

STUDIES IN JEWISH EDUCATION

Volume II (1984)

STUDIES IN JEWISH EDUCATION

Volume II (1984)

Editor: Michael Rosenak
Managing Editors: Nancy Schoenberg
Hinda Hoffman

The Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora of The Hebrew University, founded in 1968, was renamed in 1976 in honor of Samuel Mendel Melton in acknowledgement of a perpetual endowment. The Centre's activities include research in Jewish education, and training and continuing education of personnel for Jewish educational institutions in the Diaspora, as well as development of curricular and teaching material for these institutions.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

The Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora

STUDIES IN JEWISH EDUCATION

Volume II (1984)

JERUSALEM, 1984

THE MAGNES PRESS, THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

©
*By the Magnes Press
The Hebrew University,
Jerusalem, 1984*

*ISSN 0333-9661
Printed in Israel
Typesetting by Yael Kaplan, Jerusalem*

CONTENTS

Barry Chazan	Preface	7
Michael Rosenak	Introduction: Trends and Problems in Current Jewish Educational Scholarship	9
I. THE FABRIC OF EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in Jewish Education		19
Eduardo Rauch	Some Aspects of the Education of Jews in the United States from 1840 to 1920	21
David Schoem	Jewish Schooling and Jewish Survival in the Suburban American Community	52
Ronald G. Wolfson	A Description and Analysis of an Innovative Living Experience in Israel: the Dream and the Reality	65
II. CURRICULAR THEORY AND PEDAGOGIC MODELS IN JEWISH EDUCATION		83
Sheldon A. Dorph	A Model for Jewish Education in America: Guidelines for the Restructuring of Conservative Congregational Education	85
Ronald Kronish	The Influence of John Dewey upon Jewish Education in America	104
Burton Cohen	The Teaching of Deliberation in the Jewish School	122

Isa Aron	Deweyan Deliberation as a Model for Decision-Making in Jewish Education	136
Bennett I. Solomon	Curricular Integration in the Jewish All-Day School in the United States	150
Michael Zeldin	A Framework for Understanding Change in Jewish Education	175
III. JEWISH THOUGHT AND JEWISH TEACHING		191
Steve Copeland	The Oral Reading Experience in Jewish Learning	193
Oded Schremer	Towards Understanding Buber's I-Thou/I-It Dichotomy in the Context of Education	212
IV. AMERICAN JEWISH EDUCATION AND JEWISH IDENTIFICATION IN A CHANGING WORLD		231
Geoffrey E. Bock	The Functions of Jewish Schooling in America	233
Harold S. Himmelfarb	The Impact of Religious Schooling: A Synopsis	255
Stuart Kelman	Why Parents Send Their Children to Non-Orthodox Jewish Day Schools: A Study of Motivations and Goals	289
Yitzchak Meir Goodman	A Correlation Study of Jewish Education and <i>Hashkafah</i> Among College-Age Jewish Students	299
The Contributors		318

PREFACE

This is the second volume of a new publication series on research in Jewish Education. This project was made possible by the generous support of Mr. Menahem Rotman through the Goldie Rotman Centre for Cognitive Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His commitment to the importance of research in Jewish education provided us with the encouragement and means to embark on the entire enterprise, and we are profoundly grateful to him.

The papers included in the volume were presented at an historic conference on research in Jewish education in the Diaspora conducted at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on June 22-29, 1980. This event was a milestone in two senses. It constituted the first international conference exclusively devoted to Jewish educational research, and it was also the first conference on Jewish education in the Diaspora to be held on Mt. Scopus since 1947. Researchers from all over the world and Israel came together to present papers which summarized the major (doctoral) research in Jewish education of the past ten years.

Several people played central roles in the planning and implementation of this conference, especially Professor Moshe Davis, Professor Seymour Fox and Dr. Michael Rosenak. We are particularly grateful to Dr. Rosenak for agreeing to serve as editor of this volume. Dr. Menachem Kaufman was a source of guidance throughout the various stages of this conference. Joel Nesson served most faithfully as administrative director of this conference. The daughters of the late Professor Alexander Dushkin — Dr. Avima D. Lombard and Kinereth D. Gensler — were partners in all phases of the project. Mrs. Nancy Schoenburg was responsible for the initial phases of production for the volume

and Mrs. Hinda Hoffman assumed responsibility for continuation and completion of the task.

Hopefully, this volume will be a link in a new tradition of Jewish educational research which began on Mt. Scopus in 1947 and which has been renewed in our day.

Dr. Barry Chazan

Director

Samuel Mendel Melton Centre

for Jewish Education in the Diaspora

INTRODUCTION

Trends and Problems in Current Jewish Educational Scholarship

Michael Rosenak

Though the fact is little known, there exists a surprisingly large, variegated and often excellent corpus of research and reflection on Jewish education. This fact was noted by Chazan in his introduction to the first volume of *Studies in Jewish Education* (1983) and the truth of his appraisal was brought home to faculty members of the Hebrew University's Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, in the Spring of 1980. At that time, they were asked to study the work of educators who had submitted abstracts of their doctoral dissertations, with a view to participating in the first International Conference on Research in Jewish Education in the Diaspora which was to be held that summer in Jerusalem.

The committee members charged with the task of deciding upon twenty young scholars who were to be invited to deliver papers based on their doctoral work at the Conference were gratified at the response of some sixty scholars. The biographical data and the impressive essays of these men and women indicated that there has indeed been an appreciable change in the field of Jewish education; many well-trained and thoughtful educators are making research — and the “meta-questions” — of Jewish education central to their concerns, and are contributing significantly to the fund of knowledge accessible to teachers and scholars. Some are pioneers in the profession, called by Chazan “the Jewish educational theorist,” and others are working in the field in schools and camps.

If this sounds like an ideal situation for Jewish education, then conscientious students and workers in the vineyard of the Jewish

future — to be determined, we are told with ritual regularity, in the Jewish classroom — must ask themselves why matters look so grim. For no one can doubt now that informed and sophisticated thinking is being done in Jewish education. Moreover, it must be noted that doctoral dissertations are presently being written in the field that do not simply “apply” to the Jewish domain that which is being said and done by others; and we find more scholarly work that looks to the Jewish tradition itself for methods and models in education; and the research being conducted is valuable not only because it engenders new thinking and exchanges of views at conferences and seminars. It is useful in practice; it is instrumental in launching and guiding innovative curriculum projects; it initiates and evaluates experiments in informal education and suggests expanded vistas for in-service training and for professional deliberation on all levels.

And yet, all of this research — and the airy and aesthetic classroom which research discusses and describes — has not (yet?!) reversed ominous and statistically unmistakable trends of assimilation, intermarriage, Jewish cultural and religious apathy, and diverse and subtle forms of apostasy. It has not made the Jewish teaching profession attractive to appreciable numbers of intelligent and learned young Jews, nor encouraged parents to engage in more serious Jewish learning. It has not solved the problems of Jewish subject-matter, often still characterized by incomprehensibility and/or banality. Thus, one often hears the plaint that nothing has really changed, that the malaise persists. Why? Why haven’t all these favorable developments solved the problem and dissipated the crisis of Jewish education?

There are many plausible answers to that question and it is probably wise to insist that most of them have their roots in general historical, cultural and social conditions and developments, and not primarily in anything that has or has not been done by a mysterious and much maligned group of people called Jewish educators. Jewish education is not — and should not be considered — a cure-all for cultural and religious ills; it should not become the scapegoat for all Jewish sins, nor may it become the target for all projections of guilt. Fein makes an important point when he says that Jewish education in the Diaspora has clear instrumental utility only for Zionists who are preparing their children to live in Israel, and religious Jews who are prepar-

ing their children to live by the *Halacha*.¹ Most children whose parents are not in these categories appear to manage to live their lives rather well without the knowledge, skills and attitudes presumably taught in the Jewish school. Non-halachic religious Jews and non-religious ethnic Jews may argue with Fein, but they cannot ignore his challenge. This challenge arises out of the contemporary socio-cultural situation in which there seem to be relatively few who *both* consider themselves fully integrated in Western non-Jewish societies, and want *more than anything else* that their children be *olim* or *halachically* observant.

Of course there are also other answers more closely tied to specifically educational considerations: psychological, sociological, philosophical or didactic. These answers are often intuited by the sensitive teacher and parent, and corroborated by the patient and conscientious researcher. However, the importance of research is not only in backing up our intuitions and supplying them with footnotes. In many cases, scholarship teaches us that our "sixth sense" is not always sensible, that our assumptions are sometimes unfounded, and that we should be open to the possibility of changing our approach to problems if we wish to locate feasible solutions.

Especially in our present situation of "crisis," one should emphasize that research is important not only for solving problems put forward by scholars, but is useful in calling attention to problems and formulating them. If we are to understand our predicaments without despair and live with perplexities without evasion, we must have recourse to the insights of Dewey and Schwab, referred to specifically by Aron and Cohen in their papers. These educational theorists have argued that inquiry is related to discomfort, to a problematic situation which suggests that something is wrong. According to them, one does not seek new solutions where there is no consciousness of a pressing problem. We do not have to consider the Deweyan theory to be universally applicable to take advantage of the insight it conveys, and to agree that from the subjects chosen by researchers we learn much about current unease; from their work we should be aided

1. Leonard J. Fein, "Suggestions Towards the Reform of Jewish Education in America," *Midstream*, XVIII, 2 (February, 1970), p. 42.

in correctly defining problems, and establishing criteria for evaluating proposed solutions.

Examining the areas of inquiry that engage our writers, what do we see ourselves preoccupied with at this time, one generation after the Holocaust, towards the end of the second century of Emancipation, in the fourth decade of the State of Israel?

It appears obvious that while the educator can count on broad support from the community to continue Jewish identity into the future, he is more troubled than most of his constituents by the question how, and indeed, *whether* this can be done in the midst of a persuasive, often overpowering non-Jewish civilization, in which Jews play an active culture-making role and in which they have shed most of the "cultural compulsions" of Jewishness. Fackenheim, in the late sixties, gave theological expression to the desire of contemporary Jews to continue their collective existence, not to be "the last ones," not "to give Hitler posthumous victories."²

But, apart from the State of Israel which is dedicated to the ideal of a collective existence which is both Jewish and part and parcel of modern Western civilization (and which has considerable problems of its own converting *that* platform into reality), is the individual Jew in the voluntaristic community of the Diaspora really committed to this? And, if so, what will he invest in his commitment? And how is the goal to be achieved? Obviously, as the research of Himmelfarb and Bock indicates, Jewish survival requires a Jewish family and Jewish community; it calls for a great many more hours of exposure to — and initiation into — the Jewish tradition, than the contemporary community seems ready to spare, and it requires cultural commitments. And, as our historians, Rauch and Kronish, point out in scholarly detail, acceptance in and adjustment to the non-Jewish world was, for a long time, more important and pressing than socialization to patterns and assumptions of the Jewish tradition. Jews did not wish to cast them off, as we learn from our writers on Jewish education in America, but immigrants were as anxious to *transform* these values as to *transmit* them. The concern to make gentlemen out of Jews was crucial; and the question whether

2. Emil L. Fackenheim, *God's Presence in History* (New York University Press: New York, 1970) Chapter 3.

gentlemen can be restored to their Jewishness — without, of course, becoming uncouth in the process — is clearly on our agenda.

One method of returning to real Jewishness, so that Judaism and Jews will survive, is to turn to ultra-traditionalism. And though it appears at first sight and in many ways to be the most authentic, i.e., honest, option — for it does not insist on both having the cake of Jewish identity and eating it at the non-kosher table of Western civilization — it is not addressed by any of our writers. That this option exists at all and manages to be in the public eye frequently, testifies to the perennial appeal of wholeness in education; but that it still appeals to only a statistical handful indicates that the desire “not to give Hitler posthumous victories” is, for most Jews, interlocked with valuative and existential commitments to modernity and to its culture. The importance of Israel in Diaspora Jewish life and education, with all of its problematics and with all the well-known ambivalences that mark the Diaspora-Israel relationship, is surely linked to a basic tension in the life of the modern Jew. He wishes to be both Jewish and modern, and Israel can be seen as a paradigm of a collective Jewish commitment to both (which, incidentally, makes Israel problematic if not distasteful to both pietists and cosmopolitans). Wolfson’s study on an educational experiment which is nourished extensively from an “Israeli experience” is significant as a pioneering effort to translate into educational literature what has long been intimated in ideological and social scientific writings.

Our writers are concerned as well with the question of whether Jewish education really educates, shaping character and cultivating personality; or whether it gives some informative or perhaps affective supplement to what transpires in the “real” (non-Jewish) educational system. If education is truly concerned with the integration of the whole human being, with the nurture of men and women who have, in A.D. Gordon’s phrase, “a center to their souls,” then a Jewish education which does not occasion a genuine meeting of intellect, affect, and action is not really educative, but consists of no more than blocks of (largely boring) hours wherein forced sentiments are fostered and archaic customs are rehearsed. In that case, it is no more than a resented extra-curricular activity, bearing witness to the fragmentation of Jewish life and the triviality of Jewish concerns. The growth of the

Jewish day school, with its insistence that, at least in theory, there ought to be an integration between all bodies of knowledge, and that *the* school should be the Jewish one, is one response to the felt distress of a Jewishness which is implicitly less than the pupil's humanity. Kelman's study of the non-Orthodox parent and the Jewish Day School illuminates aspects of this problem, and indicates that if parents' reasons for Jewish education are more comprehensive than their stated rationales, their energies may be mobilized for building the culture of the school, and, of course, their own commitments. Solomon's examination of the philosophical and curricular implications of a Jewish education that integrates everything the child learns as a Jew in the modern world is clearly informed by the quest for the Jewish school (and schoolman) who will educate the whole Jewish person.

