focuses on how principals influence processes that subsequently impact student learning (Hallinger and Heck, 1996). It captures the principal's involvement in teaching and learning (Beck and Murphy, 1993). Coined during the effective schools movement, instructional leadership tends to be associated with identifying a "mission" for the school; spending considerable time on monitoring instruction and supervising teachers; emphasizing the use of instructional time; paying particular attention to the individual and collective achievement of students; and holding high expectations for students and teachers alike (Wimpleberg, 1987; Bossert et. al., 1992). Others have captured the instructional leadership role of principals in terms of three broad dimensions: defining the school mission, managing the instructional program, and promoting a positive school learning environment (Hallinger and Murphy, 1987). Whatever the specifics, the instructional leadership role brings principals "close to the classroom" (Little, 1987). Many measures are available that assess the instructional leadership of school principals.

Another crucial role suggested for principals in support of high performance is transformational leadership. Transformational leaders work towards the development of truly collaborative school cultures, shared missions, and enhanced communication. Principals are facilitators of instructional leadership among teachers. In this role they establish a problem-solving

climate and opportunities for collegial peer contacts and communication, and help obtain the necessary resources and supports for sustained school improvement (Goldring and Rallis, 1993). Leithwood and his colleagues found that principals were most effective by supporting and helping develop teachers' commitments, capacities and opportunities to be involved in reform efforts (Leithwood, 1994). Transformational leadership focuses principals' leadership practice on organization building that is central to school restructuring. Often transformational leadership is measured through teacher reports or principal self-reports.

Measures of Indicators in Jewish Education

The literature on Jewish education provides some insights into measures of indicators for Jewish Education. PEJE has articulated some specific measures as indicators of excellence in **leadership.** They mention commitment to ongoing professional development such as attendance at educational leadership conferences, participation in ongoing collegial groups, and participation and commitment to regular study of Judaic and educational texts. Best Practice leaders articulated specific Jewish aspects of their institutions. For example, in the JCC, leaders ensure that staff continue to develop in terms of Jewish knowledge and commitment, advocate for Jewish programming and positions within the larger organization, and foster the lay board's commitment to the Jewish educational mission.

In the area of **vision** PEJE suggests that specific measures can include the existence of a powerful statement of vison, regular reference to the vision or the ongoing process of developing one permeated throughout the school. Best Practice supplementary schools articulated goals in terms of stakeholder involvement in an ongoing way "...with shared communications and an ongoing vision" .

The Teachers Report (Gamoran et. al, 1998) provides specific measures of indicators of **teaching quality** in formal educational settings, including background and training, and participation in professional development workshops. This report also suggests other indicators, such as quality of **conditions of work**, such as salaries, benefits and type of employment. Erick Cohen (1992) has developed corresponding indicators for informal Jewish education settings. For example, he has articulated measures of quality personnel in terms of professional status (employees versus volunteers), amount of time engaged as staff members during a year, training (received or did not receive any training), stability and turnover.

It is important to note that one of the major challenges for developing indicators in the field of Jewish education is the lack of measurements readily available. In the general education field, many of the indicator concepts have corresponding measures, survey items and tests. Our review in Jewish education suggests that there is a huge gap in quantitative data collection instruments in the field. For example, parental involvement is suggested as an indicator of institutional quality in both general and Jewish education. There are numerous conceptional frameworks and corresponding survey instruments that measure the levels, types and frequency of parental involvement in schools (see Epstien, 1992). In contrast, this construct has not been clearly operationalized for Jewish educational settings.

How Are Data Collected?

As suggested, indicator data tend to be measured by relying on large-scale survey methodology, such as standardized tests, and other survey questionnaires with items that are then scaled to measure such indicators as school climate, school organization and governance and effective leadership. Other data are collected by administrative reporting in such areas as teacher

characteristics. As mentioned earlier, through national data collection and other large scale research efforts, survey questionnaire items are available that measure most of the concepts presented in the indicator models above. Surveys are available that collect data about teacher classroom strategies and curriculum implementation. It is important to note that these survey items are heavily based upon a prevailing, normative view of the indicators of institutional quality. For example, survey questionnaires that measures educational climates that support learning are based upon one specific notion of school climate.[3]

There are important indicators that are not well suited to survey and self-reports. In these cases, indicators can be measured with more complex and costly methods. In the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), for example, complicated classroom and teacher indicators were measured by videotaped observations (Peak, 1996). Other non-survey methods include interviews, observations, teacher logs and other samples of teacher and student work.

It should be noted that most indicator systems to date, rely heavily on survey methods of self-administered and self-reported questionnaires to allow for very large and broad samples, comparability, and reduced costs. Indicator systems require trade offs between substantive issues, reliability and validity of measures, and cost. If an indicator is highly important, policy makers may be willing to invest more in the data collection strategies. It is precisely these trade offs that often lead to criticism of the utility of indicator systems.

Limits and Critiques of Indicators of High Quality Institutions

Indicators are limited in their scope and purpose. Indicators can only describe general

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[3] It is beyond the scope of this discussion paper to present specific questionnaire items of the indicators of high quality educational institutions. This could be the focus another paper.

properties or characteristics of educational institutions. Indicators, by definition, rely on reducing complex concepts and phenomenon to numbers, statistics, graphs and charts. Hence, they reduce institutional phenomenon into static measures. In that sense, indicators are part of a 'technical reductionism' often associated with social science or policy research (Grace, 1995). Technical reductionism involves both conceptual as well as methodological limitations.

<u>Limitations on the conceptional view of educational institutions</u>

Indicators reduce conceptual views of educational institutions in two realms: their context and their mission. "Contextual reductionism involves a process of abstracting the scholarly and measurable performance indicators of a school from its own history and cultural formation, from its social and economic community setting and from its relation with the wider society.. Mission reductionism involves abstracting scholarly performance indicators per se from the whole integrated matrix of school outcomes and effects which constitute the educational mission of the school such that measures of academic performance are taken to be the 'real' measures of what school is about" (Grace, 1999, p. 118).

Indicators of educational institutions reduce missions, context and outcomes to variables that can be quantified and measured. There is little emphases, discussion, reporting and measuring of other crucial aspects of education such as ethos, values, and identity. As a researcher in Catholic education stated, the challenge is to put "spiritual and moral awareness on the desired outcomes agenda" (Grace, 1999, p. 122).

Although, most policymakers and analysts agree that contextual factors of educational institutions are important for interpreting indicators, most indicators cannot account for institutional context in a serious manner. Thus organizational life is reduced to narrow assessments, discrete and

assessable fragments. There is little 'richness' to the nature of human interactions, learning, and institutional life that can be captured by indicators. In addition, the dominant concern with ordering, comparing, and measuring lends itself to value-free lenses of assessing institutional quality. Mike Rose captures this sentiment:

> "If our understanding of schooling and the conceptions we have of what's possible emerge primarily from these findings, then what we can imagine for public education will be terribly narrow and impoverished...If we determine success primarily in terms of test scores, then we ignore the social, moral and aesthetic dimensions of teaching and learning -and as well, we'll miss those considerable intellectual achievements which aren't easily quantifiable. If we judge one school according to the success of another, we could well diminish the particular ways the first school serves its community" (Rose, 1995, p. 2-3).

Similar concerns have been raised in regard to Jewish educational intuitions. Many goals for Jewish education, such as 'love of Torah', 'commitment to Judaism' or 'increased Jewish identity" are difficult to measure and hard to quantify. Thus, as Leibman (1956) said decades ago: "It is possible that in the case of Jewish education we resort to quantitative reports because it is easier to give an evaluation of things that can be measured and counted, rather than of things which are not too tangible" (p. 29).

Coupled by narrow definitions, simple concepts, and technical dimensions of educational institutions, indicator systems are also criticized for their reliance on linear models-input/process/output. This paradigm is deeply rooted in an efficiency approach, linking education to markets and international competition. Education is relegated to functions that have little do with inspiration, teaching and learning and everything to do with performance ratings, benchmarks and competition. Indicator systems do not take into account the messy, non-linear, chaotic nature of organizational life. They do not acknowledge the huge impact institutional cultures and sub-cultures have on educational institutions in a most non-linear way. In this sense, indicator systems

rely on an overly structural, rationalistic model of school organizations, to the almost total absence of the symbolic, cultural aspects of schooling.

Limitations of goals

One prevailing view of institutional quality is that institutions should be assessed against their goals. A high quality institution is one that meets its goals, whatever goals an institution sets for itself. This was a component of the Best Practice institutions studied by Holtz (1993, 1996). The standard for evaluation then, is the goals set by each educational institution. However, using the goal concept as an integral part of an indicator system is very complex. The most obvious downside is that institutions will articulate goals that are only easy to measure, thus facing criticisms of reductionism as mentioned above. On the other hand, institutions may develop goals that are so vague as to be meaningless. Reynolds (1988) commented that many Jewish institutions favor ambiguous goals because they tend to "function as an effective conflict-management device by encompassing and subsuming the private goals of individual participants" (p. 113). Furthermore, goals, however well articulated, are not necessarily of equal value. Therefore, institutions can have goals, they may meet their goals, but the goals may be unimportant, meaningless, or of a very low level.

Furthermore, as suggested, there is a chance that institutions will begin focusing on indicators as a goal, in and of itself, rather than the goals of the institution. This is referred to in the organizational literature as goal displacement (Anderson, 1966). Thus, if institutions begin to hire teachers with degrees, because this is an institutional indicator, rather than taking into account the suitability of the teacher for teaching in the particular institution, goal displacement has occurred. Moreover, goal displacement can occur if institutions begin to shift activities to meet the

goals of measurable indicators "while neglecting equally or more important efforts that are harder to quantify and whose results don't show up as quickly"(Schorr, 1993, p.4). Thus, indicators should not draw attention away from lofty goals, goals that cannot be quantified, or goals whose efforts bear fruits only after a long implementation period.

In a system of education that it totally voluntary, has no national board, no formal frameworks, and no set standards, who is determine what goals are worthy and lofty enough to be considered as the basis for indicator systems of institutional quality? This is a challenge for developing indicators in the field of Jewish education.

Limitations of measurement

Along side conceptual issues and the reductionist nature of indicators there are a host of methodological limitations One of the limitations of survey indicator data is reliability, namely, will the survey, test, or instrument, measure the same response each time it is administered? Another limitation of indicator data of institutional quality is the extent to which measures are valid in terms of reporting what is actually occurring in the institution. Despite vast efforts in collecting indicator data in the US, "studies have generally developed only a few new items and then 'borrowed' others form earlier studies. Little effort has been made to validate these measures by comparing the information they generate with that obtained through alternative measures and data collection procedures" (Burstein et. al., 1995, p. 8).

Some indicator measures are more valid than others (see Mayer, 1999 for a complete discussion). We may decide to rely on indicators that, by definition, are more valid to measure, such as teacher degree levels. This, however, feeds directly into the reductionism criticism: we will have few measures of institutional processes if we rely on what is easy to measure.

Other broader concerns rest with the positivist research approach that indicator systems tend to embrace. It is beyond the scope of this paper to present a complete methodological critique of educational indicators, but, for our purposes, it is helpful to briefly review four common criticisms of positivist approaches to educational research in general, and indicator systems in particular (Borg and Gall, 1989). Positivists assume that they can test hypotheses based upon objective observations that are independent of any particular theory they are designed to test. Thus, indicator measurements are deemed to be independent of any specific theory of organizational quality. Critics suggests that observations are always "theory-laden". Indicators are always measured by people who have particular "theories" that assign meaning to the measures. A highly related criticism is the place of values in research. Positivists generally assert that measures, or indicators are 'value-free'. Critics argue that there is no such thing as value-free research. The choice of a particular indicator and its corresponding measure are already value judgements. A third aspect of positivism is that research is limited to observable phenomenon. However, many phenomenon are not 'observable', that is, cannot be clearly measured, such as feelings, human interaction, intentions and goals. A final aspect of positivism is the concern for consistency across settings and time periods, rather than a focus on the unique. Many critics suggest that it precisely the unique aspects of contexts and values that should be the focus of any study of educational institutions.

Given these types of concerns surrounding positivist approaches to indicators, an important question to ask is, what alternative strategies are available to study Jewish educational institutions?

Alternatives to Studying and Understanding Educational Institutions

Indicator systems are typically limited to large scale, quantitative reporting of data. Three broad alternatives are presented: changing the paradigm of inquiry, changing the metaphor of

institutional quality, and changing the method of data collection.

Changing the paradigm of inquiry

Much can be learned about the quality of educational institutions by employing paradigms of inquiry other than the positivist, quantitative, social science paradigm that dominates so much of the educational landscape today. This would allow us to go beyond the current vocabulary of "outcomes" and "effects" that may be misaligned with Jewish education and its goals. "Perhaps the difference that schools can make is in something other than the production of credentials, of rational minds, skills and competence levels. Perhaps the difference can be conceptualized, analyzed and , even, measured in terms of the new kinds of citizen sensibilities, bodily and cultural practices and indeed kinds of discourses and cultural productions .... " (Lingar, Ladwig and Luke, 1998, p. 97).

What paradigms of inquiry can help us move away from narrow definitions? Alternative paradigms include interpretive qualitative methodologies such as ethnography, case studies, and portraits of educational institutions. Although there are differences between the various types of qualitative research, one aspect common to all these methodological approaches is that they encapsulate rich descriptions about the lives and experiences of participants in educational institutions. In describing Lightfoot's Good High School (1983), Eisenhart (1998) stated, "Theoretical summaries, proper techniques, research biases and so froth are not the gold standard here; provocative, empirically rich and politically situated interpretations are" (p. 395).

For example, portraits have been used by Lightfoot to describe 'goodness' of educational institutions. Portraits are one type of research that fits the phenomenological paradigm. Portraits, like other forms of qualitative research aim to "capture the complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human experience and organizational life" (Lightfoot, 1997, p.xv). This mode of inquiry is deeply

rooted in the specific culture and context of the organization under study. Lightfoot (1997) suggests that the goal of a portrait of an institution or organization is to search for 'goodness'. She suggests starting with a broad question, "what is good here?" Goodness is not defined externally by policymakers, researchers, or leaders. The portraits try to capture the multiple "myriad ways in which goodness can be expressed and tries to identify and document the actors' perspectives" (Lightfoot, 1997, p. 9). She goes on to caution that searching for goodness does not imply creating an idealized situation, but portraits should also inquire into vulnerabilities, weaknesses and contradictions within the institution. The portrait is written in narrative style that is accessible to a wide audience. The story should portray detailed interactions and behaviors, interpretations and perceptions, and document institutional life.

Core aspects of ethnography and other types of qualitative case study can help create rich descriptions of Jewish educational institutions. These aspects, such as, phenomenolgy, holism, nonjudgmental orientation, and contextualization are in stark contrast to the positivist tradition of indicator systems. Phenomenology refers to the development of the perspective of the institution being studied; an insider's perspective is important and highly valued. Holism is achieved as the researcher tries to understand the total institution, rather than its separate parts. The research does not superimpose his/her judgements or values on the inquiry, but relies on rich descriptions; all data are considered within the specific context of the institution.

Rich case studies, ethnographies, and portraits of Jewish educating institutions can provide rich descriptions of meaningful Jewish education. They can be useful in 1)helping the field develop conceptual models or theories of Jewish institutions, and 2)defining important indicators. Given the limited conceptual models and empirical study of Jewish educational institutions, qualitative research

that leads to grounded theory development and hypothesis generating studies are crucial steps in ultimately developing indicators systems. Grounded theory development is the process of developing theories based on data collected in naturally occurring situations. These theories generate hypotheses that can the be tested in subsequent settings (Brause, 1991).

The main limitation of qualitative study is that the limited scope and small sample sizes does not allow for replication, comparison, or generalizability, all cornerstones of indicator systems. If a qualitative study provides a rich portrait of Jewish education, or arrives at an example of 'goodness' for that setting, we cannot infer from that case anything about other instructions. Furthermore, if "good" Jewish education is so rare that we can only capture it through deep analysis of the 'good', then perhaps there would be no reason to have an indicator system to begin with.

Changing the metaphor of institutional quality

Another approach to overcoming some of the limitations and critiques of indicator systems is one of terminology and metaphor. The word "quality" implies goodness, a term that has had little study in the Jewish educational arena. This term in and of itself is extremely difficult to define and is value-laden. Perhaps a more useful way to initially think about indicators is not in terms of quality, but in terms of *high reliability institutions* (Roberts, 1990; 1993) or some other metaphor that suggests that the institution has components that are necessary for high quality, without suggesting that these components are high quality. The term high reliability organizations has evolved from industries such as nuclear power plants, that must meet virtually one hundred percent reliability. Although the specific characteristics of high reliability organizations from other sectors may or may not fit specific indicators of educational institutions, the term may be more useful in helping us define what it is we are trying to accomplish in choosing specific indicators systems and measures

(Stingfield, 1995). In this sense we can talk about institutional indicators that suggest overall organizational health, a term also used in the organizational literature.

A healthy organization is often defined as one that can deal effectively with outside forces and simultaneously pursue goals. Thus a healthy organization is able to 1)acquire sufficient resources and accommodate its external environment; 2)set and implement goals, 3)maintain internal consistency, and 4)create and preserve unique values of the organization (Hoy and Miskel, 1987). In education, organizational health has been assessed by the *Organizational Health Inventory* (OHI)(Hoy and Hannum, 1997). This inventory assesses seven specific dimensions: institutional integrity, principal influence, collegial leadership, principal task behavior, resource support, teacher affiliation, and academic emphasis.

As mentioned, alternative concepts, such as institutional health, or high reliability institutions, may provide direction to the development of indicators that better serves our needs. We can define indicators that are necessary for institutional quality.

Changing the nature of data collection-a mixed model

Indicator data rely on reducing organizational phenomena to numbers, while qualitative case studies cannot provide the necessarily breadth of data to meet the multiple purposes of indicator systems. A mixed-model approach is a rating system, one that allows for both depth and breadth of measures. An example of such a system is the Blue Ribbon Schools Program, sponsored by the US Department of Education. The Blue Ribbon Schools Program serves three purposes:

"1) to identify and give public recognition to outstanding public and private schools; 2)to make available a comprehensive framework of key criteria for school effectiveness that can serve as a basis for participatory self-assessment and planning in schools; and 3) to facilitate communication and

sharing of best practices within and among schools based on a common understanding of criteria related to success." (OERI, 1998, p.1).

Individual schools must complete a detailed self assessment regarding specific program criteria. Program criteria are defined by the US Department of Education. Program criteria are based upon empirical research, national and state level reform goals, and 'consensus views' of best practice. Criteria are updated based upon feedback from participating schools. A panel of experts reviews the portfolios of information submitted by individual schools in response to the specific program criteria. The panel rates each of the responses and overall categories as exemplary, strong, adequate, inadequate and insufficient evidence. Schools that have been judged exemplary in two general categories, have no inadequate ratings, no adequate general categories rating, and no more than six adequate ratings on individual items, receive a site visit to determine Blue Ribbon status. The overall framework of criteria include eight categories: student focus and support, school organization and culture, challenging standards and curriculum, active teaching and learning, professional community, leadership and educational vitality, school, family and community partnerships, and indicators of success. Within each of these categories, specific questions are asked, and schools must provide evidence and support for their responses. For example, one of the specific questions under the criteria of leadership is: How does leadership move your school toward its vision/mission? How is the instructional leadership role defined and implemented? How are resources aligned with goals? To provide evidence for this criteria, schools are instructed to " be specific about what leadership roles and functions are considered important in your school. Describe the leadership role of the principal. Provide concrete examples of how your school leadership ensures that policies programs, relationships and resources focus on the achievement of the school's

vison/mission and promote learning?"

For the criteria of challenging standards and curriculum, the school needs to address the following question: Successful schools offer all students opportunities to be engaged with significant content. How does your school ensure that students achieve at high levels? To respond to this, schools are instructed to "include a brief description of each subject area, noting 1) the general content and performance standards in each subject area...2) curriculum articulation across grades, 3) ways in which content areas are integrated, and 4) unique or unusually effective features of your curriculum" (OERI, 1998).

This approach provides an alternative to the traditional indicator systems. Models and criteria are defined, but data collection occurs at the individual school site, and involves data beyond quantitative measures. This approach may be well suited to Jewish education, as it could be viewed as a capacity-building approach. That is, over time, we could learn about high quality Jewish educating institutions in a variety of settings and contexts. It should be noted that there have been Jewish day schools that have been award Blue Ribbon status. The PEJE framework could serve as a basis for further development in the realm.

Indicators of High Quality Institutions In Jewish Education: Future Directions

The above review suggests that educational indicators of institutional quality in the general education sector rely heavily upon normative conceptual models, empirical research, and data that are collected on an ongoing, regular cycle. Jewish education does not have a rich platform to build upon in these areas. Conceptual and empirical models do not provide sufficient guideposts, measures are not readily available, and mechanisms are not in place to collect widespread data. Furthermore, Jewish education has many unique contextual issues that are unlike the general educational context.

I recommend a four prong approach that would begin to move in a direction of developing comprehensive indicator systems for high quality Jewish educational institutions. This approach would include: 1) collecting indicator data on a few, high consensus, useful and informative indicators, indicators that we would hypothesize and assume would be a part of any indicator system or model, 2) developing and piloting measures on a small number of indicators that are not currently available in Jewish education, and 3) conducting research to understand Jewish educational institutions with the objective of developing comprehensive, yet competing, conceptual models that can ultimately help develop indicator systems for Jewish education. Furthermore, I suggest choosing a different metaphor than quality to describe what the indicators are measuring.

1) Collect high consensus, low-cost indicator data

The current knowledge in Jewish education and general education can help us identify indicators that can meet the widespread purposes of describing the system, setting policy agendas, and provide data for early warning signs. These indicators are those that have a high level of consensus and are relatively reliable and valid measurers. These indicators could also be those that fit most closely to the Mandel Foundation's agenda and are based on previously developed measures. We could try to have indicators at each level of the organizational system, students, classroom, organization, and community. Examples could include: 1)participation rates for students; 2)quality of personnel, with specific measures including degrees and credentials, and participation in ongoing professional development, 3) quality of professional development, with specific measures including content, duration, and connectedness of sessions, and 4) resources-budget.

This strategy was also recommended by the Improved Outcomes Project at Harvard University, a project charged with developing indicators for child and youth outcomes for social

service agencies (Schorr, 1993). They suggested that a system of indicators should begin by implementing a minimalist list that is "considered important and meaningful by skeptics, not just supporters of the programs and policies being assessed or held accountable" (p. 9). The least ambiguous measures should be implemented initially. Therefore, if this recommendation were to be adopted, the first step would be to decide upon the set of indicators to be measured, determine what measures should be collected (for example, degrees as an indicator of teacher quality) and decide upon a sampling, data collection, and reporting strategy.

2) Develop one or two indicators not readily available for future development

In addition to collecting indicator data on high consensus- lost cost measures, a simultaneous step would be to choose one or two high value indicators for development, indicators that are deemed extremely important to any conceptual model of Jewish education. Examples of indicators not readily available, that could be developed, are in the area of learning opportunities, such as exposure to subject matter and hours engaging in subject matter. If indicator work continues in the areas of Jewish identify, this certainly could lead to outcome measures if data are collected and aggregated at the institutional level.

3) Conduct research to understand Jewish educational institutions with various methodologies

As mentioned above, indicator systems should rely on conceptual models of educational institutions. These conceptual models should provide guides as to how individual indicators are interrelated with one another. Case studies, portraits, and other narratives of Jewish educating institutions can serve to fuel a larger discussion about such questions as, what are our theories of Jewish education? What matters most about a Jewish educational institution for various types of outcomes? What are conceptions of institutional 'goodness' that are unique to Jewish education?

These cases studies will enrich the field as well as begin to set the groundwork for more comprehensive indicator data collection in the future.

In addition, the PEJE framework could be adapted to begin the process of collecting in-depth field based data similar in method to the Blue Ribbon program in general education. This model would also provide valuable insights and rich data about Jewish education from the field. We can begin to learn how various Jewish educational institutions operationalize, define, and implement concepts associated with, or hypothesized to be associated with, institutional quality.

4) Change the metaphor of indicators of institutional quality

Researchers in the field of Jewish education should begin to pursue studies that help develop the concept of quality and explicate models of institutional quality. Simultaneously, the initial phases of indicator data collection, as recommended above, may be better served by changing the terms associated with these efforts. In other words, in the absence of clear conceptions of 'quality' in Jewish education, the institutional data may be thought of as indicators of organizational health, reliability, or efficiency. It would be useful to think of another term to use to describe the initial set of indicators that we collect.

Conclusion

The use and development of indicators systems of high quality educational institutions are rooted in a culture of competition, accountability and rationalistic models of educational production. In the general education sphere, educational reforms are deeply rooted in this culture. Complex organizational phenomena, based on prevailing normative views, are reduced to numbers so that they can be charted, described, and compared. Policymakers, professionals, clients, and other decision makers find this information very useful, provocative, and informative.

The question is, does the field of Jewish education want to, or need to follow this path? As suggested in this paper, indicator systems do serve important functions. There is little readily available in the field of Jewish education and the field could benefit from these types of data systems. However, we should not loose sight of their limitations and pitfalls. By definition, indicators narrow and simplify the very real goals and purposes of education, those goals and purposes that are the essence of Jewish education. We recommend the development of indicators for high quality Jewish educational institutions, but simultaneously, we should strive to capture some of the deeper insights into the complex lives of these institutions.

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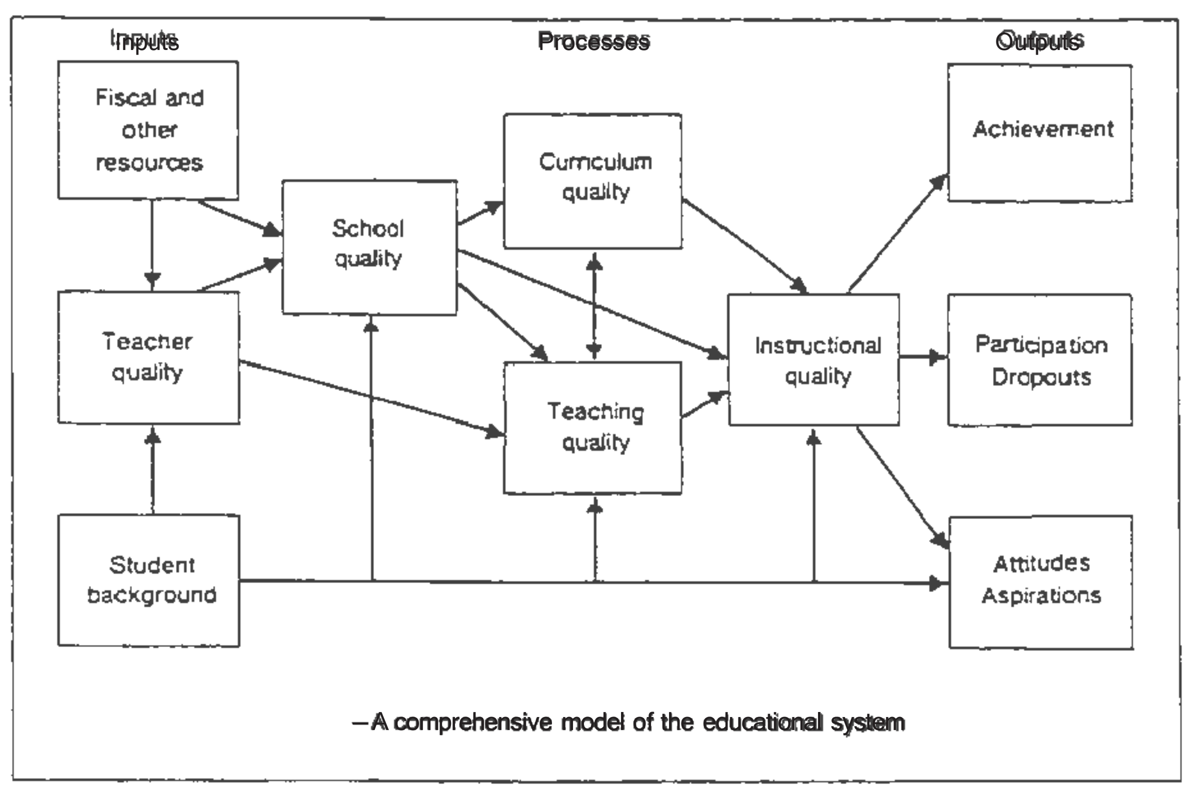
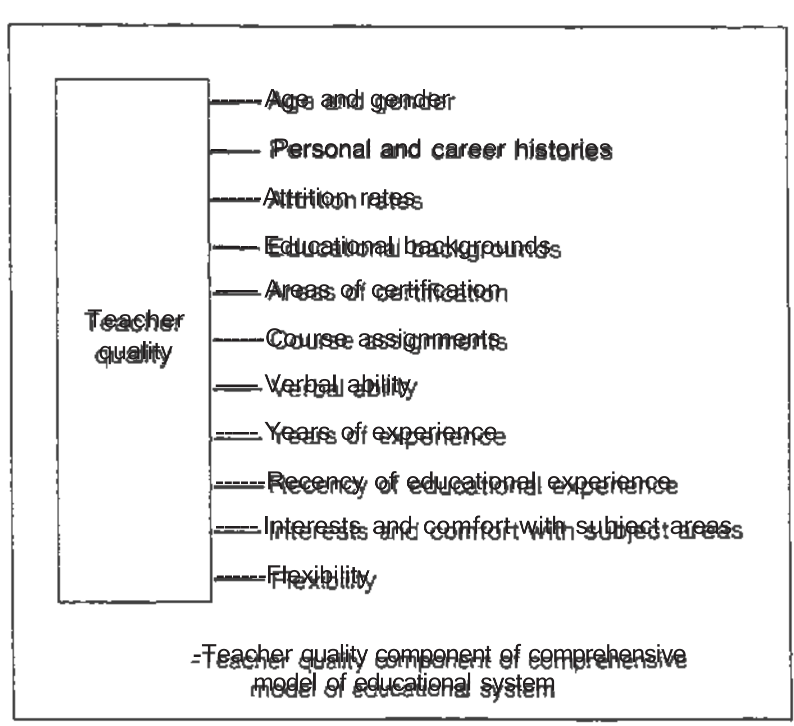