The confrontation of Jewish culture and modernity raises philosophical questions that have long bothered Jews, but that have not always received forthright and rigorous treatment. For the Jewish educator it is obviously a central issue; the lack of honest and precise clarification of the encounter between the two implies that the curriculum of the Jewish school must be either sectarian or lacking in seriousness. And, indeed, this is too often the case. We have had spokesmen for Jewish living outside the mainstream of modernity; others who have devised techniques for living alongside it in a stance of limited accommodation, and not a few who have suggested a Jewish rhetoric for an undiluted modern conviction. But few writers have proposed consistent ways of living within the modern world as Jews committed to a defined and substantive tradition, and with the translation of their philosophical and theological positions into a theory of Jewish education.

Here is one of the central problems which is now receiving wider and more precise formulation, as well as curricular expression. This problem can be expressed as follows: How is the tradition to speak to children — and adults — in our age, without becoming corrupted in the process of becoming meaningful and comprehensible? How can Judaism be intelligible without presenting it in a reductionist way which makes it superfluous?

In dealing with this problem and with the unease that gives it urgency, we must realize that the tradition itself is viewed as problematic, not only by the general community of Jews (where,

indeed, many are not particularly perturbed by it), but among teachers as well. The question therefore arises, and it clearly engages the thinking and research of many at the Conference, what the substance of modern Judaism is and what we wish to transmit.

For the theoretical writer who maintains that Judaism remains anchored in a religious world-view, the question presents itself largely as a theological one. The educator, it is claimed, must be versed in the conceptions of Jewish thinkers — including contemporary ones — who have systematically stated what the tradition says (to them), what commitments it expounds and how it relates to — and vindicates itself — vis-à-vis other options of existence. Within these theological systems, it is asserted, one may find implicit educational philosophies; the educational theorist must locate them and prepare them, via explicit educational theory, for educational practice. Thus, Jewish theologies, if examined educationally, not only inform the educator what Judaism says in a given approach, but also how Jewish conceptions interact with theoretical concepts and general experience as these are known from the “universal” disciplines. The educational theorist will show how Jewish values, ideals and ideas are not only distinctive, but how they can be more sharply delineated and/or characterized in terms of other cultures. Schremer shows how the philosophy of Buber may be approached by the educational theorist in this manner; Copeland’s study of reading aloud in the Jewish educational tradition demonstrates how traditional norms and assumptions can be discovered in educational conceptions and patterns. For Copeland, reading aloud is intrinsic to what the Jewish tradition is saying — about Torah, learning, the dialogue between man and God, and the position of the learner in the community.

The idea that means in education are never neutral with regard to desired goals, and that Jewish education must both learn from philosophy and yet not adopt it uncritically, constitute a focal aspect of the Jewish-modern discomfort. It is well illustrated by Cohen’s study on the uses of deliberation in Jewish education. Deliberation as an attempt to locate problems before generating alternate solutions, so crucial a concept in Dewey’s philosophy, is shown to have relevance for the Jewish model of “learning.” In both cases (the Deweyan and the classic Jewish), Cohen indi-

cates, the ultimate concern is with action. As Copeland juxtaposes the reading in dignified (or perhaps, *deathly*) silent libraries with the hum of the *Bet Midrash*, so Cohen contrasts the Aristotelian ideal of contemplation with the deliberation on moral and feasible alternatives for practice. Aron, too, deals with deliberation in order to locate its methodological value and legitimacy for education. Though careful to point out the extreme individualism that characterizes decision-making in this method, Aron believes that, in our present Jewish situation, deliberation may constitute a crucial aspect of Jewish understanding and self-understanding; Jews, she implies, may be seen as those who seriously deliberate about Jewish things.

It is noteworthy that our writers, in searching for Jewish authenticity in the modern world in which they wish to live, from which they have learned, and to which they contribute, generally look either to implicit or general theologies (like that of Buber)³ or to educational concepts or patterns which are culturally specific but make no clear-cut dogmatic demands. In the Jewish tradition, such clear normative obligations would involve community-enforced standards of halacha — in some form — and some belief-commitment. Doctrinal or halachic unity is not an acute “problematic situation” for most of our scholars. They are troubled by the falling away from the community, by triviality in Jewish teaching, and they seek ways in which the religious dimension of existence may be, for Jews, imbued with the spirit and nourished by the religious culture of Jewish sources.

Nevertheless, the doctrinal and halachic dimensions are by no means unacceptable for inquiry; that is, it occasions no raised eyebrows today to be ill at ease about the dearth of halacha and/or indifference to Jewish doctrine. Thus, Dorph has no hesitation in stating that unless Jews are ready to live by religious norms, though these are *not* supported by American education and society, they cannot expect children to find Judaism signifi-

3. “Implicit” theologies may be defined as those which are more concerned with the category of religiosity as such, and man’s relationship to the ultimate, than with the contents and particular norms of a given religion. On this distinction, as made by a radically “implicit” religionist, see Martin Buber, “Herut: On Youth and Religion,” in Martin Buber, *On Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1972).

cant. No explanations about the meaning of Judaism can further loyalty, he states, unless there is a living pattern of Judaism. (The resemblance between Dorph's philosophical-didactic assumption and Himmelfarb's and Bock's sociological ones is striking.) Goodman, in his study of religious observance and world-view among graduates of an Orthodox Day School has no hesitation in defining *hashkafa* (world view) in a way interwoven with halachic norms. While he is the only one to do so explicitly, the lack of community norms as such troubles several of our writers. Schoem, for example, points out that the suburban Jews who do not relate in any significant way to the demands of the Jewish tradition, and whose children are taught about the Sabbath by teachers who are known to work on Shabbat, cannot expect their children to develop loyalties to the tradition or to perceive its realms of meaning.

Finally, we may note that our writers bear testimony to unease about those who must conduct the enterprise of Jewish education. After the sociologists have analyzed the concepts and structures of Jewish identity and identification; the philosophers have mined the tradition for Jewish educational theory; the historians have traced influences, pressures, and aspirations in changing circumstances; and the educational theorists have translated traditions and concepts into curriculum, the troubling question of who is to do the job remains.

Thus, when Solomon demands a philosophically viable conception of integration that will enable children to experience the joy of verification in Jewish studies as (they should) in general fields—and who will yet understand how the Jewish verification will differ from “public verification” in the sciences—he requires a teacher whose grasp of culture will make him a model of intelligence and inner harmony for the best of our pupils. When Zeldin examines change in the Jewish school, he is aware of the difficulties besetting any attempt to achieve educational innovation. Can Jewish schools change without teachers being ready to learn the tradition, to cope with indifference, to make the problem of balancing authenticity and comprehensibility their own? And Schoem intimates that it is not difficult to empathize with the boredom and disbelief of pupils sitting opposite teachers who know little that is both genuine and interesting, and who teach rote truths which their lives belie.

This, of course, is not to say that there are no dedicated, knowledgeable, and sincere teachers, that there are no communities which are animated by genuine commitment, or that there are no good text-books. Furthermore, we all know of inspiring *text-people* who have educated men and women to become noble exemplars of what Jewishness can be in our time. The latter have had the good fortune and the stamina to have absorbed the best of the imaginative intelligence of the academy, and to live by the Jewish verities in which they can believe. Many of them devote their talents to Jewish life and education; they agonize over the opportunities lost, and yet they dare to construct models of what can be done. Then, having thought creatively, they proceed energetically to carry theory into practice.

Some of them write doctoral dissertations and bear witness to good teachers they have had, spiritually well endowed homes and worthy peers. What some of them have thought, studied and written constitutes this volume.

Of course, more than appears in this book is being experienced, thought about, and systematically expressed, with a view to adding to our common knowledge in Jewish education throughout the world. We hope to include much of the above in future volumes of *Studies in Jewish Education*.

Section I

THE FABRIC OF EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE:
Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in Jewish Education

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EDUCATION OF JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1840 TO 1920

Eduardo Rauch

Nature of This Study

The period explored in this research paper¹ covers the years from 1840 to 1920. It is during this time that American Jewry as we know it came to be. There is no doubt that in the contemporary experience of American Jewry there are numerous elements, ideologies, and institutions that can be directly traced to the period in question.

In many ways it has been a desire to understand the contemporary situation which has motivated us to look into the past. Not that this method is foolproof, nor that we have necessarily achieved our purposes; but when the present becomes nebulous, we often have no alternative but to stand aside in order to make sense of the road. Often this means receding into earlier eras.

American Jewish life is mainly rooted in Europe and in the two currents of Jewry that developed on that continent during the last two hundred years. These two currents were radically different from each other, representing almost opposing views of Judaism and its interrelation with the world at large.

One current was formed mainly in Western and Central Europe and was a reflection of the interaction of classical Judaism with the ideas and ideologies that came to be known as the

1. This paper consists of some brief selections from my doctoral dissertation: *Jewish Education in the United States 1840-1920*, Harvard University, 1978. I have included parts of the section entitled "Nature of This Study" in which I explain the general purposes of my research.

Enlightenment. Under the influence of these new forces, Judaism sought ways to adapt its existence to the new circumstances. Sometimes this implied profound transformations both in theology and observance. The type of Jew that had been transformed by this new environment came to America mainly between 1840 and 1870.

The second current of Judaism that made its way to America originates in Eastern Europe, and represents more of a continuity with pre-Enlightenment Judaism as practiced before the fall of the ghetto walls. The ideas of the Enlightenment arrived much later to Eastern Europe, and the Jewish communities in that part of the world also remained isolated for a much longer time. Many of these Jews, with their practices and observances intact, came to the United States between the years 1870 and 1920. They were generally extremely poor fugitives from persecution. An ideological off-shoot of this second group of Jews was the product of the contacts established between a minority of these individuals who had already come into intense contact with Western culture and the revolutionary men and ideas that became so prevalent in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia and Poland. These Jews often became extremely secularized, intensely nationalistic, and were possessors of a new culture based on the Yiddish language, Zionism, and a number of revolutionary ideologies.

When the Jews of Eastern Europe arrived in this country, Western and Central European Jewry which had preceded them to America was already established, both economically and spiritually. The clash between these two groups was intense; sometimes extremely painful and damaging, at other times creative and rewarding.

This study is an attempt to explore the experiences of these two groups upon their arrival in America and during their establishment in this country. Our main concern is with the educational ideologies and institutions that these groups brought with them, and the way their ideas changed and were adapted during their encounter with the new environment. We have examined their thoughts and preoccupations both with Jewish and secular education, the relationship they established with public schooling, and the separate schools they created for their own children.

Central to this study has been the examination of the effect that the encounter between these two Jewish groups on American soil

had on their separate and distinct educational ideas, and how they went about dealing with the numerous conflicts that came about. The resolution of some of these conflicts and the nonresolution of others lies at the base of contemporary Jewish educational patterns and community organization in America.

Equally important to our exploration has been the examination of the ways in which Jews adapted to this country, some of the American Jewish ideologies they developed, and how they dealt with the process of acculturation and assimilation. Some of the reactions of American society toward these new immigrants has also been reviewed.

In order to understand an historical era, or a specific development during that era, we need to place that period or phenomenon in the more general context of its time. In this study we have made a serious effort to give the questions we have tried to explore an adequate framework. Phenomena generally do not occur in isolation; more often than not they are the effects of causes, and a cause for later outcomes. Sometimes we are not able to determine the lines of causality or even much simpler relationships. However, we must at least be conscious of all the possible identifiable variables present within the context of the questions we are examining, and which we suspect could have some kind of interrelation with our central concerns.

In our case, we have tried to give a general picture of America at the time when these Jewish educational developments were occurring. Hopefully we have also made it easier to understand the strictly educational aspects of Jewish life, by including in our exploration many other facets of the Jewish experience which might have influenced, in ways simple and more complex, that wider phenomenon that we have come to call the education and culture of a people.

In brief, this is an attempt to shed some light on the individual, social, and cultural transformation and adaptation that American Jewry underwent during the eighty fateful years in question. It is our hope that by studying some of the basic historical dimensions of the processes of formation and transformation of the educational concerns of American Jewry during that period, we have facilitated the understanding of contemporary American Jewish education, have been of assistance in the planning of further research into this historical era and its problems, and

have offered some insights that might be helpful to the future development of educational policies for American Jewry.

Educational Configurations

Lawrence Cremin, in his article "Toward an Ecology of Education,"² explores the complex combination of structures and institutions that together form what he calls "configurations of education." His scheme might be helpful in ordering methodologies and questions that arise in this kind of research. Cremin tries to explore the many elements in a society that might be factors in determining a final educational project.

My definition of education projects us beyond the schools and colleges to the multiplicity of individuals and institutions that educate — parents, peers, siblings, and friends, as well as families, churches, synagogues, libraries, museums, summer camps, benevolent societies, agricultural fairs, settlement houses, factories, radio stations, and television networks. It alerts us to the numerous occupational groups (only some of which have been professionalized) associated with educational institutions and the variety of pedagogies they employ.³

These components which constitute a configuration might be either complementary or contradictory, consonant or dissonant; their relationships might be political, pedagogical, or personal. A utopia is, according to Cremin, the perfect educational configuration, "in which all the constituent agencies and institutions are consonant and complementary in their efforts and effects."⁴ In natural communities this rarely occurs because consonance and complementarity are annulled by the presence of alternative configurations of education, often mediating external and sometimes conflicting influences. Cremin writes:

2. Lawrence Cremin. "Toward an Ecology of Education," *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

...If one considers the Indian reservation as a configuration of education, one is immediately impressed by the tensions between familial instruction and missionary instruction, between Indian values and white values, between the virtues of resistance and the virtues of accomodation.⁵

For example, in Jewish education, as Ackerman has pointed out,⁶ the purposes of Jewish schooling within the total educational configuration have changed numerous times during the last century. From the religious imperative of the Orthodox, we have gone to the fostering of national pride of the Zionists, the development of class consciousness in the socialist Yiddish schools, and to schooling as a means of avoiding social marginality and fighting anti-Semitism as it was viewed in pre-World War II America.