—A comprehensive model of the educational system



-Teacher quality component of comprehensive model of educational system

FIGURE 1: RAND MODEL: INPUT/PROCESS/OUTPUT (Oakes, 1986)

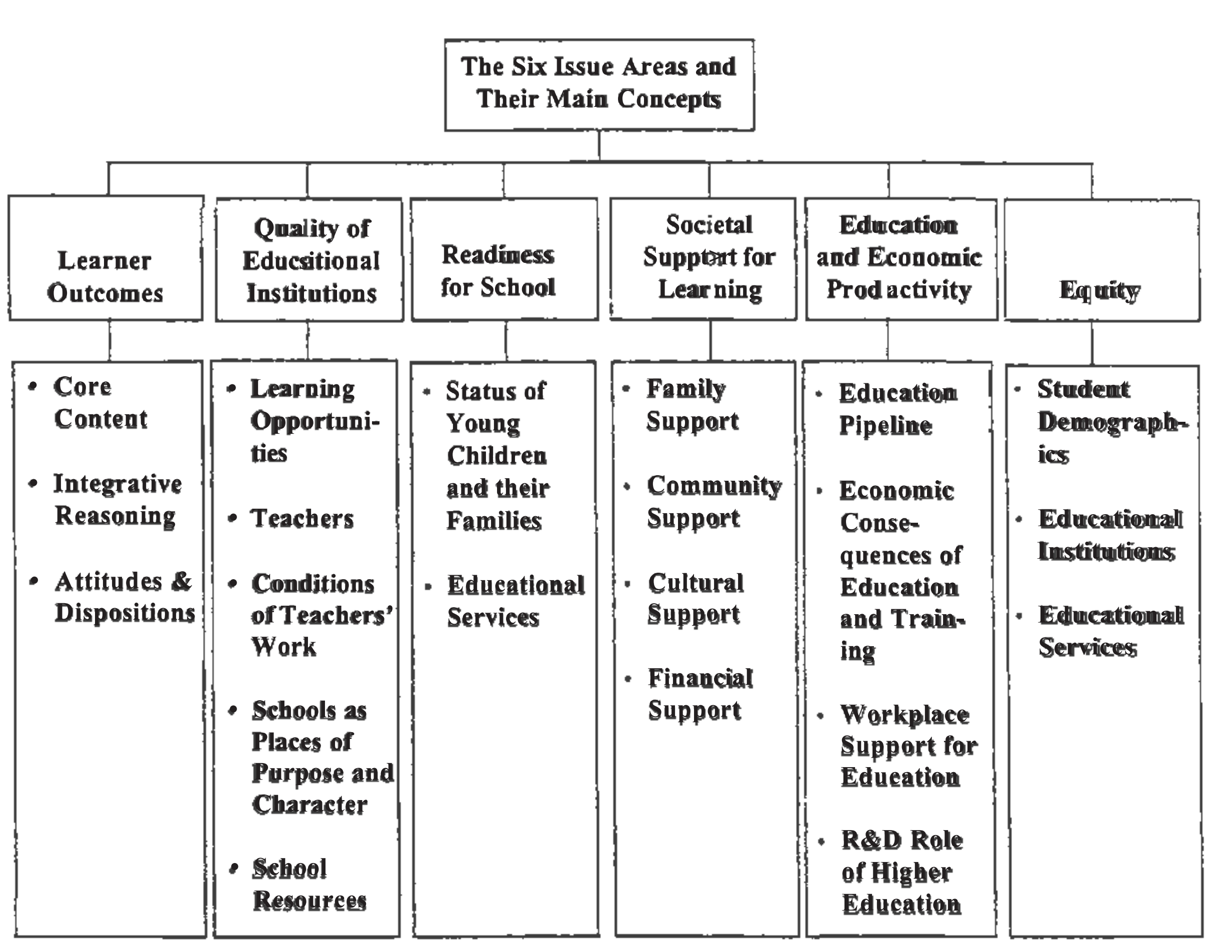


FIGURE 2: ISSUES AREAS MODEL (Special Study Panel, 1991)

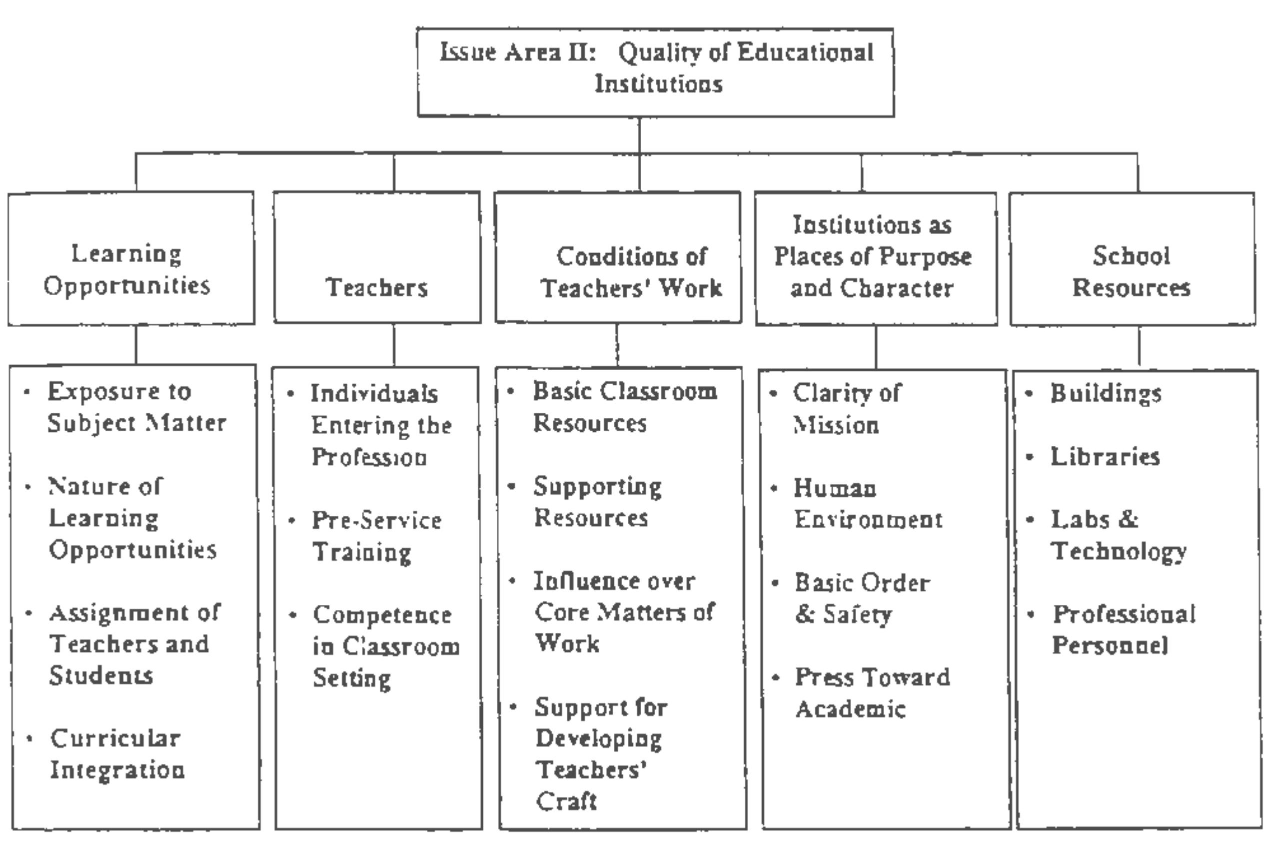
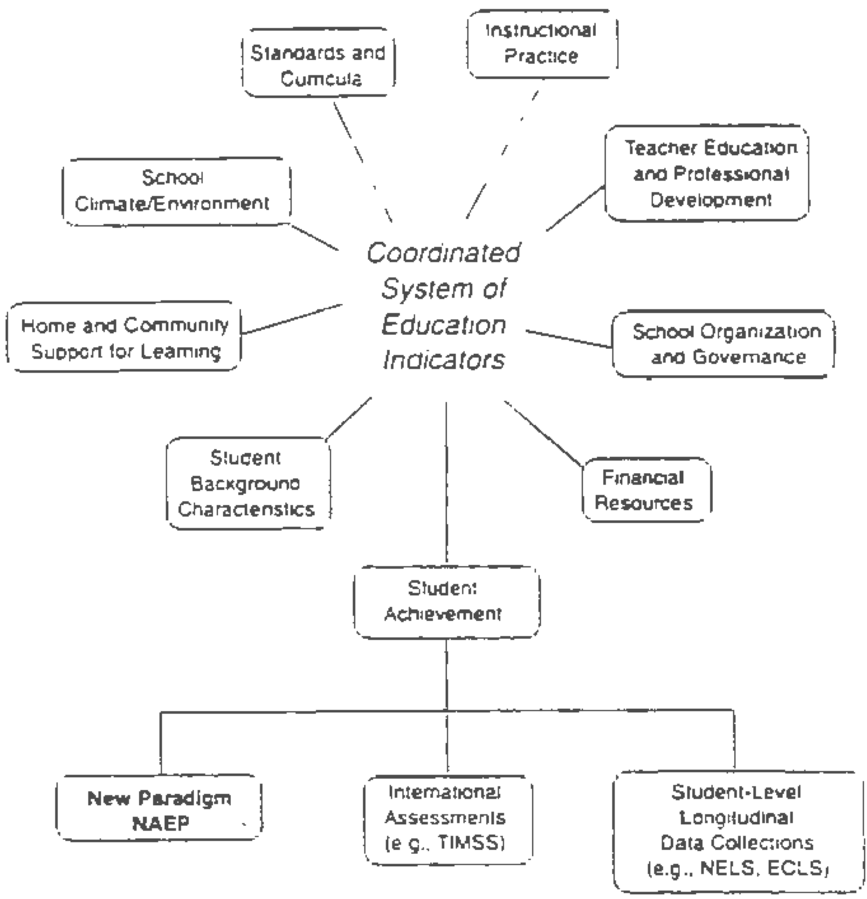


FIGURE 3: ISSUES AREAS MODEL OF QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS
(Special Study Panel, 1991)



Measures of student achievement within the proposed coordinated system.
NOTE: TEMSS = Third International Mathematics and Science Study; NELS = National Education Longitudinal Study; ECLS = Early Childhood Longitudinal Study.

FIGURE 4: EMPIRICAL MODEL: NAEP (Pellegrino, 1999)

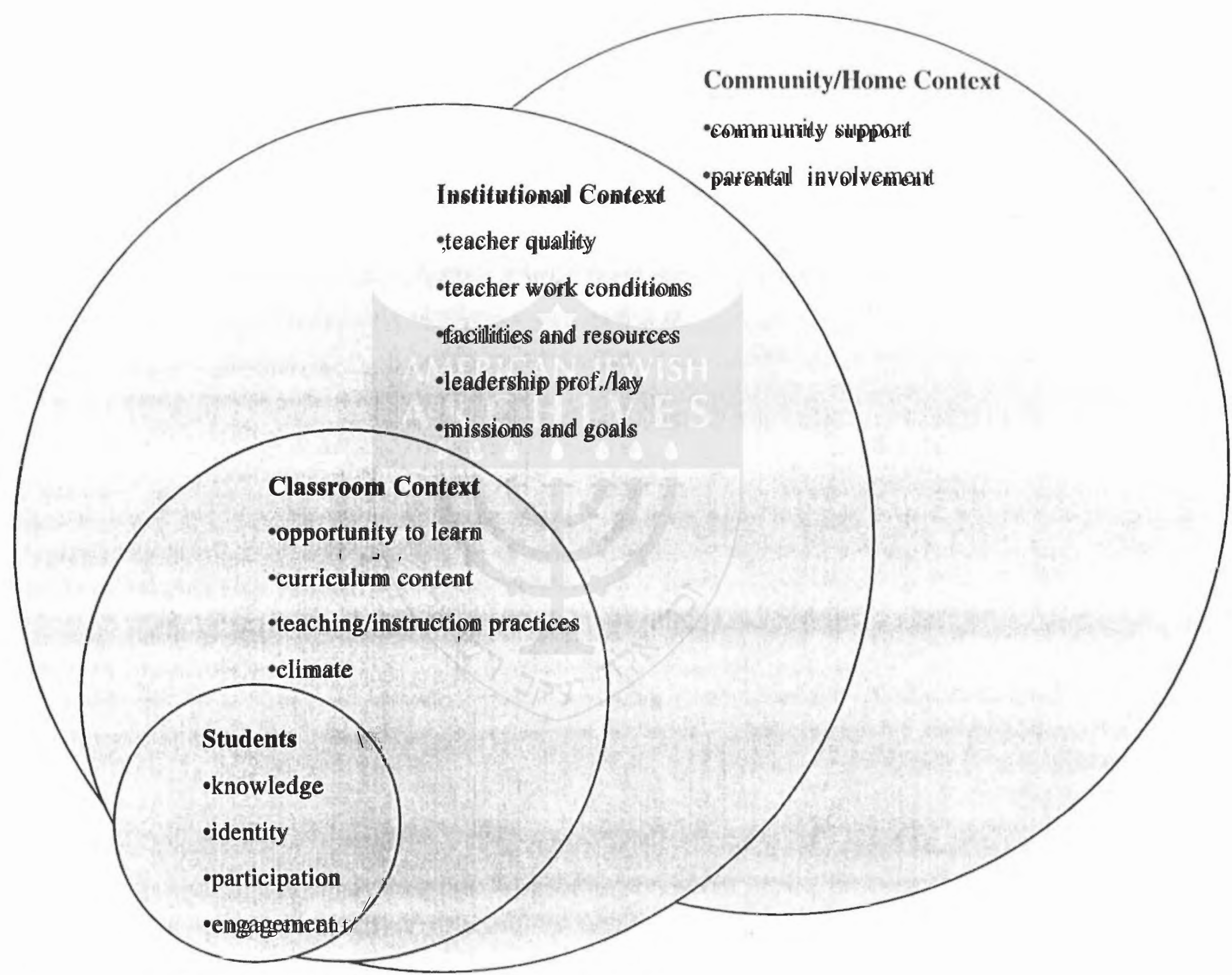


Figure 5: Indicators of High Quality Educational Institutions

Indicator Domains

A. Organization

- vision (includes goals, objectives, mission)
- institutional climate
- educational leadership
- relations with the larger organization (includes lay board)
- external relations (with community and other programs)
- planning (includes resource assessment and evaluation)
- financial support
-

B. Participants and their Parents

- student satisfaction
- participation and graduation rates
- student involvement
- parent satisfaction
- parent involvement (roles, power, family Jewish life)
- learner outcomes (changer in learner behavior)

C. Educators

- educator satisfaction
- educator involvement (outlooks, participation)
- staff quality
- professional development
- cooperation and collaboration

D. Programs

- curriculum (content, quality, quantity)
- physical resources (buildings, materials, technology)

Figure 6: Indicator domains as articulated in interviews with senior Jewish educators

Indicators of Jewish Identity

Developing a Conceptual Framework for Understanding American Jewry

Bethamie Horowitz

DRAFT

Discussion Paper Prepared for the Mandel Foundation

June, 1999

The Mandel Foundation has undertaken the "Indicators Project," the goal of which is to monitor the pulse of the American Jewish community regarding a number of indicators about the quality and condition of Jewish life in general and Jewish education in particular. One area of key concern is Jewish identity. In this context I have been asked to review the literature regarding Jewish identity (both Jewish identity in particular and ethnic, religious, social and/or group identity in general) in terms of the conceptual and practical issues, and to make recommendations about ways of developing indicators that take issues of identity into account. My task, then, is to articulate why and in what ways identity is important, and to wade through the broad literature to locate useful concepts and issues to track in a strategic way. As I pull together the material I will be guided by the issue of conceptualizing factors that enhance or detract from robust Jewishness.

In the past decade interest in Jewish identity in America has burgeoned, primarily because of the Jewish communal concern over "Jewish continuity." Although continuity has taken on numerous meanings (for example, Liebman, 1995; Woocher, 1995; Ruskay, 1995/1996), a shared element among them is the emphasis placed on the continued existence or ongoingness of the Jewish group, its culture and traditions. Much of the debate about continuity has centered on identifying the sorts of Jews or ways of being Jewish that are presumed to offer the best prospects for group continuity. Communal attention has turned to sketching out various ways of being Jewish (e.g. Wertheimer, Liebman & Cohen, 1996; Cohen, 1995) along with the contents of those modes and the expected patterns of involvement of different types of Jews.

Within this context the notion of Jewish identity has come to the fore because continuity of the Jewish group as a collective has come to be seen as dependent on the expression of strong individual identity. Low Jewish identity of individuals is seen as resulting in poorer prospects for Jewish continuity, while high or strong identity is seen as strengthening group continuity.

This was not always the case. In pre-modern times Jewish society was a theocracy protected by high communal, cultural and psychological walls, and the role of *individual identity* in maintaining group continuity was minimal in comparison. The Jewish encounter with modernity posed a different challenge. In this situation *in-group cohesiveness and interaction* (along with hostility and discrimination towards Jews by the majority society) took on a larger role in enhancing Jewish group continuity. Finally, in contemporary America, a society which is characterized by its increased openness and wide acceptance of Jews as part of the mainstream, the *psychology* of Jewishness (i.e. the individual's subjective relationship to being Jewish) has become more important than ever before. In the past simply being marked as Jewish was sufficient in dictating behavior (up to a point), whereas today, being Jewish does not determine much of anything, without some additional commitment on the part of the individual.

Since individual choice or commitment plays more of a role in determining the nature of a person's Jewishness (i.e. choosing to "opt in" or to "opt out"), the contemporary tracking of American Jews needs to offer a window into the nature and extent of that choice. The importance of the commitment to being Jewish is something that can vary significantly among individuals, even though they may all belong to the same sociological category of people who indicate that they are Jewish by religion and have a Jewish upbringing (i.e. they share the common feature of having a Jewish background.).

Our task in this paper is to develop an understanding of what is meant by Jewish identity and the factors that affect it. In this paper I examine a number of the ways in which contemporary ethnic or specifically Jewish identity has been conceptualized within the fields of sociology, social psychology and Jewish history. This discussion, entitled Alternative Conceptions of Jewish Identity, takes up the bulk of this paper. At the end of that discussion I surmise about the types of indicators it would be important to track in relation to Jewish identity. I am assuming that the indicators of identity could involve multiple levels of analysis –individuals, their families, institutions, local and national communities and the larger Jewish aggregate.

Alternative Conceptions of Jewish Identity

When we speak of Jewish identity what do we mean? As will become apparent in this review of the literature, the meaning of the term "identity" varies quite a bit. Several related but perhaps discrete phenomena are lumped together under the rubric of identity. The term is used in different intellectual and policy contexts, and these contexts matter in determining the meaning of "identity" and the limits of any particular definition. In fact, there are several different "conversations" animating the discussions of identity, each of which is about a different set of basic concerns. I will organize my discussion around each of these conversations, of which there are four:

1. Jewish historians see the Jewish encounter with modernity as creating the problem of Jewish identity. So the contemporary Jewish conversation about the nature of and prospects for Jewish continuity in the face of an open (or a more open?) society has its roots in the beginning of the modern era. What happens when Jews encounter new meaning-systems, develop a sense of "duality," feel themselves to be Jews at home and human beings in the world?

2. Sociologists have traced the patterns of acculturation and assimilation of American immigrant and ethnic groups, and the extent to which they remain distinctive or mix into (and transform) America. In what ways are both America and the character of ethnic/religious/social groups interacting, changing and transforming? How does increasing (structural) integration of the *ethnic group* relate to the *individual's* sense of ethnic identity?

3. The conversation within social psychology addresses the extent to which and under what conditions a person experiences being or acting as part of a group. What factors and processes contribute to in-group or social identification and attachment? What are the qualities or features of identity and identity formation that should be enhanced to intensify a sense of "groupness" -- feeling oneself to be part of a group?

4. Sociologists of American Jewry have examined the condition of American Jewry over time and hypothesized about its trajectory going forward. There is much debate about what elements are most telling and important to track about American Jewish identity and continuity.

I will examine each of these conversations separately, but I note in advance that the conversations sometimes overlap and also diverge. There are many researchers who have been informed by both the particularly Jewish conversation as well as by their respective 'disciplinary' conversations – (S. M. Cohen, P. Ritterband, C. Goldscheider, C. Liebman, S. Herman, B. Horowitz). The convergence among the conversations comes about when the case of the Jews is brought into the picture. Sometimes the limits of different theoretical conceptions are seen more sharply in examining the Jewish case (which then becomes a corrective to theorizing). Clearly, the Jews are not only an ethnicity, but a religion and ethnicity intertwined, a feature which makes the Jewish case different from some other groups (Irish, Italians) but similar still to other groups (Armenians, Greeks).

A. <u>The Conversation about Modern Jewish History: Maintaining Jewish Distinctiveness in the Face of Opportunity</u>

The Jewish conversation about identity begins with the Enlightenment and Emancipation in the late 18th century, and is addressed especially by Jewish historians of the modern period. It is the story of Jews and Judaism encountering the non-Jewish world, of Jews being made bonafide citizens of a country, thereby experiencing for the first time the possibility of acceptance and individual mobility. This encounter represented a sea-change in the relationship between Jews and their hosts and it created a new set of concerns for Jews.

Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (1980) write,

> In the accelerated process of acculturation and assimilation that characterized the Jews' entrance into modernity, a large number of Jews were estranged over time

> from their primordial community. Their bonds – social, cultural, spiritual and psychological—with the community of their fathers weakened, while at the same time Jewish self-identity became problematic, (p. 214)

In pre-modern times Jewish identity as we know it was not seen as problematic: Jewish was what one was and the boundaries between the Jewish world and the non-Jewish were very clear. Jews related only to Jews as their primary group, any interactions with Gentiles serving instrumental needs rather than expressive ones (Katz, 1993). The modern period is characterized by new relations between Jews and non-Jews. Modernization and the rise of the nation-state created the conditions for identity to become a concern for individuals and for the Jewish "community" as a whole.

> From the perspective of Jewish identity, modernization is best understood as the historical process whereby increased exposure to non-Jewish ideas and symbols progressively erodes the given generational continuities....Its product is Jewish modernity: the ongoing situation where internal continuity stands in potential or actual conflict with forces exterior to the Jewish tradition. Put somewhat differently, a premodern, encompassing Jewish identity contracted to make room for other identity components, sometimes persisting alongside them, sometimes mingling freely with them. The relative influence of the Jewish component became subject to fluctuation, waxing or waning in relation to the new elements drawn from outside the Jewish sphere. (M. Meyer, 1990, p.7)

This is an existential concern because it addresses how and in what form Jewishness will endure in the face of the lures of the broader world.[1] In this presentation identity is located in the individual and involves (or, is highly responsive to) the interrelationship between the Jewish and the non-Jewish, as well as the relative share or amount of space that the Jewish occupies in relation to the non-Jewish. Note that Meyer describes this cultural contact between the Jewish and non-Jewish as a trade-off between them.

In contrast, Jacob Katz (1993) describes the emergence of a neutral "third sphere" as an outcome of the new philosophical and socio-political arrangements:

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[1] There appears to be a fear of Jewish identity becoming "adulterated" in some fashion, a theme which contains within it a whole debate that is taken up in different context about the declining *quality* of Jewishness as it comes into contact with the non-Jewish (i.e. other meaning-systems).

...[T]he essence of the rationalists' social achievement lay precisely in their creation of a neutral common ground above religious differences. The human and universal had been transformed into an intrinsic value, which served as a unifying principle for all who accepted it. The demand that one decide in favor of either Christianity or Judaism lost its urgency and acuteness. From that point on, there was a third sphere -- the neutral humane one—to which members of both religions could belong.

> ... Belonging to the third sphere did not uproot the intellectual from his original social world. In most cases the new framework encompassed only part of the individual's life... But such a duality was not easy to maintain. (p. 222)

From the duality of this neutral ground Katz describes two possible trajectories. The first involves the shedding of Judaism to become Christian, a linear decline:

> For many Jews, the neutral contact with non-Jewish society led to a complete separation from Judaism. The supposedly neutral intellectual circles sometimes served Jewish *maskilim* as a way station in the transition to Christianity..(p. 222-3)

The second trajectory described by Katz predominated among the *maskilim*

> ... whose identification with the values of the neutral society set them apart from traditional society but whose attachment to the values and culture of their original milieu did not allow them to divorce themselves completely....It was from the neutral associations and their doctrines that these *maskilim* derived their criteria for appraising Jewish society itself... [They] pictured the future of Jewish society in accordance with the model and values of the neutral society. (p. 224-225)

Katz depicts the *maskilim* as rooted in both worlds – in the traditionally Jewish and on the neutral ground which transcended both religions, and he credits this "duality" as the source from which a transformative vision of Jewish society could be forged.

In his excellent book *Rethinking Modern Judaism* Eisen (1998) makes the case that the image of modernity and secularization have been too simplistic/stereotyped. He explains that

> ..Jews did not go through the simple three-stage process that in all too many accounts., constitutes the master-story of modern Judaism. That narrative has Jews 1) adopting Enlightenment notions, whether learned in new schools or absorbed from the Zeitgeist; 2) casting off traditional belief in God and revelation as a result of their new and rational worldview; and then 3) quite naturally or even inevitably rejecting or, at the very least, modifying the performance of inherited commandments. (p. 2)

Eisen argues that it is a mischaracterization to describe the outcome of Jewish modernity as a wholesale rejection or discarding of religious practice. In fact traditional elements can and do persist in people's lives, so we ought to revisit our idea of what modernity and post-modernity are about. Rather, he posits:

> ...that Jews for the most part navigated their way through modernity's unfamiliar terrain much as we do today: via *eclectic patterns of observance* and *varied, almost individual, sets of meanings* discovered in those patterns or associated with them. (p.2)

Eisen speaks of the " 'double consciousness' imposed by modernity – the sense, described by W. E. B. Dubois, of 'always looking at one's self through the eyes of others'" (p. 20)—and notes that many minority groups, not only the Jews, have had to deal with the "twoness" of their condition. Like Katz and his view of "duality," Eisen sees that this twoness can lead to a transformed picture of what it means to be a Jew in the world and of what Jewish society might entail.

In any event, the historians' portrayal of Jewish modernity places the emphasis on two categories – the Jewish and the general or American (In Katz's discussion there are three categories- Jewish, Christian and neutral), and this analytic frame suggests the importance of tracking both the distinctively Jewish and the "general" (or not specifically Jewish) aspects of Jews' lives to see how these are related (if at all), traded off, and transformed by the presence of the other.

B. Sociological Approaches: Assimilation and Maintaining Group Distinctiveness[2]

The question of "twoness" has been a concern within the sociological literature, although it has gone by other names over the course of the past century of the American experience: assimilation, ethnicity and ethnic identity. In different ways these terms address the underlying question about the ongoing distinctiveness of immigrant and ethnic groups in America, as seen in the patterns of interaction between members of these groups

[2] I acknowledge the work of Shaul Kelner, who reviewed the sociological literature on ethnicity and ethnic identity. Much of the material summarized here is based on his draft paper entitled, "Sociological Approaches to Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity."

and the larger American society. In this context "twoness" is not about the individual's *identity* per se, but its social structural underpinnings -- the extent of integration between immigrant/ethnic/minority groups and American society-at-large.