An Evaluation of the Americanization Era

I have attempted elsewhere⁷ to demonstrate that America has not always been a land of unqualified opportunity. Often caught in the throes of growth, this society has occasionally exploded in anger, suspicion, and bigotry against those who sought refuge and opportunity within its borders. There have been times when the immigrant seriously questioned his decision to come, and some immigrants even decided to return to their countries of origin. There have been times when even some of the more level-headed Americans let themselves be pulled into campaigns of irrational hatred, whose purposes were dark and goals outrageous.

What shouldn't be forgotten, and undoubtedly hasn't been studied enough, is the effect that all these political and social

5. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

6. Walter Ackerman. "The Present Moment in Jewish Education," in *The Jewish Community in America*, Marshall Sklare, ed., (New York: Behrman House, 1974).

7. Rauch, *Jewish Education in the United States 1840-1920*.

developments had on the immigrants themselves and their capacity to adapt to America while yet retaining their own culture, traditions, and institutions. Some authors claim that too many ethnic historians have exaggerated the alienating effect that the experience of integration into American society had on the newly arriving peoples. Timothy Smith, for example, claims that for the new immigrants and their children, it was self-understood that the new society would be a very tough place to cope with, and therefore accepted it as an arena. They never perceived this new society as a community, in the classical sense.⁸ Smith presents to us a rather different image of the immigrant, and it is a challenge we must confront. Smith blames the prevalent image of alienation and despair among the majority of the new immigrants on alienated authors, mostly secular and of Jewish origin, who misrepresented true historical reality.

Moses Kligsberg came to a similar conclusion while analyzing the results of an autobiographical contest among Jewish immigrants, held in 1942. After describing what has come to be the accepted image of despair and disillusionment among the new immigrants, Kligsberg wrote:

Not only the novelists and amateur sociologists have contributed to this master-image of the American Jewish immigrant. Liberals, radicals, and Jewish nationalists have also found in the "tragic immigrant" grist for their ideological mills ...one thing is clear and unequivocal: the immigrants do not subscribe to the accepted portrait of themselves.⁹

Naturally there is a question as to the representativeness of this study. These autobiographies were written voluntarily by a sample whose validity could be questioned on many grounds.

8. Timothy Smith, "Immigrant Social Aspirations and American Education," *American Quarterly*, XXI, 3, (Fall, 1969), pp. 523-543. This article also appears in *Education in American History — Readings on the Social Issues*, edited by Michael B. Katz (New York & Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 236.

9. Moses Kligsberg, "The Golden Land — The Jewish Immigrant in America: Self-Portrait," *Commentary*, V, 5, (May, 1948), p. 467.

We feel that the majority of the evidence and documentation is overwhelmingly supportive of a much grimmer image of the immigrants' early experience in America. There is an overwhelming amount of historical data that seems to indicate that the immigrant experience was generally hard, demeaning, and alienating. There are also autobiographical writings, memoirs, fictional accounts, poetry, and journalism that seem to confirm the historical data. As Weinryb writes:

The documents of those days, the press, the fiction, the songs as well as the memoirs, are filled with descriptions of the sad plight, the poverty and the dissatisfaction of the peddler and worker.¹⁰

Another way of trying to understand the quality of the immigrant experience is to observe and dissect its effects. Again we see that most immigrant groups assimilated rapidly into American society and lost many of their distinctive characteristics and cultural patterns. It could be argued that the immigrants wanted it that way, and that they had been waiting for such an opportunity. Both Kligsberg's theories and Lieberman's^{10a} revisionist history seem to indicate that immigrant Jews were very different from the classical image we have had of them until recently, and much readier to Americanize than believed earlier. Perhaps this new scholarship does partially supply us with new information and a fresh understanding. But even if this is so, it still does not explain the very accelerated patterns of cultural change undergone by most minority groups in this country.

If such rapid cultural transformations are possible, then we seem to be lacking the theoretical framework to understand them. As Milton Gordon pointed out, it is remarkable how little Americans have dealt with the question of

...devising or discussing theoretical models which either would formulate the preferred goals of adjustment to which this influx of diverse

10. Bernard D. Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America: Research, Trends, Problems," *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLVI, 3, (March, 1957), pp. 263-264.

10a. See below Note 14.

peoples might be expected to look for guidance, or would describe the processes of adjustment that empirically have taken place.¹¹

It might be argued that Jews encountered here much less discrimination, violence, and hostility than they did in Europe. This no doubt reflects historical reality. However, this does not imply that American hostility and discrimination, even if less acute, did not have serious impact on the new immigrants and their patterns of assimilation. The combination of hostility on the one hand, and the openness and unprecedented freedoms offered by American society on the other, probably created the ideal conditions for rapid assimilation. There were no rigidly fixed patterns for ancient traditions and institutions in America which might have oriented the immigrants to seek a place within a parallel framework, possibly their own cultures. On the contrary, everything in America seemed to be either undergoing change, or was in a state of fluidity. Creation of society was visible and it seemed to invite more social creation.

Perhaps one model of social transformation could be visualized as a two-pronged coaxing approach — one hostile and the other inviting — but both with the same ultimate purpose; the transformation of the immigrant into an assimilated American citizen.

It is possible to speculate that this confrontation of American society with the newly arrived immigrant on two simultaneous fronts — one seductive and the other unequivocally hostile — was more effective in achieving the immigrant's assimilation and acculturation than any one-sided hostile attack.

Some Thoughts About the Process of Jewish Acculturation and Assimilation in America

Eliezer Berkovits emphasized the psychological impact of the immigration experience as a major element in the process of acculturation and assimilation.

11. Milton M. Gordon. *Assimilation in American Life — The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 84.

The most lasting effects of all immigration are to be found in the psychological unsettling of the human personality. As the immigrant changes his geographical bearing, he also tears himself away from an established order of living in which he had his spiritual and cultural roots. The experience usually throws into disorder the traditional concepts and practices which made up the historically grown pattern of life in the old familiar world of the wanderer. Immigration is essentially inimical to tradition; it works as a solvent upon historically established forms of living as well as upon an accepted order of values ...the change in living practice is facilitated by the psychological upheaval of the very process of immigration which unsettles and confuses the traditional world of the immigrant. The psychological upheaval makes it easier for him to acquiesce in the new rhythm of life forcefully suggested to him by the economic struggle for survival.¹²

Equally damaging, felt Berkovits, was the spirit of the age, which was dominated by scientific approaches and passionately unfriendly toward the historical and traditional.¹³ This conflict between the new spirit of the times and the historical religions has remained unresolved and has infiltrated the consciousness of

12. Eliezer Berkovits, "Jewish Living in America," *Judaism*, XI, 1, (January, 1953), p. 69.

13. As the great American historian Merle Curti explained:

In spite of traditional supernaturalism, the American environment provided congenial soil for the growth of the scientific and evolutionary point of view. On the whole, the United States lacked the rigidly fixed system of ancient traditions and institutions which in older societies directed thinking toward the past rather than toward a future which men might themselves shape. American life, largely mobile because of their frontier experience, the shift of population to urban centers, and the incoming throngs of immigrants, suggested that there was little indeed which was fixed and final. The rapidly growing technological character of the culture, like the traditional frontier experience, further suggested that ordinary affairs and every-day life were in the constant process of remaking. Moreover, the fact that men had visibly and within memory of two or three generations actually created so much of the physical culture of the country suggested the unfinished character of the experiment. All of these reasons, then, help explain why the scientific and especially the evolutionary position, emphasizing as it did the long-favored doctrine of progress, the power of man to reconstruct society, and a general optimistic faith in the future, found congenial soil in America. *The Growth of American Thought*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1943), p. 555.

broad masses of the whole human race. In Europe, the Jews, enclosed in their traditional authoritarian environment, could resist in some way these new ideas. In America, the difficult task of integrating historically evolved standards of values and traditionally hallowed practices of living became inevitable.¹⁴ It was

14. The outstanding American Jewish leader, Israel Friedlander, was direct witness to this tragic process:

It may now be realized in what a terrible conflict the Jewish immigrant must find himself when, having left his Ghetto environment, he suddenly emerges on the shores of the New World. Not only are the external conditions of life in this country diametrically different from those he had left behind, but the inner forces of life, the social and cultural influences, are no less conflicting. For the ideals which underlay the whole social stratification in his old environment were primarily of a Jewish character: Jewish learning and Jewish piety, i.e., knowledge of the Jewish religion and the observance of its practices. These qualifications, far more than wealth, determined the position of the Jew in his social group and provided the incentive for his rise and progress.

On arriving in this country, the immigrant discovers that they are not only valueless, but that they are a hindrance, and sometimes a nuisance, in the eyes of his fellow-men. We are horrified by the sight of physical cripples. But were it given to us, by some kind of spiritual x-rays, to perceive the fractures in the souls of men, we would be a thousand times more horrified by the sight of the untold numbers of mangled human souls which are writhing in inexpressible suffering in the midst of our Jewish immigrant population. No one except he who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of old-fashioned Jewish life in the Ghetto can adequately appreciate the excruciating mental agony which the immigrant Jew must experience when, for instance, for the first time in his life he is forced to violate the God-given command of abstaining from work on the Sabbath day, or to transgress any of the Jewish regulations concerning food, which in his eyes are clothed with the authority of the Divine will. Nor can the outsider fully realize the inexpressibly tragic gap which opens up in the soul of the immigrant when he discovers that what he has held sacred and dear in the past is valueless, in the eyes of his new neighbors. The result of this conflict is in innumerable cases a complete loss of equilibrium and the destruction of that feeling of moral and mental security without which a man is degraded into a beast, and life becomes a meaningless and brutal discharge of mere physical functions.

Charles Liebman offers a different light on this whole process by claiming that often the type of Jew who arrived in America during that period already had more than begun the process of assimilation into the modern world.

...a disproportionately large number of (the immigrants), relative to a cross-section of Eastern European Jewry, were nontraditionalists, secularist Jews, Socialists and Zionists. A few of them, particularly the Socialists,

an unpropitious moment for this overwhelming challenge. Mankind was turning its back on the past; historicity was breaking down, and experiment had replaced tradition. Moreover, the problem was all the more serious in America, which itself was a society created by a people wanting to break with the past.¹⁵

Compared with Europe, America has been experimental and untraditional and not very burdened with the past. It has proposed self-reliance in the pursuit of happiness rather than dependence on the historical experience of a group, and seems to have atomized the historical consciousness of immigrant groups, thus drawing individual members into its own stream.

Americanization in the schools, for example, was not only limited to a process of modernization of behaviors and beliefs, as demanded by the complex industrial society the children were about to enter. Many educators went much further, and were

were militantly antireligious. Most, however, were not ideologically oriented. They were traditionalist in orientation but without the political, economic, or ideological stake that many East European Jewish leaders had in traditionalism. They were adherents of the folk, rather than the elite, religion of traditionalism.

Here Liebman makes an important point. Folk and elite religion must be distinguished in order to understand the character of this immigration. Elite religion in Judaism is legitimated by codes of Jewish law and the sacred textual tradition. Folk religion on the other hand bases its legitimacy on the practices of the community. Folk religion, Liebman points out, can be the more conservative of the two, but once the consensus within the community is broken, it is much more susceptible to radical changes. The early traditionalist immigrants found themselves surrounded by a high number of nontraditionalists. Most of these traditionalist immigrants were adherents of folk rather than elite traditionalism. *The Ambivalent American Jew*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973), p. 52.

15. Marie Syrkin quotes from Mary Antin's autobiography and then comments: I think I have thoroughly assimilated my past...I want now to be of today. It is painful to be conscious of two worlds. The Wandering Jew in me seeks forgetfulness.

The American dream emerges here as a vision of the great melting pot. Assimilation for Mary Antin is not tired escape, but an exultant affirmation of the American promise in which the immigrant girl believes with a naive optimism. "Jewish Awareness in American Literature," in Oscar I. Janowsky, ed., *The American Jew — A Reappraisal* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), p. 213.

satisfied only when they had destroyed all forms of cultural difference, often bringing about a sense of shame at being "foreign." Later evaluations of the school experience were to put this policy in perspective, such as the following comment which appeared in a 1929 issue of *School and Society*.

There are divergent judgments as to the success of the public school. Some critics affirm that this melting pot has failed to melt. Others think it has melted too much and has driven away a rich variety of heritage from the immigrants of various races. It would seem that much of our instruction is based on the boast that all races of men are created unequal, we superior, and it is the mission of education to perpetuate the differences.¹⁶

Cases of outright discrimination also occurred within the schools. In Milwaukee, for example, when immigrant children of Orthodox families discovered that their absence from public school during Jewish holidays would make them exceed the number of permissible absences, and that they would therefore be denied promotion without a special examination, their strenuous protests against this rule went unheeded. Two native Jews who sat on the Milwaukee School Board remained silent, and it was only when an immigrant Jewish lawyer joined the Board in 1916 that the rule was relaxed.¹⁷

One of the more intelligent and insightful observers of this tragic process of confrontation and decay was Jane Addams (1860–1935), recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace (1931). She founded one of the early settlement houses in Chicago, a movement which showed great sensitivity to the traditions and needs of the new immigrants. Writing in 1908 in the *Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association*, she addressed the issue of public education and its deleterious effects on the life patterns of the immigrant communities, and suggested some ways to avoid further damage. One of the things she considered

16. *School and Society*, XXX, 775, (November 2, 1929), pp. 625–626.

17. Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, *The History of the Jews of Milwaukee*. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), p. 260.

as most dangerous was the sense children developed that what they learned in school was the real truth as contrasted with the simplicities of their homes. If the child, she wrote, "throws off the control of the home because it does not represent the things which he has been taught to value," he is on his way to delinquency because he has asserted himself too prematurely. She called on teachers to try to recognize the beauty of the children's cultures, although she realized that it was easier to cut the children loose from their parents, than to tie them up "in sympathy and understanding." She wrote movingly of the children's desire that the teachers learn something about their cultures, and stop other children from making fun of their own customs and way of life. She then went on to suggest the outlines of a program of action:

If the body of teachers in our great cities could take hold of the immigrant colonies, could bring out of them their handicrafts and occupations, their traditions, their folk songs and folk lore, the beautiful stories which every immigrant colony is ready to tell and translate; could get the children to bring these things into school as the material from which this culture is based, they would discover that by comparison that which they give them now is a poor meretricious and vulgar thing.¹⁸

The process of transformation of the immigrant child is magnificently portrayed by Hutchins Hapgood in his *Spirit of the Ghetto*, first published in 1902. Hapgood was a non-Jew who reported sympathetically and with profound lyricism and understanding about the life of the immigrant Jewish community. In his writings Hapgood pinpointed three main influences that, in his opinion, were working on the young Jewish children of the Lower East Side: the Jewish Orthodoxy of their homes; the American environment; and the socialist ideas so prevalent in the Ghetto at the time. He perceived the Jewish influence as religious and moral; the American impact as practical, diversified, and nonreligious; and socialism as hostile to the other two expressions. In describing for us the daily life of the Jewish child and the

18. Cited in John J. Appel, ed. *The New Immigration*, (New York: Jerome S. Ozer Book, 1971), pp. 88-91.

richness of his home and religious school environment — in which he saw a clear continuity with the life of Jews in Eastern Europe — Hapgood also confronted frankly the painful task of analyzing the impact of American life on those traditional structures. The American environment and the public school, the non-Jewish children on the street, and even the reluctant parents, all became allies in the ambiguous battle against the past. But the past could not be left behind without paying a price, and the price in this case was alienation: alienation between parents and children, alienation among parents themselves, internal alienation of both parents and children, and an inescapable confusion for the budding adult contained in today's increasingly rebellious child.

Future generations of American Jews would continue to struggle with the effects of this early break, mocking their own existences, struggling with guilt, and portraying their transformations in an ambivalent literature often charged with self-hate and distorted images.

Nahirny and Fishman put the situation in clear social-psychological terms:

There is hardly any doubt ...that the attitude of many sons verged on outright nihilism; that is, they tended to dismiss their respective ethnic heritages *in toto*, either by equating them with ignorance and superstition, or by equating them with poverty and backwardness. Their crude attack on the ancestral tradition and on the purportedly degrading enslavement of their parents to it, although pronounced in the name of reason, closely resembled the breathless fervour of a religious conversion experience. To appreciate the tragic predicament in which some of the sons found themselves, it suffices to point out that the more intensely they despised their ethnic heritage the more conscious they were of their ethnic identity. The more ashamed they were of this past, and even of their parents, the more they were aware of their ethnic background. For it should be kept in mind that by suppressing ethnicity the sons also rebelled against parts of themselves.¹⁹

Many other Jews, on the other hand, would leave their pasts behind with the ease of a transient passenger in a train station who throws away his old suitcase.

19. Vladimir C. Nahirny and Joshua A. Fishman. "American Immigrant Groups; Ethnic Identification and the Problem of Generations," *The Sociological Review*, XIII, 3, (November, 1965), pp. 317-318.

In contrast to Europe, America, at least during certain periods, was eager to receive and assimilate newcomers. Most importantly, in America belonging became an act of voluntary affiliation.²⁰

While Berkovits seemed willing to try to understand the process of Jewish communal decay and expressed a certain measure of compassion in his analysis, Herbert Parzen was less ready to be so tolerant of the historical circumstances. He rather seemed to be asking himself: who or what was the culprit?

...why did these East-European Jews, so pious and so devoted to Judaism in their old homes, decline to pay the price in order to pursue here their traditional life? Was America imbued or pervaded by hostile and compulsive forces exacting from these Jews surrender to or compromise with the traditional patterns prevalent in East-European lands? If the answer is yes, their religious integrity is impugned; their convictions were not sufficiently stable to withstand the pressures of the New World, their piety was not magnetic enough to counterbalance the new environment. In sum, they were unwilling to pay in hardship, in order that their way of life endure.

If, on the other hand, the answer to the question is no, namely, there were no compulsive American forces extorting nonconformance with Rabbinic Judaism, the reasonable assumption is that the tradition was not deeply ingrained in their life even in their old homes. They rather accepted it as a matter of form, as a matter of course, automatically and not reflectively; it was skin deep. In any case, the pardonable presumption is that just as they followed the path of least resistance in the Old World by observance and conformity, so they followed here the road of least resistance in neglecting to observe and conform to the tradition. There can be no other conclusion.

In the end Parzen disagreed with Berkovits' view:

...the American environment cannot be held exclusively responsible for the secularization of Jewish life in this country, nor is it inimical to the Jewish tradition. America is an open field for the competition of ideas and institutions, irrespective of origin or sponsorship. Therefore, Rabbinic Judaism, as institutionalized in Eastern Europe, had to submit in every West-European country. This and no more.²¹

20. Berkovits, "Jewish Living in America," pp. 69-71.

21. Herbert Parzen, "East European Immigrants and Jewish Secularism in

Joshua Fishman, while explaining the changes in the utilization of the Yiddish language among Eastern European Jews, gave us some insights into the general process of acculturation and assimilation. He argued that the expansion of role repertoires and interaction networks from the rather narrow context of preindustrialized society — in which most contacts were limited to relatives, friends, and neighbors — to the much more ample networks of the urban, industrialized society — in which individuals were to acquire an impressive number of new roles — put the immigrants in contact with people who were not Yiddish speakers and who perceived and practiced life, religion, and tradition in ways radically different from their own.

Moreover, Fishman writes that this accessibility to myriad new roles became so marked, and the dislocation of pre-immigration roles and networks so intense, that “roles-access” in and of itself became *the status-defining mechanism* for these immigrants, even among family and friends. Furthermore, most immigrants apparently seemed unprepared to establish role segregation or role compartmentalization within their own behavioral networks, something which would have been needed in order to safeguard the old patterns of behavior, interactions, and relationships.²²

Waldo Frank, a prolific freelance writer, journalist, literary radical, and idealist who was active during the early decades of this century, viewed the whole process of Jewish transformation from a more mystical point of view. He saw the Jew as a being imbued with some fixed characteristics beyond the reach of environmental influences. These basic characteristics could be partially altered, perverted, or heightened, and yet would remain essentially the same. Although he never used the word, Frank might have been referring to something like the “soul” of a nation, that spiritual element beyond the measure of human tools. Some of Frank’s views would find a measure of support among sectors of the Orthodox community, who would see in

America — 1882–1915,” *Judaism*, III, 2, (Spring, 1954), p. 160 and p. 164.

22. Joshua A. Fishman. “Language Maintenance and Language Shift: Yiddish and Other Immigrant Languages in The United States,” in *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, XIV, (1969) pp. 13–14.

them elements of their own philosophy of "chosenness" and destiny which they perceive as integral elements of their Jewish existential being. Frank had a comprehensive "understanding" of the process of acculturation of the American Jew, and although as a system it is not scientific from any contemporary point of view (except perhaps on the fringes of psychological-historical views) it offers us some insights into the way some Jews might understand their own experience. Perhaps we can also gain some understanding of the often silent view of Jewish Orthodoxy. Frank wrote:

The kinship of the Puritan and Jew, as they appear on the American scene, is close. There was no fortuity in the New Englander's obsession with the Hebrew texts, in his quite conscious taking on of the role of Israel in a hostile world. Like the Jew, the Puritan was obsessed with the dream of power: elected a career of separatism from the world in order to attain it; took to himself a personal and exacting God in order to justify it; traversed the seas in order to effect it. And as with the Puritan, so with the Jew, once free in a vast country, the urge of power swiftly shook off its religious and pietistic way, and drove untrammelled to material aggression. In their intense and isolated will, the Puritan and the Jew were kin...²³

Moses Kligsberg, while not perceiving the world as Frank did, also talked about human types, although he did it in more recognizable "scientific" terms.

We can thus assert, on the authority of our autobiographical materials, that the Jewish immigrant community in the United States is by and large a concentration of one social-psychological type, that is, the enterprising, independent, activistic person with a strong individualistic attitude.

We recognize in Kligsberg's description some of the characteristics of Frank's American Jew. The true disagreement comes to the fore when value judgments enter the picture.

23. Quote from "The Chosen People," which appeared in the book *Our America* (New York: Liveright Publishers, 1947).

For Kligsberg, the American Jew had successfully transformed his classical values into new forms more adequate to the American environment. In the process, according to Kligsberg, there had not been any special loss nor any unconquered challenge. In his view there was no apparent struggle in the Jew's soul between conflicting values or purposes. The transmutation had been successful and complete.²⁴

For Frank on the other hand, the American Jew had to make a "spiritual sacrifice" in order to persist and succeed. "The mystical Jew survived. But he slept," wrote Frank. Hope was not lost, but the true Jew, the eternal Jew seemed to be in a state of suspended animation. Meanwhile "the acquisitive Jew, the power-lusting Jew, the comfort-seeking Jew," had taken center stage. For Frank, there had been no transmutation of values; in fact we dare guess, he wouldn't have considered such a process to be possible or even desirable.

Public Schools and the Jewish Community

The public school has done its best for us foreigners, and for the country, when it has made us into good Americans. I am glad it is mine to tell how the miracle was wrought in one case. You should be glad to hear of it, you born Americans; for it is the story of the growth of your country; of the flocking of your brothers and sisters from the far ends of the earth to the flag you love; of the recruiting of your armies of workers, thinkers, and leaders. And you will be glad to hear of it, my comrades in adoption; for it is a rehearsal of your own experience, the thrill and wonder of which your own hearts have felt.²⁵

The last two decades have been witness to much revisionist writing about the character and purposes of public schooling in the United States around the turn of the century. Scholars such as Cremin, Tyack, D. Cohen, Greer, Bowles, Gintis, and others, have reexamined the history of public schooling, and have given us new perspectives leading to a better understanding of the

24. Moses Kligsberg. "The Golden Land — The Jewish Immigrant in America: Self-Portrait," *Commentary*, V, 5 (May, 1948), pp. 471 and 472.

25. Mary Antin. *The Promised Land*, 1912, p. 222.

development of this educational institution. The image that has come through is not always pleasant. It reflects harsh debates, grave conflicts, cruel discrimination, naive understandings of aims and purposes, and serious differences among different social classes. Because of this research, the role that the Progressivist movement played in defining the new character of the schools is viewed as more ambiguous. Thus it is no longer possible to view all the work of the Progressivist movement with the kind of admiration that was prevalent in the past.

Our interest in the public school lies in the examination of its relationship to the immigrant Jewish community. This interface between school and immigrant community is one of the distinct and clear elements of contact between two different cultures, and can be of great help in gaining new insights into the immigrant experience.

It is here where we find a stunning gap between the literature about public schooling among immigrant Jews and their leaders, and the general literature about public schooling during that period. It is sometimes difficult to believe that we are reading about the same period. The general literature is one rich in conflict, discussions, questioning, debates, and often open confrontation. In the Jewish literature, on the other hand, with few exceptions, we read only about the enthusiasm with which the Jewish community embraced this institution and how well Jewish children were doing when competing with other white Americans or with other immigrant groups.

What are the rights of the Jewish child in the American public school? There is only one answer to this question. He has no more rights and should have none less than any other child there. He would be guilty of an unpatriotic act were he, in the excess of zeal, to request any preferential treatment. There is no greater friend of the American public school system than the Jew. There is none more eager to grasp its opportunities and none more grateful for its privileges. Public education as it is now understood has been enjoyed by the Jew for one hundred years. The enthusiasm of the American Jew for public education is woven of three threads. First, is the fact that it *is* education, of which he has been a loyal devotee for thirty odd centuries; second, is the fact that it is free and public, preparing for training in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and third, in the fact that it is not sectarian in principle, method and character. Believing thoroughly in the wisdom of the fathers of the country in placing the public school

completely under the control of the State, the Jew contends that the school as a miniature republic is signally prepared to perform the great task of Americanization.²⁶

Only in Jewish fiction and in autobiographical literature are we sometimes able to find some indications of the harsh experience that public schooling could sometimes be. But even here we rarely find any discussions about the nature of public schooling as an all-encompassing entity, its impact on the acculturation patterns of American Jews, and discussions about the possibly deleterious purposes and effects that public schooling might have had.

This gap is interesting because it portrays, better than most other indicators, the distance between the immigrant community and the corridors of power of American life during that period. The Jews, immigrants and leaders, educators and students, all seem distant from these debates and conflicts, as if they would have lost the capacity to sense part of their surrounding reality in their arduous attempt at rapidly becoming part of America.