Defining "Ethnicity"

The term ethnicity is used in varied ways by sociologists. On the one hand, ethnicity is a way of drawing distinctions between groups of people based on socially defined characteristics that are ascribed from birth (Berreman, 1972). Ethnicity, in this view, refers to "*all* social distinctions based on birth or ancestry, be they associated with race, language, or anything else." Within the sociological literature about assimilation, ethnicity has come to mean group *distinctiveness* in comparison to other ethnic groups, based on structural measures such as in-marriage, distinctive language, geographic clustering. The *content* of the ethnicity is not being examined, just the fact that Jews may be differentiable based on interaction or associational patterns.

Jewish ethnicity is often termed "Jewishness," which Ritterband (1997) defines as

> that which is peculiar to Jews, that which marks Jews off from other peoples either absolutely or in probabilistic terms. Thus Jewishness as an abstraction stands for the markers by which both Jews and non-Jews establish the Jewish social boundary as well as the content of traditional Judaism and the behaviors and attitudes that are derivative of both.

Cohen's recent statement (1998) attempts to separate the feeling of belonging to the Jewish people from what he views as a vulgar, middle class image:

> To be clear, "ethnicity' is used here to refer not to the vulgar side of Jewish ethnicity (bagels-and-lox, Jewish comedians, ostentation), but to the more comprehensive way by which social scientists use the word (social networking, formal association, cultural differentiation and more). In a manner of speaking *ethnicity refers to everything that distinguishes Jews from other religious groups.* It connotes common ancestry, shared circumstance, and common destiny...(p. 5)

In referring to the Jewish case the term "ethnicity" has an additional meaning: it is sometimes used as a synonym for secular or cultural sensibilities (such as feelings of peoplehood, of belonging to the group) as distinct from specifically religious activity.

So ethnicity has a number of meanings. Partly the fuzziness is a result of the fact that ethnic groups are not static, although many analysts treat them as if they are. Groups are often identified by their country of origin – Irish, Italians, Japanese, Mexican, etc. – and such an understanding is even encouraged by the US Census (Waters, 1990).[3] But there is a danger of reifying national origin groups, viewing them as fixed and given categories whose meanings are clear to insiders and outsiders alike. Researchers either implicitly or explicitly take a position on whether American ethnic groups are the residue of pre-immigration cultures (Gans, 1982; Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Hapgood, 1966; Kramer & Leventman, 1969; Sowell, 1981; Wirth, 1966), or are American creations, as rooted in this country as in the old world (Joselit, 1994; Nagel, 1994; Waldinger, 1996; Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976). The former tend to see assimilation (disappearance of the ethnic group) and erosion of the original ethnic culture where the latter observe transformation – new forms emerging which blend elements from both worlds.

With regard to American Jews and how they express their Jewishness (i.e. their relationship to whatever they see as Jewish), we shall see that viewing and measuring Jewishness as if it were a static, "original" culture is problematic. This is a normative, essentialist position which makes no room for the sociological fact that Jewish content and social patterns are both changeable and changing.

In general, sociologists have not viewed ethnic groups as solely a product of American conditions. Yancey, et. al. make an important contribution to the understanding of ethnicity, viewing it as emerging out of the interaction of migrants with the economic circumstances they find in the new country (Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976). For example, the Italian-American

[3] The position of the Jews as an ethnic minority in their countries of origin creates some confusion among American Jews, a substantial number of whom answer inquiries about their ethnicity by saying "Russian" or "Polish," in spite of the fact that their immigrant ancestors would never have classified themselves as such (not to mention the Russians and Poles they once lived among). Actually, it is doubtful that the Jewish immigrants would have identified first and foremost as "Jews." Rather, as is attested to by the proliferation of *landsmanschaftn*, identity was based more on town of origin, and then perhaps secondarily on broader classifications such as Litvak and Galicianer, Hasid or Mitnaged.

community is not merely a transplant of Italian society. A group of Southern Italian and Sicilian emigrant peasants, each identifying first and foremost with their home villages, were forged by common circumstances into a new ethnic groups – Italian-Americans. Their culture borrowed forms from Italy, but adapted them to the American setting and added new forms that would be foreign to those who remained in the villages. Gans takes a different approach, seeing the culture of the Italians of Boston's West End as more working-class than "Italian" (Gans, 1982). Yancey et. al. would be more likely to view this as an Italian-American ethnic culture, distinct from Italian culture, and inseparable from the class aspects that shape it. As a group's economic conditions change, the class-based nature of its ethnic style change with it. This was the thrust of much work on the Jews in the 1950s (Kramer & Leventman, 1969; Sklare, 1955) and has been greatly enriched by the work of a new generation of cultural and social historians (Joselit, 1990, 1994; Moore, 1981; Prell, 1999).

Throughout my discussion of the sociological literature I will try to limit my use of "ethnicity" to refer to *group distinctiveness at the aggregate level in comparison to other groups*. In contrast, *ethnic identity* refers to a *person's self-perception of being a member of an ethnic group*. Ethnicity —the structural distinctiveness of ethnic groups — has been the dominant focus in the sociological literature, with the ethnic *identity* of individuals emerging as a topic of interest only more recently. Knowing about how or whether peoples see themselves as members of a particular ethnic group is less important in the sociological analysis than knowing about the barriers to assimilation or integration.

The sociological enterprise thus places a great emphasis on *social structural factors*: the interrelations and social ties embodied in the economic arrangements, institutional relations, informal networks and social circles which undergird society, and are seen as separate from "culture" —shared beliefs, practices and ideology. (Individual agency weighs in even lower in the analytic hierarchy.) Typical of the sociological indicators used to track the assimilation of ethnic groups are measures of ethnic cohesion and socio-economic attainment: residential clustering or "spatial assimilation" (looking at the ethnic composition of locales inhabited by members of different ethnic groups) language

("mother tongue" spoken at home by children of immigrants), occupation status, educational attainment, income levels; and finally, social networks (percentage of social ties with members of one's own or other groups in various domains), and intermarriage (religion of spouse).

Processes of Assimilation

There is a large historical and sociological literature which has addressed both the nature and the extent of ethnic or immigrant group assimilation into America. Clearly assimilation is not a single phenomenon, a point that Milton Gordon made (1964), but involves some distinct processes, the most important of which are *behavioral* and *structural* assimilation. Behavioral assimilation, also termed *acculturation*, "involves the taking on of the cultural behavior patterns of the 'host' society" --individuals taking on the language, values, beliefs and behaviors of the majority culture. Structural assimilation refers to the social interaction of people from different ethnic backgrounds, the mixing of minority and majority. Gordon distinguished between *secondary* structural assimilation- at work, in neighborhoods, schools, and so on -and *primary* structural assimilation where the relationships are more personal and intimate – among friends, family, religious communities. At the time he was writing (1960s) acculturation without structural assimilation was what he observed among the "white ethnics" of European descent, a condition he termed "structural pluralism," in that racial, ethnic and especially religious categories "retained their separate sociological structures."

Will Herberg argued in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (1955) that religion had replaced ethnicity as the locus of group distinctiveness, and he viewed ethnicity as a transitory stage through which immigrants and their descendants passed on their way to becoming American of particular religious persuasions. (Note that in this context the term ethnicity connotes ancestry group.) Although Jews were unusual in that they (unlike the Irish or the Poles) were both an ethnic and a religious group, Herberg's point was that Americans would soon no longer be distinguishable based on their ethnic practices and cultures, but only in terms of their different religions. Note that religion in this formulation is about the faith or creed of the individual.

The predominant expectation among many observers was that with acculturation and assimilation, a process which involved the steady breaking down of the social boundaries between groups, ethnic distinctiveness would fade away and eventually disappear. This view was challenged in the 1960s and 70s with the emergence of the debate over the future of ethnicity among the descendants of the European immigrants. Would Hansen's Law that the grandchildren remember what the parents want to forget (Hansen, 1938) apply to the descendants of the immigrants from Italy, Ireland, and Eastern Europe? Some observers of the ethnic scene believed they were witnessing a revival of ethnicity among whites (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Greeley, 1971), challenging the dominant view of "straight line assimilation." But empirical evidence for the revivalists' claims was not overwhelming. Rather, the research of the next two decades tended to support the "straight-line assimilation" thesis.

Ethnic Identity

Compared to the experience earlier in this century where being ethnic hurt one's chances in attaining high social status, the past 20 years have revealed a

> new [pattern] where white ethnic groups have roughly equal life chances to attain many highly valued statuses... [although] one still finds evidence of ethnic differentiation. But the final implication is that ethnic differences are declining among Americans of European background (Alba, 1990, p. 9)

Consequently with the decline in ethnicity as expressed in terms of structural differentiation, analytic attention has turned to the *perception* of ethnic distinctiveness among individuals -- ethnic identity. (Alba, 1990, Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990). The study of ethnic *identity* has come to the fore only where ethnic group differences have no social consequences. This point is underscored by the fact that studies of Blacks and Hispanics have virtually ignored the study of ethnic *identity* in favor of sociology's traditional preoccupation with group formation, conflict and mobility (Omi & Winant, 1994; Steinberg, 1989; Wilson, 1980). In America, race remains the great divide.

Herbert Gans (1979) has identified "symbolic ethnicity" as a consequence of the ongoing structural assimilation of ethnic groups into America. He argues that with the disappearance of

ethnic neighborhoods, ethnic economic enclaves and endogamous ethnic households, ethnicity has come to be experienced as a local feature of an individual's identity rather than being a feature embedded in the group life in the "old neighborhood." Where expressions of group life were once experienced as primordial, natural, innate, and part of the environment, these expressions of identity have become more episodic and potentially voluntary. They have become an option, rather than a given. Once the individual's concern is with ethnic *identity*, and not with "ethnicity" (i.e. cultural practices or group relationships), the existence of an actual group becomes irrelevant. People can develop attachments to symbolic groups, picking and choosing ways of being ethnic that are "easy and intermittent" and that "do not conflict with other ways of life." Ethnic symbols "are 'abstracted' from the ethnic culture and pulled out of its original moorings, so to speak, to become stand-ins for it" (p. 422). The move is from external hard facts of ethnicity to internal, personal, subjective experience.

In spite of the seeming persistence of ethnic culture, Gans argues, symbolic ethnicity is just another point in the secular trend of straight-line assimilation. (Note that he sees the religious or *sacred* culture of ethnic groups as less affected by acculturation and assimilation, although he also writes about "symbolic religiosity" (Gans, 1994)). But he is careful to emphasize that symbolic ethnicity could persist for generations, as long as it offers psychic benefits with few attendant costs. Its growing importance as the dominant form of ethnicity among whites leads Gans to predict a further decline in ethnic organizations and cultures, as group identity becomes an outcome of personal choice in terms of meaningfulness, rather than emerging out of communal ties based on common fate, history and ancestry.

Gans places much weight on "bricks and mortar" – physical proximity – as the basis for real ethnicity. I wonder how he would revise his view if at all in light of "bytes and modems" interaction we see emerging today. Do these new forms serve to overcome the consequences of geographic dispersal? Do they offer new ways for real interaction with a community to emerge or be maintained?

There is recent empirical support for Gans' view. For her 1990 book *Ethnic Options* Mary Waters interviewed 60 third- and fourth-generation white Catholic ethnics about their ethnic identities (Waters, 1990). She concludes that symbolic ethnicity, with its emphasis on choice without constraint, individualism, and a costless community, best accounts for the ethnic aspect of her respondents' lives. Intermarriage plays an important role in the increasing personalization of ethnicity, by introducing a further element of choice into people's ethnic identities. Considering that people of mixed ancestry have more latitude in how to identify, their views of what it means to be Irish or Italian become more important because these views can influence their choices. But as the structural elements of ethnicity decline, knowledge of ethnic culture is reduced to stereotypes. On this tenuous basis the decision to identify is made. The personal nature of this symbolic ethnicity, and the lack of real knowledge of ethnic heritage, is perhaps best exemplified by a woman in the study who celebrates her Irish heritage by eating sauerkraut (Waters, 1990).

The appeal of such ethnic identification is that it allows people to express their uniqueness (and avoid being just "plain vanilla") by feeling part of an undemanding community. They can identify with a group, but since they need not to interact with the group to feel ethnic. The group exerts no constraints on them. They are completely free to choose how to identify and what content to give this identity (Waters, 1990).

Richard Alba draws similar conclusions from his survey of 540 white, English speaking adults in upstate New York (Alba, 1990). "Ethnicity, which was once transmitted by a communal web of enmeshing families, neighborhoods and informal networks, is now dependent on the identities of individuals" (p. 205). He finds people of unmixed ancestry the most likely to identify ethnically and engage in ethnic behaviors. But this group makes up a declining proportion of the white population (it is already a minority), such that a further decline in ethnic identification is probably inevitable because the array of choices is so expanded. Like Waters, Alba argues that rising interethnic intermarriage rates have eroded the position of the family as the main structural support for ethnicity. Although intermarriage among people with different ethnic identities does not interfere with each individual's personal identity, it does produce

children of mixed ancestry who, as noted above, are less likely to find a particular ethnic identity to be salient, in part because there are so many choices. But it is precisely this commitment to an ethnic identity that best predicts whether parents will pass on an ethnic heritage to their children. All in all, Alba's findings suggest that the grandchildren of interethnic intermarriage will face an even wider array of options about their ethnic identities with less commitment to any one of them and thus they are unlikely to identify in ethnic terms.

These studies portray a decline in the structural foundations and practical importance of ethnicity among whites. This decline has transformed the nature of their ethnicity. Free choice now becomes the critical factor, creating an ethnicity that is largely personalized, intermittent, feel-good and symbolic. Contrast this with the continuing relevance of race/ethnicity for the life-chances of blacks and Hispanics, and the reason for the lack of concern with ethnic "identity" among scholars studying these groups becomes clear. Individual ethnic identity becomes relevant analytically when group-level ethnicity is not.

Yet Gans, Alba and Waters all converge in saying that for *individuals* ethnic identity can remain meaningful (if personalized), even if both the structural bases and contents are dissipating. Alba concludes his book by stating,

> In a society where racial cleavages remain profound and where ethnicity is revitalized by new, non-European immigrations, there are incentives to retain a specifically ethnic identity, even if it has little practical consequence in everyday life. In particular, ethnic identities have become ways of claiming to be American, and this is a profound change from the past. Ethnic identity can be a means of locating oneself and one's family against the panorama of American history, against the backdrop of what it means to be American. No longer, then need there be any contradiction between being American and asserting an ethnic identity. Increasingly they are accepted as the same thing. Therein lies the ultimate significance of the transformation of ethnicity for white Americans. (pp318-319).

In other words, among most descendants of European immigrants to America, "twoness" has taken on a new meaning. Where before being Italian or Irish was experienced as being at odds with being American, now having an ethnic identity is a hallmark of being American. For white Americans of different European ancestries, the sociological effect of

people invoking their diverse ethnic identities is ultimately unifying. That people can say regarding immigration and social mobility "We have each come from this" has come to be seen as part of the essence of being American.

Assimilation and American Jewish Distinctiveness

From early on in the sociological literature Jews were analyzed as offering an example of successful ethnic group acculturation. Sometimes the Jewish case is viewed as a rule and other times as an exception. From the perspective of American sociologists, the socio-economic attainments of American Jewry have been remarkable in comparison with the ethnic and immigrant groups who arrived on American shores at a similar point in time. Jews today are often held up today as an example of a group which has retained group distinctiveness even with its very high socio-economic attainment This is not exactly the image of "straight-line assimilation" that has been predicted sociologically, where higher education was expected to lead to greater structural assimilation and consequent shedding of ethnicity. Instead, the Jewish case can be seen as an example of a group which has maintained its group distinctiveness in the face of remarkable socio-economic achievement and perhaps because of it. It is striking to contrast the hew and cry from within the Jewish community over the weakening of Jewish identity and the threat of assimilation in America with the sociological image of American Jewry as remaining distinctive and robust in their patterns of socio-economic attainment and social cohesion.

It turns out that in terms of social structure Jews are not so assimilated after all (at least not in New York City). Waldinger's study (1996) of ethnic networks in the New York labor market is an impressive account of how ethnic groups establish occupational niches that guarantee their continued access to certain jobs, even as they freeze others out. The case of the Jews is an interesting one, in that concentrations in skilled and unskilled jobs in the garment industry allowed the Jews significant economic mobility, such that today Jews are especially employed in prestigious white-collar occupations and professions. The existence of the white-collar niche tends to be self-perpetuating, channeling young Jews into law, medicine, finance, media, social work and other sectors (Waldinger, 1996).

Waldinger's argument is especially important in light of the organized Jewish community's focus on Jewish identity. Waldinger is suggesting that identity is less relevant to the perpetuation of the ethnic group than the persistence of Jewish occupational niches. Of course, the niche guarantees nothing about the cultural forms Jewishness will take, and it is these cultural forms which appear to be of interest to the communal organizations who have adopted the "continuity agenda." But the niche does help maintain a certain level of group interaction, shared experience and similarity in class position, all of which serve as structural bases for group survival. The economy structures people's lives, and constrains many Jews to live their lives in a milieu populated by many Jews. The content of that Jewish milieu, however, might not accord with traditional norms of what Jewishness should be.

In sum, the message from the sociological conversation about acculturation and assimilation of American ethnic groups is that social cohesion, which reinforces interaction among group members, is good for group continuity. Despite increases in intermarriage and geographic mobility and dispersal --the typical indicators of structural assimilation, compared with other groups American Jews have retained an exceptional distinctiveness in their patterns of interactions, reinforced by their social and political patterns, religious structures and historical sensibility (Alba, 1990; Lipset & Raab 1995).

The sociological analysis places great weight on the maintenance of social cohesion and the structural supports for ongoing interaction. Density of networks, class commonality, residential clustering, common language, and in-marriage are seen as markers of group distinctiveness and yielding of ongoing, evolving ethnicity. With the exception of studies of white ethnics by Waters and by Alba, the sociological literature does not examine identity directly. Ethnic identity is seen as the ethnicity of last resort, emerging as topic only when social structure no longer differentiates. From the sociological perspective we see a move from innate ethnic belonging emerging out of a tightly knit world of white ethnics (Italians, Poles, Irish, etc.) segregated from mainstream America to a more

voluntary sense of ethnic identity expressed in transitory (episodic) acts of "symbolic ethnicity" existing within an American culture that has become more of a mosaic than a melting pot.

Our review has traced the shift in analytic focus from social structure to individuals as the main determinant ethnicity. Alba writes (1990):

> Since social differences among white ethnic categories are declining if not dissolving, and contact between persons of different ethnic origins is pervasive, ethnic solidarity in whatever form can be maintained only if there are critical masses of individuals who consciously identify themselves in ethnic terms and are so identified by others, and who act, at least some of the time, in terms of these identities, (p. 24)

Ethnic identity, like all identities, is fundamentally about the individual's perception of self. As such, it lies within the purview of social psychology, which has addressed the relationship between people and groups.

C. Socio-psychological Approaches to Identity: The Relationship between the Individual and the Group[4]

Like ethnicity for sociologists, *identity* is a central concern for psychologists but its meaning has been hard to pin down. Yet that should not hinder us. As Roger Brown (1986) has noted, "Identity is a concept that no one has defined with precision, but it seems we can move ahead anyway because everyone roughly understands what it means" (p. 551). In this section of the paper I will review in a limited way some of the concepts and research that I view as important for developing an understanding of [American] Jewish identity. In particular I draw on the research in social psychology which examines the interface between the individual and the groups or categories with which s/he is associated. Only a little of the research has dealt specifically with Jews and their sense of Jewish identity or connection.

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[4] Judith Schor provided some bibliographic assistance for this section of the paper.

When prejudice and intergroup relations were major concerns within American social psychology, group identity was explored in terms of ethnocentrism and group chauvinism as part of the effort to understand intergroup conflict and cooperation (The question was how to ameliorate these tendencies). In the period around WWII, the plight of Jews as an example of a stigmatized group motivated some influential research and theorizing. The main issues of the day were about the authoritarian and prejudiced personalities, and about the consequences of being a member of a stigmatized or victimized group. For example, in 1939 Kurt Lewin wrote an essay about the Jewish problem entitled "When Facing Danger," followed by one in 1940 entitled "Bringing Up the Jewish Child," and a 1941 piece entitled "Self-Hatred Among Jews." These essays addressed the strategies for creating a sense of well-being in individuals, given their group's highly victimized status. Clearly Jewish identity and the fate of the Jewish group have changed significantly over the years, a transition that is well illustrated by the shift of Jewish communal concern from "survival" to "continuity." Today, however, Jews no longer capture the imagination of social psychologists as a compelling or emblematic case to be examined, perhaps because American Jews have evolved from a disadvantaged minority in the first half of this century to an advantaged one, solidly integrated into white mainstream America. (In this regard, the field of cultural studies has found the Jews to be of interest. For instance Brodkin's (1999) recently published book is entitled "How Jews Became White Folks.")

While there is no overarching psychological theory of ethnic identity, there are relevant linkages to be found related to this topic within two main conceptual frameworks. One, which emerged primarily from personality psychologists originating with Erikson, views identity as an integrative process over a person's life time. "The emphasis of these models is on the internal integrity of the self, with identity a goal that individuals seek in reconciling various motives and experiences"(Deaux, 1996). The second more socio-psychological conception of identity sees the individual as embedded in social structure. Here a person's self-concept is seen as comprised of two main parts – personal and social identities. One's social identity is seen as shaped by images of and interactions with the world beyond the self, including any number of social groups and categories (Tajfel,

1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Ethnic identity is treated as one instance among many possible social identities that a person might have.

The integrative approach locates identity in the deep structures of a person's psyche and sees it as shaped by the models presented in family, society and other settings and contexts over the course of a person's life. The individual's lifelong task is to explore, select, integrate and internalize these various identities into a workable whole. In this vein Erikson noted that one's relationship to one's community could provide an ongoing sense of personal continuity and coherence (1976). With regard to ethnic identity this model suggests that "the individual's personality and identity are informed by ethnicity not just in conscious ways but also at deeper levels." (Alba, 1990). In this model, when ethnic identity is inculcated as part of a person's earliest experiences, it has the potential to be experienced as natural and innate.

In light of Alba's concern about "the twilight of ethnicity," the fact that a person's ethnic identity might be so fundamental that it lies below the surface of one's awareness and is taken for granted is seen as a liability. Others see this early inculcation as a base on which to build. In any event, ethnic identity can be thought of as a evolving out of a process:

> Individuals progress from an early stage in which one's ethnicity is taken for granted, on the basis of attitudes and opinions of others or of society; through a period of exploration into the meaning and implications of one's group membership; to an achieved ethnic identity that reflects a secure, confident sense of oneself as a member of a group. Furthermore, an achieved ethnic identity is not necessarily a static end point of development; individuals are likely to reexamine their ethnicity throughout their lives and thus may reexperience earlier developmental stages. (Phinney, 1996, p. 923)

An alternative approach to identity comes out of the work of social psychologists who see the individual's self concept as emerging from the web of relationships with other persons, groups and social categories to which s/he may belong. Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as

> that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derived from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. (p. 255)

In this view, the mere fact that a person is labeled or categorized (by him-/herself or by others) as a member of a group or category --a doctor, parent, Jew, female -- is what constitutes a person's social identity and these labels link the individual to other people who share that category. These category memberships come along with affective meanings and evaluations, as well as social and behavioral expectations and consequences. From this formulation we get a sense of what the minimum requirements are for a person to feel part of a group.

Indeed, the main empirical findings are based on experimental work using the *minimal group* research paradigm. There is a large body of research which has demonstrated that the merest artificially imposed differences in group membership (such as being randomly assigned to the either the Klee or Kandinsky group) are seen as leading to group-related behavior, in particular, to in-group favoritism. The logic of this experimental approach is: if minimal, artificial differences produce such clear effects, how much the more powerful are the effects when the differences are real and maximal, such as those involving differences in ethnicity or religion?

Since people are members of all sorts of categories and groups (or, find themselves adopting all sorts of social roles), they end up with multifaceted identities. The relationship among these elements is something that the theory of social identity needs to address. What is the status of any one identity in relation to the others? This issue has been handled in several ways. First, *salience*, *centrality* and *commitment* have been identified as a key dimension regarding the organization of a person's social identity (Tajfel, 1981; Deaux, 1996). Some analysts have distinguished among these. Salience is seen as transitory and highly dependent on context, where centrality implies a degree of commitment and self-awareness (Stryker & Serpe, 1994).

The point here is that the psychological importance of being Jewish may vary among people and in different situations. Thus we can imagine a person with only a minimal

connection to being Jewish as well as a person with maximal connection. A person with minimal connection to the group category (e.g. one who says, "I have a Jewish heritage, but this does not relate to my day to day life.") may see this group membership as relevant only in particular (episodic) situations and contexts. For this person, being a group member (having that label) may not be experienced as particularly important or central to the person's self-concept, yet self-perception appears to be a minimum requirement for subsequently developing any sort of more meaningful Jewish identity. In contrast, a person with a "maximal" Jewish identity would see his/her Jewishness as an essential and over-arching aspect of his/her self-definition. It would figure in more prominently in that person's self-concept. A theory of Jewish identity needs to include some measure of the degree of psychological centrality or subjective identification with being Jewish.

A second way that the interrelationship between aspects of identity has been addressed by social psychologists has been by positing some process of balancing various aspects of the self in different settings (Brewer, 1991, 1993), and expressive sequences (Horenczyk and Nisan, 1996). Brewer examines the conflict between a desire to feeling unique or distinctive versus feeling part of a group. Horenczyk and Nisan see the need for expression of different aspects of one's identity as leading someone who feels "too Jewish" in one situation to compensate for this by asserting other aspects of his/her identity in a subsequent context. This idea of balancing is the dynamic analogue to the issue of existential "twoness" we saw regarding identity in the work of modern Jewish historians and is suggestive as to the particular conditions under which a person's Jewish identity might be invoked.

From category membership to group belonging

Relevant to issues of group continuity, Alba (1990) has described the "aggregation issue," where he wants to examine "How the identities of different individuals articulate with each other:"

> [A]re there meaningful collective ethnic identities? It is not ultimately enough to find masses of individuals who identify themselves ethnically in meaningful

ways.... It is necessary also to ask whether the ethnic identities of individuals aggregate in ways that sustain ethnic solidarity..(26)

Tajfel (1981) and others have emphasized the distinction between a social category and a group. A category becomes a group when there is a perception of interdependence or "shared fate" among members. Lewin (1952[1997]) wrote about this concept in his essays: "Not similarity but a certain interdependence of members constitutes a group." Campbell (1958) addressed this idea methodologically in his felicitously titled essay, "Common fate, similarity and other indices of the status of aggregate as social entities." This concept is about the extent to which a person sees herself as tied to other people in the "same" social category, and without this concept, we are left with an overly cognitive approach to social identity where we have people who label themselves as being part of a category like "plumbers," but whose relationship to other plumbers remains unexplored (unplumbed?). Deaux (1996) discusses the extent to which "interdependence" plays a role in different types of social groups. Clearly shared fate has been an important component of Jewish identity, given both the lessons of history and the Jewish collective ideology which states, *kol yiisrael areivim zeh ba-zeh* (all Jews are interdependent). However, if the experience of being Jewish is changing (from being part of an outcast, victimized group to one that is advantaged and well-integrated) there may be more variability in people's feelings of common fate, something it would be important to track.

In the case of Jewish identity a second response to Alba's "aggregation problem" – how do the identities of individuals relate to the group-level attributes?—is to be found in examining the extent to which people enact the conventionally understood practices and activities that constitute Judaism and Jewishness. This has been the standard approach in the extensive survey work about American Jewry and their Jewish involvement (Cohen, 1982, 1988, 1991; Kosmin et. al, 1991) as well as in some key theoretical work on Jewish identity (Herman, 1977). However, there is a growing debate about what constitutes this canon of behavior, a debate which hinges on a fundamental difference in outlooks about what is authentic Judaism: Is this limited to *halacha* (understood as a closed system) or does it include as well other ways of expressing Jewish values which are emerging in

different subgroups, such as involvement in social justice activities? It is at least a logical possibility that a person might have strong ties to Jewishness which are not expressed in traditional "tribal," ethnic, or religious ways. If studies fail to inquire about how people express or experience their Jewishness, even if these are completely unconventional in terms of group habits and traditions, these modes of potentially significant Jewish expression are missed altogether, and people whose Jewishness is expressed only in these ways end up being categorized as completely uninvolved with Jewishness, Judaism, or the Jewish group.