The priorities for the majority of American Jews were clear and not open to discussion; public schooling came first, and Jewish education had to be relegated to a supplementary position. The quality, purposes and curriculum of that public schooling were rarely questioned by most of the Jewish community. One of the few exceptions to this rule was the struggle that some Jewish leaders had with sectarian religious teachings and celebrations within the public school.

On the other hand, many Christians saw in the very secularization of the public school a great threat to American society, and would have preferred to retain some religious teachings and celebrations in the school context.

There is no doubt that this debate provoked great anxiety within sectors of the Jewish community. In 1915, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, writing in *Religious Education*, argued forcefully for a secularized system of public schools and reminded the reader of the terrible evils that befell Europe because of its reluctance to

26. Abram Simon. "The Jewish Child and the American Public School," *Religious Education*, VI, 6, (January, 1912), p. 527.

separate the church from the state. "Europe was deluged with bloodshed in past generations because of this error," he wrote.²⁷

Yet, the prevailing mood among most American Jews regarding public education was one of enthusiasm and implicit faith, regardless of the above described debates. This enthusiasm is poignantly portrayed in many letters which were published and answered in the popular New York City Yiddish paper, the *Jewish Daily Forward*.

Why this uncritical enthusiasm, why this unrequited love and touching commitment? Historians have not as yet been able to explain or agree, and tend to waver and vacillate between explanations. Stuart Rosenberg has suggested that the Jews' embrace of the public school "was a sign of their wish to forget — to forget the disabilities they had in East-Europe."²⁸

Sklare explains the enthusiastic embrace of public education on the part of the Jews as a joyfully intoxicated response to newly discovered freedoms. Jews were astonished that their Jewishness was not a barrier to their admittance to any institution of public education. Such an inconceivable reality demanded a response in kind; an ideology of thankfulness and loyalty.²⁹ Curiously, the same author in a different article doesn't even mention the element of loyalty or enthusiasm for the public school. Answering the question from a different direction, as to why the Jews didn't develop a system of parochial schools in America around the turn of the century — as had other ethnic and religious groups — Sklare writes:

My feeling is that they never felt secure enough in their acceptance. That is, all of these other people came from countries where they constituted majorities and even in cases where they were dominated by foreign minorities, like Poles or Irishmen, they had no conception of

27. Henry Berkowitz, in *Religious Education*, X, 3, (June, 1915), pp. 238–239.

28. Stuart Rosenberg. *America is Different — The Search for Jewish Identity* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), p. 219.

29. Marshall Sklare. *America's Jews* (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 19–20.

themselves as minority groups in the usual sense. Thus they had no question of their acceptance.³⁰

But, as Sklare himself observes elsewhere, in practice and for a long time, Jews had very little chance to mingle with non-Jews within the schools in the large urban centers, because they remained concentrated in specific neighborhoods until their move into the suburbs.³¹ In 1905, Jews on the Lower East Side were concentrated in thirty-eight elementary schools. Out of 65,000 pupils in these schools, 60,000 were Jews.

Public Schools and Jewish Neighborhoods

This Jewish concentration in the public schools around the turn of the century might be part of the explanation for the enthusiastic acceptance of this institution. As Howe observes, the

condition which a half-century later would be called *de facto* segregation did not deeply trouble the Jewish immigrants — on the contrary, they found a certain comfort in sending their children to public schools overwhelmingly Jewish.³²

While the Jews remained together, public education might have been perceived as less threatening to their traditional way of life. Alfred Kazin in his classical memoirs *A Walker in the City*, gives us a sensitive portrayal of this separation between Jewish and non-Jewish worlds.

30. Marshall Sklare. "The New American Jewish Parent and Jewish Education," in Jay B. Stern, *The Parent and Jewish Education* (1968 Yearbook Educators Assembly, 1969), p. 80.

31. Marshall Sklare, ed. *The Jewish Community in America* (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 222.

32. Irving Howe. *World of Our Fathers*, p. 274. A description of Jewish children's participation in New York public schools can be found in an article published in the *New York Tribune* of September 16, 1906. The article is included in Karp, *Golden Door*, p. 181.

We were of the city, but somehow not in it. Whenever I went off on my favorite walk to Highland Park in the "American" district to the north, on the border of Queens, and climbed the hill to the old reservoir from which I could look straight across to the skyscrapers of Manhattan, I saw New York as a foreign city. There, brilliant and unreal, the city had its life, as Brownsville was ours. That the two were joined in me I never knew then — not even on those glorious summer nights of my last weeks in high school when, with what an ache, I would come back into Brownsville along Liberty Avenue, the malted milk and Fatima signs over the candy stores, the old women in their housedresses sitting in front of the tenements like priestesses of an ancient cult, knew I was home.

We were the end of the line. We were the children of the immigrants who had camped at the city's back door, in New York's rawest, remotest, cheapest ghetto, enclosed on one side by the Canarsie flats and on the other by the hallowed middle-class districts that showed the way to New York. "New York" was what we put last on our address, but first in thinking of the others around us. *They* were New York, the Gentiles, America; we were Brownsville—Brunzvil, as the old folks said—the dust of the earth to all Jews with money, and notoriously a place that measured all success by our skill in getting away from it.³³

Public schooling under these circumstances may well have represented the best of both worlds. On the one hand, the Jewish community might have correctly perceived that the public school was a tool for rapid social and economic mobility in the United States; "from the gutter to the university." On the other hand, they probably realized that public education meant sacrificing substantial amounts of Jewish education, whatever the arrangement. Jewish demographic concentration, however, might have been perceived as an acceptable compromise. Jewish children would continue to socialize with other Jewish children and would remain close to home, thus permitting them to continue their Jewish practices within the family. They would also be able to go directly from the public school to the Jewish supplementary school which was always in the neighborhood, in the afternoons.

The plausibility of this theory is partially confirmed by the reaction of Jewish parents to a proposal of the New York Board

33. Alfred Kazin. *A Walker in the City* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1951), p. 11.

of Education in 1904 to shift 1500 Jewish children from the overcrowded East Side schools to less crowded schools on the West Side. Two thousand angry Jewish parents met in a settlement house, and the chairman of the evening declared:

Of all the serious problems that have confronted the people of the east side in the last twenty years, there is not one that has met with such general opposition as this measure. We are patient almost to a fault. We have stood for a good many municipal evils, for dirty streets, for grafting politicians, and overbearing policemen. But we will not stand for this.³⁴

Most complaints centered around the fears that children would miss their morning prayers and afternoon Jewish schooling, that the long trip across town would be dangerous, and that the Jewish children would encounter hostility in the non-Jewish neighborhoods.

A similar incident occurred in Utica, New York, in 1914, where a banner-carrying and marching strike was organized by pupils of Public School Number 18 and their parents. They were objecting, among other problems, to the transfer of the children to a different public school because the greater traveling distance would not permit the children to make it on time to Hebrew School.³⁵

Jewish Enthusiasm for Public Schooling?

But is it necessarily true that the Jewish community was so enthusiastic about the public school, or was it rather a combination of factors that made it appear so? We must remember how poor the Jews were on their arrival in America, and how lacking in religious leadership. It is possible to speculate that the Jews would have wanted to establish more parochial schools, but

34. Cited in Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars — New York City, 1805–1973* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 176.

35. S. Joshua Kohn, *The Jewish Community of Utica, New York — 1847–1948* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1959), p. 118.

simply didn't have the spiritual, financial, or intellectual resources to do so. We also must not forget that German-American Jews had long accepted the public school as the central educational institution in their lives, and that they might have pressured the new immigrants in a variety of ways into accepting the public school the same way they had. There are some early indications that this pressure did occur. For example, The Hebrew Free (parochial) Schools that had been established in order to combat the Christian missionary schools in the Lower East Side closed in 1872 because many German-American Jews had objected to their "sectarian character." Instead they were replaced by afternoon Hebrew schools. The directors of these schools, mostly German-American Jews, were so intent that the children go to public school, at a time when it was not compulsory, that they refused to accept children in Hebrew school unless they also went to public school. But hostility to a separate Jewish education went even further. Clear attempts were made to change the image of the schools away from any Eastern European categories, and soon afterwards, attempts were made to limit the teaching of Hebrew to a bare minimum. Eastern European parents often reacted to these restrictions by pulling their children out of these schools.³⁶

In Milwaukee, German-American Jews blocked a petition presented by a number of Jewish groups in the city, that Hebrew be taught in the public schools to Jewish children, just as languages were being taught to other immigrant children. Milwaukee had at the time an extremely liberal policy in terms of the education of immigrant groups; it was the native Jewish leadership of the city which feared that any such attempts would suggest that Jews were not totally committed to Americanization. The argument they utilized to justify their position was that Hebrew, unlike Polish or Italian, was not spoken in the homes of the immigrants.³⁷

36. Jeremiah J. Berman, "Jewish Education in New York City, 1860-1900," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, IX, (1954), pp. 266-267.

37. Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, *The History of the Jews of Milwaukee* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), p. 260.

Matters went so far in this war of nerves that Jacob Schiff, prominent leader of the German-American Jewish community in New York, proposed in 1889 that a truancy officer be appointed to follow up on the possible absences of Jewish children from public schools. It is interesting to speculate why a truancy officer would have to be appointed if everyone was supposed to be so enthusiastic about the public schools.³⁸

From a report on the Hebrew Free School Association (1880), we could possibly deduce that there may have been a considerable number of Jews among the new immigrants who wanted to establish Day Schools at that time. The report read in part:

To open day schools, as proposed by some, is entirely out of the question. We have no right to open sectarian schools. We cannot, dare not, and must not deprive our children of the benefit of our public schools, the efficiency of which we would never be able to reach or attain. They should and must mingle with children of all nationalities, creeds, and social grades; to grow up in mutual respect, thereby helping us and themselves to break down all barriers of race and creed.³⁹

The tone of this report is very strong and vehement. It is not outlandish to suggest that it was in definite response to pressures the Association might have felt coming from those it was supposed to serve. It would seem that a possible pattern was then established. The resistance to Day School education and the uni-directional and rather authoritarian enthusiasm among the German-American leadership for the public school, plus the weakness of Eastern European Jewry, might well have killed any hope for alternative educational patterns to emerge in American Jewish education at that time. Once the model for Eastern European Jewish educational integration in this country was established, it must have become much more difficult to alter it.

38. Jeremiah J. Berman, "The Return to the Jewish Day School," *Conservative Judaism*, VII, 2, (January, 1951), p. 9.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

As Howe points out,⁴⁰ most of the memoirs of East Side childhood experience in public schools contain warm and tender descriptions of those crucial years, and tales of the exemplary behavior and understanding shown by most teachers. Still one must wonder, as does Howe, why this Jewish literature contains so little material about other unsuccessful situations and teachers. We know from other sources that Jewish children, like many other immigrant children, confronted many situations of extreme abuse and total lack of understanding. Why are these cases so sparsely portrayed in the Jewish literature? The situation is similar to the almost unanimous condemnation of the American Heder in the literature of that time, despite the fact that it is difficult to believe that this institution was in such desperate straits as that literature would have us believe. Here we must ponder about the impulses and inhibitions that regulate the literary production of a people in specific historical circumstances. The triumph of the public school in the Jewish literature not only reflects a reality as perceived by the artist or social scientist, but also symbolizes a political triumph for the American Jew in terms of his/her integration into American society. Whether a conscious or unconscious decision, the almost unanimous condemnation of the Eastern European Heder as transferred to America, and the simultaneously joyous affirmation of the public school are both acts that seem to reflect a deep-felt need of American Jewry in terms of its public image. As such, these intellectual products might go well beyond the objective reality of their time.

The relationship between the public school and the Jewish community is only one example of a complex interaction. Nevertheless it is important to get some insight into which direction the Jewish intellectual leadership in Jewish education of that time was moving, how Jewish education in America should develop. Many leaders were often unable to express their real opinions or carry out their plans because of an inescapable need to compromise with German Jewry, who for a long time held both the economic and political power, and was very much against any

40. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, p. 272.

kind of parochial education. Secondly, it is important to understand and remember that educational leaders were wholly conscious from the start that afternoon school education in and by itself would never be able to do the job. Many of these leaders, being cultural Zionists, could only imagine American Jewry surviving side by side with a very strong Land of Israel. This external source, as Goren put it,⁴¹ would make up for the lack of parochial schools in America. However, even this would not be enough; and it is in this light that we must view the work of Kaplan and Berkson in the development of the Jewish Community Center or Jewish Cultural Center as a central, indispensable, and all-encompassing institution for Jewish learning and expression for all age groups. Last but not least, we still perceive during this period in America a basic fear about the possible effects of isolation in Jewish Day Schools, about the possible backlash from American society, and thus a repetition of the European nightmares recently left behind. Even a unique leader like Dushkin, keenly conscious of the many discriminatory and other negative elements within American public education, was supportive of it for Jewish children in America.⁴² In brief, as Ackerman put it, Jewish education would no longer be complementary, but rather had become clearly secondary to public education.⁴³

An Interpretation and Future Needs

Through our brief exploration in this paper we have tried to convey that, — although it was probably true that East European immigrants carried within them the seeds and often the desire for rapid acculturation and assimilation — these processes would

41. Arthur A. Goren. *New York Jews and the Quest for Community — The Kehilla Experiment 1908–1922* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 125.

42. Alexander M. Dushkin. *Jewish Education in New York City*. (New York: Bureau of Jewish Education, 1918), pp. 137 and 309.

43. Walter I. Ackerman. "The Americanization of Jewish Education," *Judaism*, XXIV, 4, (Fall, 1975), p. 425.

have taken much longer to concretize had the American environment not been "successful" in accelerating the rapid demise of significant forms of Jewish life. The struggle of classical Judaism in this country was not only limited to a need to adapt to new freedoms, individuality, and free choice, but also to a new notion of belonging within the modern nation-state. In this sense the process of adaptation to America was different from the corresponding European experience, where semi-corporate forms of Jewish communal organization subsisted in a variety of ways until the early part of this century.