Social Psychological Studies of Jewish Identity

There have been two widely cited theoretical explorations of the social psychology of Jewish identity. Simon Herman (1977) defined Jewish identity in terms of both the patterns and attributes of the group and the relationship of the individual to those attributes. He saw as his task to describe "the nature of the individual's relationship to the Jewish group as a membership group," the individual's perception of and feelings about the attributes of Jewish group-level identity, and the extent to which these attributes are adopted by the individual. He summarizes these ideal content elements:

> 1. ...the Jewish group as being both a national and a religious entity, and not just exclusively one or the other;
> 2. the Jewish group occupies a position of centrality in [a person's] life space;
> 3. being Jewish has a positive valence;
> 4. the Jewish group serves as a source of reference in significant spheres of [a person's] life;
> 5. [the individual] acts –more particularly in the daily conduct of his life—in accordance with norms of the group which have a distinctive Jewish stamp. (p 55)

This is the most clearly normative definition of Jewish identity that has been developed.

Kelman's (1999) theoretical examination of Jewish identity development draws on his well known a general theory of social influence (Kelman, 1961). He describes three modes of social influence – compliance, identification and internalization —that can result in different types of involvement in a social system. Relating this to the case of Jewish identity, Kelman begins by noting that ethnic or national groups have "group identities" over and above the identities of individual group members, where

> group identity and its various components represent external inputs that become incorporated in an individual's personal identity through various processes of social influence.

He argues that an individual's specific connection to being Jewish depends on the extent to which a person internalizes and integrates elements of his/her Jewish heritage or background into the core of his/her personal identity. In contrast to a "vicarious" Jewish identity which emerges from a person's compliance with the demands of the immediate context, or a "conferred" Jewish identity, which is emerges from a person's identification with other people, an "authentic" Jewish identity is "one composed in large part of internalized elements" which the individual has incorporated over the years. The authentic identity is one that is enduring across changing contexts and relationships, whereas the conferred and vicarious identities are less stable.

In contrast to Herman's normative stance, Kelman emphasizes the individual's reckoning with the fact of his/her Jewish origins and upbringing in order to develop "a firm personal identity." He is less interested in the maintenance of group-level collective attributes and considers that the individual's internalized Jewish identity might conflict with "the requirements for maintaining the unity and stability of Jewish *group* identity, at least in its traditional, historical sense." Kelman describes his strategic approach as one of "individualizing" Jewish identity rather than "maximizing" it. He recognizes his controversial stance:

> Such a model may not be acceptable to those who are committed to the unity and integrity of Jewish identity in it traditional form. There is good reason to argue, however, that in the complex, pluralistic, rapidly changing world in which we now live, the model presented here is more conducive to the incorporation of Jewish identity into an authentic, integrated personal identity. By opening up the communication between Jewish values and other values, it may transform some of the Jewish values, but in so doing retain their vitality. The alternative may be a Jewish identity that is offered in maximal form but accepted in minimal form – stripped of content, playing an insignificant role in a person's daily life or existential choices, and activated only when there is an opportunity for status enhancement or threat to group survival.

Horowitz (Forthcoming, a) has examined American Jewish identity using a number of the concepts which emerged from the socio-psychological approach to social identity. Similar to Waters' (1990) and Alba's (1990) inquiry into the relationship between having an ethnic ancestry and the meaning of that for the individual, Horowitz explores the relationship between a person's Jewish background and the extent to which this is a psychologically central component of a person's identity. Following a grounded theoretical approach in 87 in-depth interviews, she examined people's internal, subjective understanding about the content and meaning of being Jewish in their lives, in addition to examining what they saw as their Jewishly-related actions and behaviors. She then developed a survey questionnaire which incorporated some of these elements and interviewed 1,500 New York based, American-born Jews ages 22-52 about these concerns. In this study Jewish *identity* was measured separately from Jewish practice, which she measured in terms of both religious observance and cultural activities. She identified seven patterns of Jewish engagement based on different combinations of subjective centrality, religious ritual practice and cultural-communal modes of action. She found that for most people a sense of psychological centrality of Jewishness correlated with engagement in Jewish practice: for one-third of the sample being Jewish was a central component of identity and was expressed in intensive involvement in Jewish actions, and one-third of the sample were people for whom being Jewish was something about which they were rather indifferent—it was a membership category but not a central component of identity (and this group was not very involved in Jewish activities). However, one-third of the sample evinced mixed patterns of centrality of Jewish identity and enactment of Jewish "behaviors." Her findings could be said to illustrate the diverse ways of being Jewish which range from Herman's traditional normative definition to Kelman's more personally defined, to the minimalist form of connection to being Jewish -- mere membership in the Jewish category.

In sum, the field of social psychology has defined several components of social identity which are relevant for understanding Jewish identity. First, group or category membership and self-labeling are seen as the minimum conditions necessary for group identification to

occur. In addition, the extent to which a social identity is experienced as central, salient or important is a key dimension for differentiating among individuals. Finally, the extent to which group members see themselves as interdependent and sharing a "common fate" is a third important dimension.

In addition to these elements which emerge form the research about social identity in general, the specific case of Jewish identity raises the issue of the *content* of an individual's Jewish identity. Scholars of Jewish identity have put forth different opinions about how normative or descriptive a stance to take in this regard. On the one hand, one approach to identity described here (in addition to the concept of symbolic ethnicity described above) points to individualized choice in determining the contents of a person's ethnic identity, suggesting the importance of a constructivist, meaning-based approach to studying Jewish identity (Horenczyk & Bekerman; Horowitz, Forthcoming a). Other scholars have argued for a more normative, essentialist view of what constitutes Jewish identity (Cohen, 1991; Liebman, 1995; Herman, 1977). Liebman (1995) has argued that irrespective of what people feel or believe to be Jewish, these views ought to be weighed in reference to the normative (elite?) understanding of what Judaism is about – The Good or Educated or Knowledgeable Jew. The size of gap between this idea of "the Jewish" and the views of most people will motivate our optimism or pessimism about the condition of American Jewish identity.

D. American Jewish Social Scientists: Assessing the Condition of American Jewish life

A cadre of American social scientists, nearly all sociologists, have studied American Jewry "for its own sake," out of special interest in assessing the Jewish condition. Three main empirical stories have emerged from this work. First, several scholars have examined the American Jewish population in terms of its patterns of *social cohesiveness*, with the view that cohesiveness should be thought of as an "enabling condition" for Jewish group continuity and individual Jewish identity. Second, there is a large body of empirical

work which has attempted to explain *what leads to weaker or stronger Jewish identification of individuals* in terms of two main questions. One set of analyses has addressed the impact of "Generation in America" on Jewish involvement. The second set of analyses examines the power of Jewish education in relation to Jewish identity.[5] Finally, in assessing whether the condition of American Jewry offers evidence of assimilation or transformation, a third set of analyses have segmented the American Jewish population in terms of *variations in the nature and extent of Jewish practice and identity*.
It is worth noting that the use of the term "identity" in this body of work typically refers to Jewish involvement and Jewish practice (which has been called "identification"), rather than to identity in the subjective psychological sense as employed by social psychologists (Himmelfarb, 1982).

Social Cohesion and Its Consequences

Goldscheider and Zuckerman (1984), and Goldscheider (1986) show that American Jews have remarkable basis for social cohesion, a condition from which group culture and identity flow. They view ongoing Jewish community and continuity as the products of the continual interaction of Jews with other Jews – wherever that occurs. Goldscheider (1997) looks at Jewish patterns of educational and occupational attainment, diversification and self-employment compared to that of non-Jewish whites over time (1910 to 1990). He finds a clear pattern of ongoing distinctiveness and sees this as "[pulling] Jews toward each other, sharing what we call community – families experiences, history, values, communal institutions, rituals, religion and life styles." In contrast he defines assimilation as those forces "that pull Jews away from each other" (p. 274).

Goldscheider (1986) notes that the commonality of social class characteristics among American Jews is an additional factor which moderates the effects of assimilation. The *stability of this attainment from parents to children* means that each new generation is not

[5] Currently there are studies underway that address a *third* area of concern – the impact of intermarriage on the Jewish identities of children. I will not address this important emerging area of research at this time.

getting dramatically more education than the next, since the educational attainment is already so high. He points out how much this contrasts with the dramatic shifts experienced by earlier generations of American Jews —from immigrant generation to their children, and from that second generation pattern to the third.

Ritterband (1995, 1997) takes a theoretical position similar to Goldscheider about the role of distinctive structural patterns as being markers of stronger boundaries of the group, but his choice of indicators is even more fundamental. Ritterband has analyzed Jewish fertility patterns as well as geographic concentrations in comparison to other groups. He sees *sheer population size and density* as crucial factors in promoting social cohesion and group maintenance. However, unlike Goldscheider who explicitly avoids addressing the content of the interaction, Ritterband's interpretation of the data is more wistful (i.e. judgmental) about the passing of "traditional" Jewish community. Assimilation and integration have been good for Jews as individuals, but devastating for the Jewish community, which he sees as suffering the effects of secularization. He emphasizes the costs of structural integration, and identifies the main issue as the decline in a sense of transcendent community, thus returning the conversation to the issue of *quality* of Jewishness or community. In contrast, Goldscheider and Zuckerman refrain from judging the content or quality of the Jewishness, since their view is explicitly non-normative. They see interaction and cohesion as prerequisites for Jewish culture and continuity, but they go no further in identifying the necessary enabling conditions for Jewish group life.

What Leads to Strong Jewish Identity?

Scholars have pursued two empirical explorations regarding the factors that lead to strong Jewish identity (and identification). The first topic is the impact of length of time in America on the Jewish identification of individuals in subsequent generations. The second topic is about the impact of different forms of Jewish education during childhood on Jewish identification in adulthood.

Generation in America

A number of scholars have examined the relationship between length of time in America and individual Jewish identification. Here analysts have compared the ritual practices and ethnic behaviors of the Jewish immigrants to American (the first generation) to those of the children of immigrants (second generation) to those of the grandchildren of immigrants (third generation) and so on. In the context of the mass immigration from Europe between the 1880's and 1924, Jews who were immigrants to America were typically characterized by ethnic solidarity (e.g. living in Jewish neighborhoods) as well as religious practices, the observance of which declined from first to second to third generation of American-born Jews (Cohen, 1988; Goldstein & Goldscheider, 1968; Himmelfarb,1984).

This might be termed the "erosion model" of American Jewishness, since secularization and acculturation lead to a decline in individual Jewish practice with each passing generation in America. The stereotype is that the European immigrants started off strongly Jewish and several generations later their children and grandchildren have sloughed off their Jewishness and become American or Americanized. Thus the Jews who were closer to the European experience appear to evince more Jewishness than those who are more removed. Note that in this formulation, European Jewishness, as indexed by ritual and religious practice, is seen as more authentic, while the idea of an American Jewishness pales by comparison.

One problem with the Generation in America approach to American Jewishness is that it tracks only a narrow set of traditional Jewish ritual, religious and communal practices, without allowing for a wider range of variations in Jewish practice. In effect this accounting strategy gives higher marks to a more homogeneous traditional Jewish population, and lower marks to a population characterized by a wider variety of less traditional Jewish behaviors.

Early Exposure to Jewish Education

The second body of work about Jewish identity relates the effects of Jewish education and schooling in childhood to subsequent Jewish identification in adulthood (Goldstein, 1997; Cohen, 1995; Lipset, 1994; Rimor & Katz,1993; Cohen, 1988; Bock, 1976; Himmelfarb, 1984). Simply put, in this conception longer and more intensive Jewish schooling (along with both the parents' decision to educate a child this way and the social context which supports this) is seen as leading to stronger Jewish practice and by extension, to stronger Jewish identification. The idea is that high saturation, early and often, creates a habit of involvement, a reservoir of knowledge and a set of social ties upon which to draw over a lifetime.

Like the Generation in America model, the Early Exposure to Jewish Education model contains within it an underlying assumption about the nature of Jewish identity and Jewishness. First, there is a conception of Jewish identity based on a particular *content* -- a configuration of normative, conventional Jewish values, beliefs, attitudes and practices. For instance, the measure of Jewish identity used by Lipset (1994) is a single scale composed of 18 items -a set of practices that together convey a certain way of being Jewish: being involved in adult Jewish education, having a synagogue membership, subscribing to a Jewish newspaper, giving to Jewish causes, volunteering for Jewish causes, membership in Jewish organizations, lighting Shabbat candles, attending Seder, keeping kosher, having separate dishes, observing Hanukkah, Purim and Yom Kippur, handling no money on Shabbat, having mostly Jewish friends, celebrating Israel's Independence Day, giving children a Jewish education, and marrying a Jewish spouse.

Second there is a notion is how Jewish identity becomes "strong," or bounded. In this case Jewishness is seen as an almost primordial loyalty that comes early in the life of the individual, separate from (and perhaps prior to) reflection, choice and decision-making. In the case of the Early Exposure to Jewish Education model, identity becomes fixed prior to adulthood. Strong Jewishness is seen as resulting from a series of socializing experiences

beginning in the family, and including both formal and informal schooling, trips to Israel, youth programs, summer camp, to name a few. Here an educated (or, at least, a loyal) Jew is the result of a good (or, at least, an intensive) Jewish education and upbringing. The message of this model is that the earlier and more fully one is exposed to Jewish education, the better for the future of the Jews as a group.

Both analyses (Generation in America and the power of Jewish education) appear to suggest the importance of the immersion of the individual in intensive Jewish environments as a means of strengthening identity. In the case of Generation in America, the immigrant generation represents that intensity, while intensive Jewish education (especially in childhood) is seen as an enabling condition for Jewish identity.

Segmenting the Jewish Population: Maximal, Minimal and Mixed Patterns of Involvement

There has been ongoing debate about the extent to which the aggregate condition of American Jewry can be seen as one of "assimilation" or as "revival." Cohen (1988) lays out the competing arguments of "assimilationists" versus "transformationists" in assessing the condition of American Jewry. He analyzes the patterns of ritual practice, communal involvement, and informal associations for different subgroups in the 1981 New York population: younger versus older; immigrants versus native born; and family life stage.