Moreover, the classical Jewish conception of exile was especially threatened in America by the new Reform ideology, which came to identify the American sojourn of the Jewish people with the long awaited Messianic age. The traditional Jewish self-perception as "outsider," and its implications for the chosenness by God and witness to His presence in the context of human history, was now seriously threatened with annihilation. The heavily theological notion of sin, as connected with the exile experience — which for so long gave meaning to Diaspora existence — rapidly lost most of its power.

In that sense American Zionism, despite its generally secular character and its rootedness in pragmatic needs as against theological premises, was able to play something of a restorative role amidst the lacerating forces prevalent in the American environment.

However it would seem that the negative forces won the day. German-Jewish intransigence with East European folk patterns and its overt and covert attempts at destroying its cultural forms; the denial of the necessary financial support for legitimate forms of true Jewish existence such as parochial schooling and separate communal organizations; the alliance of the German Jewish American elite with the powerful acculturating forces, individuals, and organizations in the non-Jewish American environment; these were all factors which further weakened an already vulnerable American Judaism.

The all-too-frequent playing of semantic games by a number of Jewish groups in American society — offering alternative forms of watered-down Judaism as legitimate, as against the "primitive" East European forms — proved a fatal lure for many struggling young Jews trying to escape the pressures of overt

acculturation. These factors added to the legitimate opportunities offered to the ambitious individual by the rich American environment; and the luring temptations for individual redefinitions in the context of a new and "modern" American culture could only bring about a considerable debacle for the classical forms of Jewish culture, organization, and identification. The American spirit of the age — passionately unfriendly toward the historical and the traditional, in marked contrast with Europe, and dominated by scientific and experimental approaches — complicated even further the dilemmas confronting traditional Judaism in this country.

In coming to an understanding of the weakened links of authentic Judaism within the preimmigrational Eastern European context, recent research has made an invaluable contribution to American Jewish history. However, it would be a tremendous disservice to that history if we were to use this new knowledge as the complete explanation and all-significant clue for the rapid demise of East European culture in America. This would dangerously inhibit the legitimate needs for a thorough exploration of the truly American factors which contributed to American Jewish assimilation. Equally, to speculate exaggeratedly about a causal continuity between the weakening factors in the East European Jewish experience and the assimilatory factors present in the subsequent American experience would show poor historical vision and an all-too-casual and superficial understanding of complex social, psychological and economic factors.

There is a need to study the European and American acculturating factors and contexts as clearly separate entities, as forces belonging to very different "educational configurations," which therefore demand different approaches and careful individual analysis.

The great Jewish leader, Israel Friedlander, understood the dangers of such superficial historicizing or sociologizing as far back as the first decade of this century. While discussing the secularization of East European Jewry during that period, he strenuously warned against any parallels being drawn between that East European phenomenon and the secularization of American or even West European Jewry.

Interpreting historical "facts" is a dubious if not outright dangerous enterprise, which additionally carries heavy moral

and political implications. Thus the historian should be not only a first class professional, but also would do well to be blessed with unflinching courage and a significant ethical sense.⁴⁴

44. Israel Friedlander, "The Americanization of the Jewish Immigrant," in *Past and Present — A Collection of Jewish Essays* (Cincinnati: Ark Publishing Co., 1919), p. 359.

JEWISH SCHOOLING AND JEWISH SURVIVAL IN THE SUBURBAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY¹

David Schoem

This study examines the conflicts and dilemmas that the Jewish people in America face as an ethnic minority group, in their attempt to survive and in their struggle to balance ethnic authenticity with societal integration. Employing the assumption that schooling serves as an agent of cultural transmission, and that it clearly reflects the society in which it exists, a Jewish school and its community were used as the focus of this study. The study reveals that in the case of this school and community, the most pressing problems facing American Jews were the loss of a substantive and meaningful Jewish identity and the dissolution of their Jewish community.

Research Setting and Methodology

The type of school chosen was an elementary school operated under the religious-congregational auspices of a Conservative synagogue. This type of school was desired because it is statistically typical of a large percentage of Jewish schools in America.²

1. Portions of this paper were published previously in *Jewish Education*, XLVIII, (Spring, 1980).

This paper is based on the dissertation by the same author, entitled *Ethnic Survival in America: An Ethnography of a Jewish Afternoon School*, (University of California, Berkeley, 1979).

2. Gerhard Lang, "Jewish Education", *American Jewish Yearbook*, LXIX (1968), pp. 370-383.

As was the case with this school, the largest percentage of students attending Jewish schools nationally (44.4%) were enrolled in 2-5 day a week supplementary schools.³ Also, the largest number of Jewish schools appears to fall within the range of 100-299 students, as did this school with its approximately 250 students.⁴ Finally, the greatest number of Conservative congregations which had such schools had a membership size of 100-249 families,⁵ as was the case in this study in which the congregation had approximately 200 families registered as members. The school met two afternoons (1½ hours each) and one Sunday morning a week. The written curriculum of the school conformed, in general, with the standard curriculum of the Conservative Movement. The school was located in a suburban neighborhood (average 1978 home value was \$70,000-\$120,000) outside a large metropolitan community.

This study was an ethnography, a description and analysis of some social condition, phenomenon, or setting. It is typically open-ended, with the specific research problem being formulated during the study rather than prior to it. It stresses understanding rather than measurement, and is frequently used to generate hypotheses. Ethnographic research attempts not only to capture the specifics of detail and the integration of parts, but also to capture the whole of what is being studied. While it has been widely used by structural-functionalists, it is also highly amenable to use by interactionists. Finally, the ethnographic report is commonly in-depth, quotive, and rich in descriptive detail.

As an ethnography, the study was conducted using qualitative methods. The study utilized research on the staff, students, and parents outside the school walls as well as within the school, so as to afford a more complete picture of the culture of the school.

3. Murray Rockowitz and Gerhard Lang, *Trends in Jewish School Enrollment In the U.S. 1974/75* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1976).

4. Data comes from preliminary statistical sample to be used in update of Rockowitz and Lang, *Trends in Jewish Enrollment in the U.S. 1974/75* (1976).

5. Ahuva Friedman, "Memorandum Re: Size of United Synagogue Congregations", United Synagogue of America (April 25, 1979).

The researcher used the role model of participant-as-observer.⁶ This role affords the researcher the opportunity to ask questions about people and events, to conduct interviews, to work with informants with a degree of openness, and to give full attention to observations. For a period of ten months, one full school year, the researcher was present at all school sessions as well as at other school and community-related events. Students in grades four through seven were the primary focus of observations rather than younger students, because of their better developed verbal abilities and greater awareness of the world about them. High school aged students were not chosen because most students in Jewish afternoon schools discontinue their studies at age thirteen.

In-depth interviews were conducted with students, school staff, school board members, and parents. These eighty interviews ranged from twenty minutes to two hours. Theoretical sampling was used to determine who would be interviewed, employing the techniques of quota sampling, snowball sampling, and deviant sampling.⁷ Informal interviewing was also used frequently as a part of the researcher's role as participant observer. Finally, the researcher also collected and analyzed various school and synagogue documents that were made available to him, such as curricular materials, budget reports, memos, etc.

Identity and Community

An important distinction existed in the minds of the school community between Jewish identification and Jewish identity.

These people identified themselves as Jews but were without any substantive Jewish identity. Dashefsky's definition helps to distinguish the two, stating implicitly that while identity refers to

6. Raymond Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations", *Social Forces*, XXXVI (1958).

7. Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1975), pp. 202-203; Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967) Chapter 3.

something within an individual, identification refers to the presence of an outside source in addition to the individual.⁸ The Jews of this Hebrew school felt proud of their identification as Jews, particularly out of deep concern for Jewish survival and a great hatred of anti-Semites. As one parent said:

We have the feeling we belong — a sense of responsibility; a special little group that has to cling to each other otherwise you might not exist; feeling a part of the six million, Israel. You know you are special because of persecution and it could happen to you.

What stood out as the most important attitudinal factor in the Jewish identity of the people at this school was the fact that they were not non-Jews. Almost as a process of elimination, many understood their Jewish identity as meaning only that they belonged to a different religion than others. As one parent said:

It's a sense of individuality. Especially around here where everybody is Christian. It doesn't matter what kind of Christian they are — Catholics, Protestants, just that they are Christians. And since you are not Christian — you are Jewish — it makes you unique.

Many people spoke of their Jewish identity in behavioral terms. What they actually did behaviorally, however, was less than they imagined, and was rarely incorporated into their daily routine. For the great majority of the school community, their Jewishness was a part of life that was increasingly less time-consuming. In fact, perhaps the most frequent and consistent Jewish behavior in the lives of many of those associated with this school was the school itself, by way of attendance and chauffeuring. Even those few who regretted the fact that they were not as behaviorally Jewish as they would have liked recognized their submission to perceived pressures not to behave Jewishly.

The Jewish community of the people of this school represented something far different from that with which the adults or their

8. Arnold Dashefsky. "And the Search Goes on: The Meaning of Religio-Ethnic Identity and Identification", *Sociological Analysis*, XXX (New York, Winter, 1972).

parents were familiar. The structure of suburbia necessitated that people live a greater distance from one another and from the synagogue and Hebrew school. The secular schools that other children attended were comprised largely of non-Jews. However, even though families wished to be within driving distance of a synagogue, and to have schools with a great percentage of Jewish children, their choice of neighborhood was dependent on where they could find the biggest house in the wealthiest locale they could afford, regardless of the religion or ethnicity of the community.

In the business community, either as students, consumers, or professionals, Jews studied, shopped and worked with few fellow Jews about them, and cited considerable concern about anti-Semitic attitudes. One parent noted the troubling effect that being a Jew in the non-Jewish workplace had had on her:

I have been looking for a teaching job for four years. I never bring out in an interview the fact that I am Jewish. If I am asked, it is a different story. I am not ashamed to be a Jew, but I am really aware of a lot of anti-Semitism; and there is so much prejudice around. When I was asked about my volunteer work, I answered that I worked for a non-philanthropic organization. I would not say I worked for B'nai B'rith Women. I didn't want it to hamper my chances. I thought that was a shame, but you have to be realistic. Especially as a substitute teacher — if I was bad, the kids would say, "What a bad Jewish teacher."

On a personal level, members of the Jewish community felt detached and conflicted. Teachers and parents were angry with one another; Conservative Jews disliked and ridiculed Reform, Orthodox and non-Jews; and internally, organizational arguments were common.

The Jews were ready to come together when the question of survival was at stake. Yet, in the interim, their days were consumed by the non-Jewish people, events, businesses, and neighborhoods in which they lived. They may have belonged to Jewish organizations, but they expected the organizations to do work, not themselves. They supported Israel but preferred not to have anything to do with Israelis. They had Jewish friends, but they didn't do anything Jewish with them. They had good memories

of things being different when they were young, but they were unwilling to let those memories be anything but in the past.

Perhaps it was because of their awareness of the growing problems for themselves as Jews and for Jewish community life that prompted the Hebrew school community to hold on to Jewish schooling as a significant element in their Jewish identification. Nevertheless, even as the school provided an important focus for these problems, what occurred at the school was more a reflection of those problems than a ready source of easy solutions.

School Assumptions

Underlying much of what took place at the Jewish afternoon school was the assumption that an authentic and all-embracing Jewish "Way of Life" was a viable, actual, and desirable style of life for Jews in America. The rabbi and principal developed the curriculum, the teachers conducted their classes, and many of the parents sent their children to the school with the implicit understanding that underlying what was learned in the classroom was a Jewish culture and "Way of Life" for which that learning could be used, experienced, developed and enriched. In addition, the staff and many parents of the school approached classroom instruction with the full belief that in their own lives they embodied this Jewish "Way of Life".

The Jewish "Way of Life", although never explicitly defined, suggested some practice beyond the mere capacity to identify membership in one's ethnic group or to acknowledge one's historical roots. It implied a continuity of the historical into the present, so that one acted and thought in an ongoing and encompassing cultural present. It stated that one formed feelings, beliefs, values, and thoughts according to a framework of Jewish knowledge and understanding. The staff and many parents of the school assumed, therefore, that what was taught was actual, not historical, that it was relevant to students' lives, and, most importantly, that it was representative of the lives of many Jews in their community and throughout America.

Despite the encompassing presence of the Jewish "Way of Life" assumption within the school, the Jews of this community were unable to be more explicit in defining a Jewish "Way of

Life” because they had only the vaguest notion of the content of a “framework of Jewish knowledge and understanding.”

In practice, however, neither the staff nor the parents did, in fact, embody the Jewish “Way of Life”. It is not surprising, therefore, that in maintaining such a posture at the school, their inconsistency would be glaring.

In what was a typical classroom lesson, a seventh grade teacher asked the students to describe in what ways the Sabbath differed from other days of the week. In response to a student’s answer that “on the Sabbath we pray”, the teacher said, “But you pray every day.” In this case, not only was the teacher’s response completely detached from reality, but the student who answered was also speaking in theoretical terms. Many of the students in the class had not been to a prayer service on the Sabbath for up to six months or more. When the teacher, who managed a restaurant on Friday evenings, then began to speak about “why don’t we work on the Sabbath”, students giggled incredulously because of the question’s absurdity. Clearly, this lesson that was being discussed in first person terms, was, in the students’ minds, about a people that was far removed from their own reality.

Alongside the Jewish “Way of Life” assumption, there existed the Jewish “Community” assumption. The Jewish “Community” assumption held that despite the fact that individual families might not be observant or actively involved Jewishly, there still existed a personal, active, vibrant, and supportive Jewish community. The staff still assumed that Jewish families gathered for holidays, that the children had Jewish friends, that as a whole the community still had a strong feeling about the Sabbath day, and that people were actively involved in Jewish organizations. This image of community was comprised not of individual persons or families — but of a general faceless impression that such a community did exist.

As a result, issues of community were not even addressed by the curriculum, because it was assumed that the community was in good order, and that students were participating in other community-oriented organizations.

The few hours that the school met represented that time when Jews of this community “stepped out” of their daily lives to be and to act Jewish. In time, money, attitude and commitment, the Hebrew school was a part-time endeavor. Being Jewish, except

for their survival fears, was indeed a part-time concern. So, too, were most people only concerned about the school in terms of maintenance and survival, while putting it out of their minds most other times. In an important budgetary discussion, an influential member of the congregation board gave an oft unspoken but widely supported answer to a disturbing question:

Does the congregation really want quality education? Maybe we just want the kids to make it through their Bar Mitzvah.

When students talked about "school" among themselves, the reference was always to their public school, never the Jewish school. One student who no longer attended this Hebrew school explained that, "when I went, Hebrew school didn't really count — oh, it's just Hebrew school."

The Curriculum

At the school under study, the rabbi and principal were very proud of the printed curriculum that they had developed. However, they thought of it, primarily, in its ideal, printed form. The teachers, on the other hand, were responsible for operationalizing the curriculum in their individual classrooms, and thus had different interpretations and viewpoints regarding it which were often reflected in their instruction. The students, who were the intended recipients of the substance of the curriculum, further affected the curriculum by bringing to the classroom their own life experiences and youthful perspectives. The parents, too, viewed the curriculum from their own perspective as outside but interested observers; they were just responsible for funding the school and sending their children to it. In this broader sense, as it was played out by all parties in all its facets in the day-to-day classroom experience, the curriculum was not just a printed document but was a multi-dimensional configuration. It was in this form that it illustrated and brought clarity to the dilemmas, pressures, and difficulties that being an ethnic minority in a pluralistic society entails.

Both the principal and rabbi realized, at times, that what they wrote into the curriculum did not necessarily make its way successfully into the students' hearts and minds, despite their belief that it was the best Hebrew school curriculum in the entire metropolitan area. Indeed, despite their enthusiasm for what they had developed, they sometimes spoke of the difficulty in achieving all of their goals. The failures that they did recognize, however, were always attributed to people, circumstances, and events external to the school. Nevertheless, in recognizing problems facing the school, there was no attempt to alter the curriculum to meet changing needs, other than in superficial ways. It seemed that the prevailing attitude of the rabbi and principal was that their curriculum was excellent, but, unfortunately, they were lacking the proper circumstances, community, and type of students to whom to teach it.

The curriculum underwent major changes in its transit from the printed page to the teachers' instruction. There was not only disagreement and re-interpretation of what was written, but there was also considerable unauthorized individual curriculum development and goal-setting within classrooms. One teacher remarked:

The written down curriculum has no relation to what is being taught and the kids know nothing of what they were supposed to be taught in the years past.

A factor that made learning difficult, according to some parents and teachers, was that the content itself was superficial and too repetitive from year to year. One senior teacher said:

We're getting more concerned with rattling off prayers than with understanding the meaning. Hebrew is too surface. The other (the values of Jewish identity) is harder.

Another teacher went so far as to say that she believed students were being disruptive in their behavior precisely because of the vacuous content of the curriculum. She stated:

I think the kids are justified in misbehaving. Their feeling is that they are getting the same stuff again and again. And it is useless. There really is no continuity to the program.

"Boredom" was one of the most commonly expressed emotions used to describe the student's experience at the Jewish school. Although it was primarily students who talked about being bored, a few teachers and parents accepted their talk as accurately depicting their feelings. One parent with two children in the school sadly commented, "I think the school is just plain boring for the kids." The students themselves were quite certain that they were feeling bored at Hebrew school. One student, who blamed the boredom on the repetition of instruction, explained how he and his friends experienced the school:

Pre-K is the only important class. After that they just teach you the same thing over again and over again and over again and over again. That's why everyone is bored. Like today, nobody answered the question because we all knew it and it's the same thing. We're just bored of it.

Other students felt that part of the problem lay with the teachers' inability to present their material in an interesting manner. One girl said:

Everyone talks and laughs and talk among themselves and don't listen; because the teacher is boring. He doesn't do anything that we would want to listen to.

This study tends to confirm Ackerman's report that startlingly little cognitive material is being learned in afternoon schools.⁹ Although this research did not utilize any standardized tests, it was difficult not to recognize the immensity of the problem. Students in the sixth grade did not know words being taught in the second grade, and the basic vocabulary of holidays, historical

9. Walter Ackerman. "Jewish Education — For What", *American Jewish Yearbook*, LXX (1969), p. 22.

events and religious observance were forgotten year after year and from week to week. Teachers were frequently surprised in class by student ignorance of a core of the most elementary cultural information. On top of that, they quickly found that students neither studied nor did homework, that only a small percentage of students paid attention during class, and only a very few participated. Finally, the teachers and students recognized and admitted that students were not learning the cognitive material to any acceptable degree or standard.

Students expressed disappointment, anger, and rebelliousness at not learning; teachers spoke out of a deep sense of frustration, hopelessness, and despair. One of the bright, rebellious students revealed her confusion and ambivalence about the school in evaluating her experience there. She said:

We don't learn to read. We haven't learned anything since third grade. We don't know what anything means. It's nice to be able to follow the service, but I don't know what it means. I think Hebrew school is dumb. I mean, we don't learn anything. Like right now, me and my friends are sitting back there writing notes to one another and talking and the teacher is just having a conversation with herself.

Perhaps most indicative of the classroom experience and curricular failure was the emotional comment of one devoted teacher. Exasperated, she exclaimed:

Everyday I came back from the school I had a heart attack because I hadn't accomplished anything.

In the affective domain, too, the curriculum in practice proved to be much different from the printed document indicated. In class, the teachers attempted to present to their students an image that indicated a normative standard in approach to things Jewish within Conservative Judaism. The teachers also implied to their students that as individuals each teacher lived according to those normative standards. While allowing for some minor exceptions, they also implied that as a group there was a high degree of uniformity both in opinion and behavior in these matters.

In actuality, however, the teaching staff was as a whole a diverse group in Jewish terms. It included some who were not religious (even to the point of being anti-religious), some who were quite confused about their Jewishness, and some who were observant in a very traditional and religious manner.

It was difficult for students not to notice the teacher's aide with the transistor radio who periodically walked out of class on Sunday mornings to listen to the latest football information. In one case, a senior teacher even left school early on certain Sundays in order to arrive at football games before kickoff time. In addition, students were never far away during recess when teachers would excitedly describe the concert or movie they had been to on Friday evening, the Jewish Sabbath.

Despite the attempts of the administration and the school staff to convey a certain image and feeling about being Jewish through the affective curriculum, and to teach knowledge, values, and skills through the cognitive curriculum, their efforts were often at odds with one another; what the students experienced in class was most often different from what either intended. In fact, the desire to create some change and greater involvement in Jewish life through the school curriculum was not successful. Rather, what the students did learn about being Jewish was vague and ambiguous, and the feelings they developed were marked by ambivalence. Indeed, that image was a more accurate representation of the true condition of the Jews in this community than the picture their teachers had unsuccessfully attempted to present in class through the curriculum.

Implications for Change

Given the understanding that schooling is a mechanism for cultural transmission, one would expect that in studying a school, some notions of what cultural information and experiences were being transmitted would have come forth. Indeed, that was the case in this study. However, what was learned was not any clear statement about Jewish life and tradition, but rather that the Jewish people in this community were anxious, confused, and deeply conflicted about their Jewish identity, their Jewish community, and their dilemma of being Jewish in a non-Jewish America. The

underlying issues facing this Jewish school, within the school as well as without, were ones of cultural conflict and ambiguity.

In order for change to occur in this setting, it seems appropriate that the Jewish people must directly confront these conflicts and dilemmas in all of their complexity, ambiguity, and harsh reality. The condition of the Jewish school, in respect to these problems, was one of antipathy, ambivalence, confusion, and isolation. If it is the desire of the Jewish people to rise above a way of life dictated by and limited to survival and identification, it appears for this community, at least, necessary to confront openly the issues that face them and to appraise honestly the extent to which those issues may pervade all ranks and levels of the Jewish community in America.

In addition, Jewish educators must begin with the assumption that an authentic Jewish identity for life in modern America is not understood either by the masses of Jewish people or by its educators and leaders. It would seem that one of the major goals of Jewish education must be the constant pursuit of authentic Jewish identity for modern times. In turn, that goal is closely tied to what must be a second major goal of Jewish education — the strengthening and rebuilding of Jewish community. Once achieved, attempts at change in the domain of more traditional school problems, such as curriculum, learning environment, administration, social structure, and social developments, will produce much more successful results.

A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF AN INNOVATIVE LIVING EXPERIENCE IN ISRAEL The Dream and the Reality

Ronald G. Wolfson

There is little doubt that an experience in Israel can have a tremendous impact on the positive Jewish identification of our youth. Thousands of Jewish teenagers from the Diaspora come to Israel each year, sent by parents and educators who hope that Israel will work its magic on their young people and return them home newly strengthened in Jewish knowledge and identification.¹ For their part, Israeli educators and officials hope that these young people will form long-lasting commitments to the State of Israel, counting on them as future strong supporters as they mature into Jewish adulthood.

Thus a sojourn in Israel has become one of the most powerful experiences the Jewish community has to reinforce Jewish identification and improve the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. The problem is: we know how they are planned; we don't know how they are implemented; we don't know how they affect the youth when they are here or when they get home. What's worse, we have no clear *conceptual* guidelines for maximizing the potential effectiveness of the Israel experience.

I was privileged to have a unique opportunity to study an innovative living experience in Israel from the initial inception of the idea to its very conclusion ...from the dream to the reality. I would like to share the results, in the hope that the tiny bit of data and the conceptual analysis presented will contribute to our

1. *The Pedagogic Reporter*, XXVI, 1, (Fall, 1974) for informal reports on a variety of Israel tours and their consequences.

understanding of Israel experiences for Diaspora youth in particular, and this genre of Jewish educational experiences in general.

First, a bit of history. During the 1970-71 school year, Congregation B'nai Israel, a Conservative synagogue in Graceville instituted an experimental post Bar/Bat Mitzvah program called the *Vov* Class. Hoping to reverse the ninety-eight percent drop-out rate of eighth graders, it was to be a voluntary, intensive program of Jewish education based on several major hunches:

1. The students needed a fresh start after five or six years of Hebrew school.
2. The class should be led by a teacher who could create a "democratic" atmosphere in the group.
3. The program should revolve around nine monthly Shabbatot.
4. Just as at summer camp, from which most of these hunches were derived, students should be close to nature.

Well, it turned out that nature wasn't too important, but everything else was, in establishing what Bernard Lipnick (whose book, *An Experiment That Works in Teenage Religious Education*,² describes and analyzes the *Vov* Class) calls a small, organic, self-evolving Jewish community among the aggregate of fourteen-year-old students who participated in the experimental year. I have termed this entity a "reference community," that is, an actual community to which an individual refers himself or herself as a part, or, to which he personally aspires psychologically and which thus maintains influence over him. Such a reference community may be *normative* — a community that sets and enforces standards for its members; or *comparative* — a community that serves as a standard or comparison point against which an individual evaluates himself, his community or others.^{3*}

2. Bernard Lipnick. *An Experiment That Works in Teenage Religious Education* (New York: Block Publishing Company, 1976).

3. See Raymond Schmitt, *The Reference Other Orientation: An Extension of the Reference Group Concept* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972) for further elaboration of the "reference other" concept.

* Note: henceforth, students of both sexes will be referred to as "he."

The *Vov* Class became a normative reference community for members who had participated in a year of "learning to live together Jewishly." This group building process took place in a normative Jewish framework which included intensive total living situations, where the minimum structures of Conservative Jewish living — Shabbat observance, kashrut, attention to moral behavior, and study — had been adopted into the life of the group. Thus, as the *Vov* Class ended, the members of the *Ziyon Class Jewish normative reference community* sought the continuation of their community existence.

Initially, the students thought the *Ziyon* year would simply be an extension of their experiment in living together Jewishly. But at the final banquet of the *Vov* Class, a student's whimsical comment was to result in a new goal for the group. I quote from the data of Monday, May 31, 1971:

I was asking the kids which of the three places we had used for our weekend retreats they liked best and which we would want to use in the *Ziyon* class.

"How about spending a weekend in Israel next year?" Rich Young joked. The kids chuckled with amusement, but Rabbi Bernard Levy, the group's non-participant observer and senior rabbi of B'nai Israel decided to end his year long silence:

"How serious is that remark, Rich?"

"Well," Rich replied, slightly taken aback, "I don't know. I guess it is serious."

"Then if it's really serious, what do the rest of you think?"