In Cohen's analysis (and those of many other analysts of American Jewry) "integration" is the term preferred for structural assimilation (measured by number of Jewish friends, and spouse's religion), and "assimilation" is used to refer to the erosion of the practice of Judaism as measured by declines in religious ritual observance and communal involvement. He examines the patterns of Jewish population in New York in 1981, using cross-sectional analysis to compare Jewishness by age and generational group. He concludes by saying he sees integration but not assimilation (i.e. loss of distinctiveness).

Cohen's recent study (1998) entitled "Religious stability and ethnic decline" continues this same theme. His enterprise has been to repeatedly track both religious practice as well as markers of both ethnic distinctiveness and of ethnic identity. Note that his use of the term "ethnic" includes both markers of structural distinctiveness (friendship patterns, neighborhood composition, religion of spouse) as well as measures of group feeling and belonging. However, he does not differentiate between these conceptually, although our review of the general sociology literature differentiated between ethnicity (a property of the group measured by aggregate patterns) and ethnic identity (a property of the individual).

Cohen has attempted to segment the population in terms of different levels of Jewish religious practice (1995, 1991, 1988) Using levels of normative religious practice as his criteria, he creates a scale of three main types of Jewish involvement (he started with five points in 1988, but in later studies (1991, 1995) he tries out a three-level typology, using same approach, but using a more simplified categorization): "Involved; Moderately Affiliated – "the Jewish middle" – and the Peripheral." This segmentation is significant because it provides a means of prioritizing among different ways of being Jewish based on what might be thought of as *maximal* and *minimal* patterns of Jewish practice and activity. The maximal pattern are those people who

1. attend synagogue twice a month or more, *or*
2. have visited Israel at least twice, *or*
3. maintain two sets of dishes at home for meat and dairy products (in accord with Jewish dietary laws).

The minimal pattern is made up of people who

1. "attend synagogue only on High Holidays (if then) *and*
2. do not fast on Yom Kippur *and*
3. have never visited Israel.

Moderately Affiliated Jews are those who fail to meet the criteria of either the Involved or the Peripheral (p.398).

Cohen states that the future of American Jewish continuity hinges on the fate of the broad middle group of American Jewry – the Moderately Affiliated. This formulation has been

used by some to rule out or discount the peripheral group as not being worth the trouble, and to suggest that the "Involved" deserve a greater share of communal resources (Wertheimer, Liebman & Cohen, 1996). Most significant is the fact that Cohen's segmentation is based on levels of normative religious practice.

Like Cohen, Horowitz's forthcoming study (Forthcoming a & b) entitled "Connections and Journeys" also splits out the population, but the basis of segmentation includes three dimensions: the nature of a person's *subjective commitments* to Jewishness as well as the nature and extent of a person's overt *behavioral actions, as expressed in terms of religious ritual and in terms of broader cultural-communal involvements*. Based on the patterns among these scales she discerns three overall modes of Jewishness regarding people's current identities—those with steady low or non-involvement, who appear to be indifferent about being Jewish and have no active relationship with it; those with intensive Jewish engagement who place a priority on a Jewish worldview and lifestyle over that of the American mainstream; and those with *mixed* patterns of Jewish engagement. Among these three broad conceptions of Jewishness, the two extremes are well understood, since they corroborate the "conventional wisdom" about Jewish life – that the American Jewish future has been seen as a forced choice between assimilation and Jewish distinctiveness. Yet her study more fully explicates the middle possibility, which has been less well understood up to now. This group is not simply the default between the two extremes of assimilation and intensive Jewish involvement, but is better conceptualized as perhaps the most distinctively American of the three modes of Jewishness:

> This middle mode combines two dimensions: a more circumscribed Jewish involvement along with success in the American mainstream. The people who have mixed patterns of Jewish engagement are not indifferent about being Jewish, but their ongoing Jewish involvement depends on it being meaningful and fitting in with their lives. The people who fit this especially American form of Jewishness experience their Jewishness as a set of values and as a historical people-consciousness more than as a mode of observance.

In addition to examining the current status of a person's Jewish connections, Horowitz found that a significant portion of New York Jews (40-60% depending on the measure) experienced changes in their relationship to being Jewish,

> suggesting that it is not a fixed factor in their lives but a matter that parallels growth and personal development. A large proportion of these people were raised homes with some clear Jewish commitments, but not overriding ones. For these people identity is best expressed as a narrative, rather than as a fixed state or set of attributes.

She identified five types of "journeys" or patterns of change, two of which are stable patterns and three of which involved movement or change in Jewishness over the course of a person's life. The stable patterns included those with *steady low* or non-engagement with Jewishness, and those with *steady high* intensity involvement with Jewish life. The three more dramatic journeys involved movement in different directions: *lapsing* further away from involvement; *increasing* the intensity of Jewish involvement; and finally, the *inner or interior* journeys where a person's internal subjective value commitments intensify, while religious and communal practice remains low or decreases. Fully one-third of the sample experienced this interior journey. The interior journey was especially characteristic of people whose current Jewishness was characterized by *mixed patterns of engagement*, and it was not characteristic of either the most intensively involved or the most Jewishly indifferent.

From this brief review of the social scientific research about the condition of American Jewish identity and continuity, three types of indicators regarding identity have been suggested. First, the importance of social cohesiveness as a correlate of identity has been shown, along with the importance of population size and density. The ongoing interaction of Jews with other Jews in various domains sets the ground work for other possibilities which can then lead to an intensified Jewishness. (Of course, denser Jewish networks are also a consequence of person's heightened Jewish engagement). Second, the importance of a person's Jewish self-perception is an essential dimension to track, separate from the nature and extent of a person's Jewishly-motivated actions, which is the third aspect worth tracking.

Summarizing the Discussion

This review of the literature about Jewish identity has explored the topic from a number of vantage points. The "problem" of Jewish identity is discussed by historians as resulting from the Jewish encounter with modernity. The changing interrelationship between Jewish and Gentile *societies* led to the experience of what has been termed "twoness" at the individual level —being at once a Jew and a person in the world. This formulation refers simultaneously to two levels of analysis —the group and its culture, and the experience of individuals— and it sets the stage the our subsequent explorations of Jewish identity and Jewish continuity within sociology and social psychology. The issue of how individuals relate to this twoness is something that has endured until now as a central issue regarding contemporary Jewish identity --some people seeking to remain both Jewish and "general," while others have viewed these as a forced choice between Jewish involvement and assimilation.

What has changed sociologically is the degree of integration and social acceptance which characterizes the Jewish experience in America today as compared to 50 years ago or to Europe in the 18th century. The review of the sociological literature relevant to understanding Jewish identity has examined the relationship between ethnicity (as expressed in a groups' structural distinctiveness as compared to other groups) and ethnic identity (a person's self-perception of being a group member). Social cohesion and isolation were good for group continuity and individual ethnic identity. Where group boundaries once promoted group continuity by keeping individual group members segregated from the surrounding society, this is no longer the case. At the same time, as structural distinctiveness and social cohesion among white ethnics have decreased and ethnic groups have mixed in more completely with broader America, the individual's self-perception as an ethnic group member (and the role of that self-understanding in subsequent decision-making) receives less "support" and at the same time has become more important in determining future ethnic group continuity. Thus the problem of individual Jewish identity was recognized 200 years ago, but its central role in promoting Jewish group continuity has emerged only more recently.

The socio-psychological examination of social identity began by exploring the most minimal conditions for group identification. Lack of awareness of one's connection to being Jewish results in feelings of indifference, whereas simply recognizing one's status as having that heritage results in group preference. This cognitive awareness coupled with several other aspects of group identity, such as viewing one's group membership as a central component of one's self-concept, and feeling a sense of responsibility for other group members, move our description of a person's Jewish identity in a more maximal direction.

The importance or centrality of group identity can vary significantly across people and also within a single person's lifetime in relation to changing circumstances. In addition, the elements of being Jewish which people find meaningful can vary significantly from person to person, and these may deviate from the notion of the "ideal" at the group-level.

Finally, the social science research about American Jewry has highlighted several elements which provide "enabling conditions" for Jewish identity. The most fundamental enabling condition for promoting Jewish group continuity and individual identity is sheer density and concentration of Jewish population within a particular locale. Simply having a large number of Jews in one place promotes the creation of Jewish infrastructure and a creates the potential for a Jewish cultural milieu. Second, social cohesion is both a cause and a consequence of increased interaction among group members. Being exposed to an intensive Jewish environment, whether as a result of one's upbringing or due to particularly intensive educational experiences promotes the Jewish identity of individuals.

The American Jewish population is segmented into different clusters which represent different ways of being Jewish. Some people are more maximally involved in normative Jewish ways, others are open to Jewish expression in their lives and are seeking personal connections to Jewishness, while still others appear to have only a minimal connection to being Jewish.

Developing Indicators of Jewish Identity

The enterprise of tracking indicators about American Jewish life has been very narrowly focused on two statistics: instances of anti-Semitism, which have declined over the past 50 years, and the rate of intermarriage, which has increased over that same period. Clearly these two statistics are no longer adequate measures of the American Jewish condition and looked at in isolation present a skewed picture of the current state of American Jewish identity and the prospects for Jewish continuity.

The possibility of expanding the range of indicators about the American Jewish condition is both thrilling and daunting. Fortunately our review of the various literature suggests some clear directions that could fruitfully be undertaken. I will discuss these in terms of four groups of indicators: measures of individual Jewish identity; indicators of social cohesion; structural indicators based on Jewish population density; and finally, indicators of the changing relationship between "the Jewish" and "the American."

Indicators of Individual Jewish Identity

There has been a 30 year enterprise of studying American Jewish identification and involvement in Jewish life, based mainly on socio-demographic surveys. Every ten years, these surveys have tracked the activity levels of Jewish individuals in terms of ritual practice, cultural and educational involvements and institutional affiliations, philanthropic giving, and friendship networks, but they have not looked directly at Jewish identity as understood in the psychological sense. Yet it is more apparent than ever before that Jewish continuity depends on the individual's commitments and decision-making. In addition to looking at Jewish practices and involvements in Jewish life, it is essential to examine the subjective experience of being Jewish.

1. It would be important to track what portion of Americans in fact have a Jewish background of some sort, and are linked to Jews by virtue of ancestry, background and marriage.

2. A minimum requirement for some degree of social identity is mere membership. Knowing a person's self-perception and whether or not a person even labels him-/herself as Jewish would be a way of tracking this issue.
3. The centrality or psychological importance of being Jewish can vary from person to person. It would be important to examine this issue in terms of a person's self-definition. To what extent does being Jewish occupy a large amount of a person's life space?
4. The interconnection between the individual and Jews is important to probe. To what extent does a person feels a sense of interdependence of fate with other Jews across time and space?
5. The content of being Jewish can vary significantly across people. What elements are especially meaningful for different individuals living in different milieus?
6. What actions flow from different ways of being Jewishly identified? In addition to tracking traditional (normatively Jewish) activities in which Jews typically engage, it is important to be mindful of less conventional, emerging forms of Jewish expression.
7. How does being Jewish get played out, if at all, in a person's daily life or existential choices?

Social Cohesion

It is important to continue to examine the social structural characteristics of Jewish life in America, since ongoing cohesiveness is related to increased interaction among Jews. At the aggregate level, we would want to keep tabs on the structural distinctiveness of Jews in different domains: for instance socio-economic patterns, residential, occupational clustering, and mobility, as well as intermarriage statistics.

Structural Indicators of Jewish Identity

Mapping out the basic social structural features of different locales offers an important means of tracking the quality of Jewishness in any given place. For any local community there are several key dimensions could fruitfully be examined. Most basic is the size of the Jewish population; its density, both in relation to the total population and to the relevant comparison

group (i.e. white non-Hispanics in New York, but for the Ashkenazic Jewish populace of Montreal, Anglophones are a more appropriate reference group). When the effect of density is examined, there seems to be a "tipping point" or threshold effect once the Jewish population accounts for at least around 10% of the total population, suggesting that density is a major social characteristic. Other structural aspects of place that are important to track are the number of Jewish institutions in a community and the community's age, as well as some evaluation of the place's status as a Jewish cultural center (or boondocks).

The Changing Relationship Between "the Jewish" and "the American"

Although my charge in writing this paper was to review the literature about Jewish identity and to make recommendations about relevant indicators, I end my exploration of these concerns by expanding the original charge. *In order to understand contemporary American Jewish identity it is essential to begin to develop a more comprehensive picture of how Jews and Jewishness are interacting currently within American society.* The growing inter-penetration of Jews and America plays a significant role in relation to the dynamics of American Jewish identity. At an earlier time when Jew were a disadvantaged minority, the experience of the individual hinged on acceptance or rejection of group membership. At that time it made sense for the American Jewish community to keep track of instances of defamation, discrimination and anti-Semitism directed towards Jews on the part of the larger society. Today, being Jewish does not create social barriers to advancement – indeed, as a group Jews today are highly advantaged within American social stratification – but the consequences of this newfound social acceptance have not been fully explored.

It is important to develop new ways of thinking about the Jewish experience in America. We might ask, To what extent and in what ways do Jews interact with the rest of society? For this, not only should intermarriage rates be considered, but also other measures of interconnection (e.g. number of Jewish members in government, Jewish involvement in the cultural life, public personages who are Jewish, Jewish penetration of various networks). In terms of social perception there are a range of issues concerning the extent to which Jewishness is a social

category, the content of this social category, and the degree of acceptance of Jews and Jewishness by non-Jews. I see the social structural differences as varying more widely by local community, whereas societal acceptance of Jews and Jewry is something that needs to be tracked nationally.

Conclusion

The bulk of this paper has been devoted to reviewing the concepts and research findings about ethnic group identity in general and Jewish identity in particular from the vantage point of several different disciplinary "conversations." Despite the fact that each discipline has its own set of concerns, it has been reassuring to see that many of the findings echoed across these several domains.

Given the "twilight of ethnicity" among white Americans, the growing importance of the individual's subjective relationship to his/her ethnic (i.e. Jewish) background has been recognized by scholars in several disciplines. Examining people's subjective commitments to being Jewish, separate from and in addition to their involvement in activities, forms the centerpiece of any future effort to develop indicators of Jewish identity.

In addition to tracking Jewish identity directly, I have recommended that other enabling aspects of Jewish identity be explored: measures of social cohesion, the contextual aspects of particular communities, and finally, changing relationship between Jews and America. Taken together, gathering regular information about these different aspects of individuals — their identities and patterns of involvement -- and about how they are situated in their communities would begin to provide a needed update of American Jewry and would serve as a potential corrective to a perhaps skewed communal self-image.

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