All of the kids agreed they wanted to go to Israel, and all but one as a group with the *Ziyon* Class. Throughout the remainder of the evening the kids spoke of their newly-found goal ... As the parents arrived to pick up the kids, Louise called out from her car to the group the traditional Hebrew phrase — 'Next year in Jerusalem!' The *Vov* Class had discovered a dream; it remains to be seen whether the *Ziyon* Class can make it a reality.⁴

Before continuing the story, permit me to pause for a note on the methodology employed in the study — the ethnographic approach of participant observation. There are several roles a participant

4. Ronald G. Wolfson. *A Description and Analysis of an Innovative Living Experience in Israel — The Dream and the Reality*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1974, pp. 36-38.

observer may take in studying a natural phenomenon under investigation. In this case, the teacher of the *Vov* Class in Lipnick's study, a young man by the name of Roger Wilkinson, also happened to be a doctoral student at a nearby university. Like most doctoral students, Roger was in need of a topic for his Ph.D. dissertation. Since he had been trained as the "inside" observer in Lipnick's study, he was skilled in participant observation methodology. He also knew that whatever happened to the dream of going to Israel with the *Ziyon* Class, the continuation of Lipnick's study might be important and would certainly be interesting.

There was only one minor concern. While there had been many instances of complete or true participant observation studies wherein the observer actually shared in the life activities of those he studied, Roger was additionally an *influential* member of the socio-cultural system under investigation. The question thus became: could a rationale be given for this role, and what sort of data could be collected which would simultaneously include the "personal knowledge" of the insider and the more detached "social data" of the experience? Appealing to such scholars as Abraham Maslow and Michael Polanyi, Roger proposed a detailed plan of data-collection in the field, which his advisors approved.⁵

The basic strategy of participant observation is to capture the story as it unfolds in all of its detail. Thus, during the *Ziyon* Class year prior to the Israel experience, extensive notes were recorded on all class sessions, weekend *Kallot* (seminars) and all extra-class developments including staff meetings, phone calls, and correspondence. The notes included verbatim comments jotted down during class, as well as more expository interpretive asides which helped to cue later analysis. On Shabbat, tape recordings were made in lieu of written notes.⁶ In Israel, notes were taken by means of a small notebook and lengthy taped summary observations during the day. Twelve hundred photographs were taken,

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 1145–1198, presents a review of previous cases of true participant observation studies and a rationale for influential true participant observation as a research stance.

6. Although Orthodox Judaism considers tape recording tantamount to writing, the researchers involved in this project did not consider it so.

nineteen of which are actually reproduced in the dissertation, and tape recordings were made of two important evaluation seminars. Data were collected from the students, including their diaries and letters sent home. Other observers on the scene also contributed their written and oral observations about the experience as they watched it develop.

It should be noted that during most of the study, there was no attempt to cover up the research process. Everyone knew Roger was studying the experience, and by and large those involved ignored his incessant note-taking. The dissertation is presented in two parts: a daily diary which offers the reader an extended descriptive narrative of the experience, and a conceptual analysis which seeks not to verify preconceived hypotheses, but to generate a substantive, middle-range theory, grounded in data and informed by existing social, psychological, anthropological, and educational understandings.⁷

Let us now return to the story of the *Ziyon* Class. The idea of a group trip to Israel was quickly seized upon by Rabbi Levy, and later that summer he visited a potential setting for the sojourn — a *moshav shitufi* called Ner Tamid. What Levy discovered was a closely knit religious community, populated with Jewish families who ordered their lives according to the norms and values of Judaism — a Jewish normative reference community *par excellence*.

Moreover, there existed a *chevrah* (membership group) of Israeli teenagers precisely the same age as the American *Ziyon* Class students. What soon revealed itself was the possibility of a truly exciting living experience for the *Ziyon* Class in Ner Tamid. The American students would be placed in Israeli families having a teenager who belonged to the Israeli *chevrah*. The American student would live the life of his Israeli host, working and playing, touring and praying as he did. Through this participation in the life style of a religious Israeli teenager, the *Ziyon* Class member would learn about and strengthen his own Jewish observance, knowledge, and identity. The ultimate social goal would be the integration of each American student into the host family, the Israeli *chevrah*, and the Ner Tamid Jewish reference community. Subsequently, I called this proposed integration of American

7. See Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967).

students into the Israeli community *enculturation* — the process of transmitting a particular culture — in this case, Jewish culture as lived in Ner Tamid.⁸ Although Jewish, the American students were — as Harold Himmelfarb has so aptly pointed out, by and large culturally deprived Jewishly.⁹ Furthermore, it is important to note that these were average teenagers, not an elite group of the best Hebrew school students. Both the Israeli and American educators felt that if this experience was successful, the American students would at least be exposed to the norms and values of Jewish culture as lived in the natural environment of a religious community.

With this basic goal in mind, the *Ziyon* Class preparatory year of 1971-72 became a time of establishing parental support for the idea, arranging the details of the sojourn, creating a positive feeling towards the moshav and its way of life, and — most important — preparing the students for the experience.

Twice weekly class sessions and six weekend *Kallot* were devoted to studying Israel and the Hebrew language, and to attempting to simulate certain life experiences the students would have in Ner Tamid. Personal contacts were established with the Israeli peer *chevrah* through the exchange of letters, tapes, and pictures. Basic issues common to all groups of teenagers bound for Israel were considered, yet the *Ziyon* Class students had a few more pressing questions for which no ready-made curriculum was available: Will we make friends with our Israeli peers? Will we be accepted by our Israeli families? Will we be able to fulfill our work commitment? Will we be able to live an orthodox Jewish life?

In making the norms, values, beliefs, and religious observances of the moshav visible to the American students, the educators were setting up Ner Tamid as a *comparative* reference community. The *Ziyon* Class members were clearly able to compare the differences between the Jewish experiences of their group and the

8. See Margaret Mead, "Socialization and Enculturation," *Current Anthropology*, IV, 187, (April, 1963) for the distinction between socialization and enculturation.

9. Harold Himmelfarb, "Jewish Education for Naught — Educating the Culturally Deprived Child," *Analysis*, LI, 1975.

Jewish life style of Ner Tamid. The trying-on process during the preparatory year I have called *anticipatory enculturation* — wherein the members of the *Ziyon* Class Jewish *normative* reference community, by *anticipating* the way of life they were to experience during the summer, might therefore find readier acceptance by and an easier adjustment to the Jewish *comparative* reference community of Ner Tamid.¹⁰

By the time the *Ziyon* Class boarded the plane for Israel, the students had completed an intensive Jewish group experience, spanning nearly two years which resulted in a highly cohesive Jewish reference community. The question was, whether each member of that community and the group as a whole would successfully achieve respective individual and collective goals in Israel.

Among the interesting data and concepts which emerged from the study of the actual sojourn to Israel were the deepening salience of the *Ziyon* Class community norms in the minds of the students, the new level of responsibility for their conduct during the trip, the opportunity for the group to work out the problems and processes of traveling abroad, and the increased affiliative tendencies as the anxiety and excitement about meeting the Israelis increased prior to the last leg of the journey to Israel.¹¹

From the very first contacts with the Israeli teenagers, the nine girls and four boys of the *Ziyon* Class began comparing — comparing the clothes, the cars, the houses, the foods, and the religious customs, with those they were used to in America. In short, when the *Ziyon* Class arrived in Ner Tamid, they continued their comparative reference relationships with the Israelis, very much “strangers” on the periphery of a host society, although anxious to become accepted “temporary members” and willing to learn the norms of life in Ner Tamid.¹² But how exactly does a

10. See Robert K. Merton, “Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour,” *Social Theory and Social Structures* (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 12–19, for a discussion of anticipatory socialization.

11. Wolfson, “A Description and Analysis of an Innovative Living Experience in Israel,” pp. 1009–1027.

12. Simon N. Herman and Erling O. Schild, “The Stranger-Group in a Cross-Cultural Situation,” *Sociometry*, XXIV, (June, 1961), pp. 165–176.

stranger learn the behavior appropriate for host culture? Erling Schild has identified three ways:

1. *explicit communication* from knowledgeable others both before and during the sojourn,
2. *observation* of new stimuli as the experience progresses, and
3. by actual *participation* in the particular roles and functions found in the sociocultural system of the host society.¹³

Unlike most student tourists and foreign visitors who are usually limited to low levels of participation in the host culture, the *Ziyon* Class member was immediately thrust into the role of an Israeli student and was thus exposed to a series of what I have called *enculturating agents* from which he was able to learn the proper behavior of Ner Tamid through explicit communication and observation:

- The Israeli host family, in which the American guest learned the values of Jewish family life;
- The Israeli peer host, who acted as a role model and provided the initial entree into the Israeli peer group;
- The Israeli mother, who accepted the job of providing a home away from home;
- The Israeli father, who modeled religious behaviors, particularly for the boys;
- The Israeli *chevrah*, with which the Americans interacted constantly;
- The field bosses who enthusiastically taught that one learns to love the land by working it;
- The tour guides, Israeli fathers who lent a personal touch to all the excursions;
- Other Israeli adults — from Gingi the grocer to the Israeli *chevrah's* counselor — all of whom possessed the potential to teach the norms of Ner Tamid;
- Finally, the American personalities in Ner Tamid, particularly Dr. Mordechai Deutsch, a well-known professor at Jerusalem University, and his wife, Leah, who initially made the connection between Ner Tamid and B'nai Israel and who opened

13. Erling O. Schild, "The Foreign Student as Stranger, Learning the Norms of the Host Culture," *Journal of Social Issues*, XVIII (January, 1962), pp. 43-45.

their home in the *meshek* (settlement) to the American students to discuss any problems they had;

— And of course, Roger and Sara Wilkinson, who acted as the American *in loco parentis* for the *Ziyon* Class students.

Besides the enculturating agents, the American student learned the norms of Ner Tamid by engaging in the enculturating functions of taking the role of an Israeli student. Most important was the daily living schedule of the first four weeks of the sojourn, which revolved around religious observances and work. American boys wore *kipot* (skullcaps) at all times, *davened* (prayed) every morning, and even visited the *mikveh* (ritual bath) on Fridays, while the girls learned to dress modestly in the *meshek* and to follow the services and participate in home rituals. Shabbat, of course, gained new meaning for the *Ziyon* Class students, not only because of the beauty of the traditional observances, but as a day of rest as well. The Americans were given work assignments equal to those of the Israeli teenagers. Unlike the "make-work" jobs many American students complain about on brief kibbutz stays, the *Ziyon* Class members were given the opportunity to prove themselves worthy of temporary membership in the moshav by successfully completing these "meaningful" work arrangements. The fact that they did so, perhaps more than any other single function, supported the students' later claims for recognition as more than guests in Ner Tamid. Among the other enculturating functions were the Hebrew language experiences, formal and informal classes, nightly group activities, and various excursions around the country.

One last point on this. Unlike many of the nationally-based pilgrimages to Israel, the *Ziyon* Class student came to this tremendously demanding sojourn as an already accepted member of a closely-knit peer community. It would be difficult to underestimate how important this fact was to the American students as they encountered the experience. The *Ziyon* Class itself served an enculturating function as it served to confirm or deny the social reality its members were perceiving. Moreover, when the pressure of living in Ner Tamid got too intense, the *Ziyon* Class acted as an accepting and empathetic refuge for the American student. If he teetered on the tightrope of acceptance in Ner Tamid, the *Ziyon* Class reference community functioned as a safety net to catch him.

In short, while the American students learned the norms of Ner Tamid through explicit communication and observation, the fact that they successfully participated in nearly all facets of living as Israeli teenagers enabled the *Ziyon* Class to begin to undergo the *process of enculturation* which will now be discussed below.

Three phases of the enculturation process have been identified as depicted in Figure 1.

The process of enculturation involved a basic change along two dimensions of the individual and/or group experience in accepting the normative standards of living of a particular culture. One of these dimensions was the *scope of the normative reference relationship* established between those undergoing enculturation and those who represented the particular culture being transmitted.¹⁴ Recall that the reference relationship involves the sort of influence a person or a community has on an individual or group. During the enculturation process, the reference relationship between the *Ziyon* Class and Ner Tamid, which was initially comparative, moved along a scale of normative influence. The second dimension of the process was the change in the *membership* status of the American students in Ner Tamid.¹⁵

Briefly, these three phases unfolded as follows: During the first phase, the American students had a compliant normative reference relationship with Ner Tamid.¹⁶ In the attempt to gain minimal acceptance, the *Ziyon* Class member had to comply with the norms of the reference other. Herbert Kelman, in his work on the process of opinion change, has identified three antecedents and three consequents for each phase of the normative reference relationship as depicted in Figure 1.¹⁷ The major point is that throughout the compliant phase an individual's overt behavior,

14. See Schmitt, *The Reference Other Orientation*, p. 66.

15. See Merton, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," pp. 338-342.

16. See Herbert C. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization in Attitude Change," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, II (March, 1958) pp. 51-60.

17. Herbert C. Kelman, "Processes of Opinion Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXV, (Spring, 1961), p. 65.

Figure 1
Three Phases of the Enculturation Process

<i>I. Scope of Normative Reference Relationships</i>	<i>Compliant</i>	<i>Identification</i>	<i>Internalized</i>
<i>Antecedents</i> 1) Basis for importance of accepting influence	Social effects of behavior-initial acceptance	Social anchorage of behavior	Value congruence of behavior
2) Power of influencing agent	Means control	Attractiveness	Credibility
3) Manner of achieving prepotency of induced response	Behavior choices limited	Role requirements limit behavior choices	Reorganization of means-ends relationships
<i>Consequents</i> 1) Conditions of performance of induced response	Surveillance by influence agent	Salience of relationship	Relevance of values
2) Conditions of change and/or extinction of induced response	If not best path to social rewards	If doesn't maintain satisfying self-defining re-relationships	If doesn't maximize individual's values
3) Behavior system in which induced response is embedded	External demands of specific setting	Expectations defining a specific role	Personal value system
II. Membership Status	Aspiring, eligible non-members	Define selves as members	Defined as members

rather than internalized attitudes, is influenced by external demands. The American students did not have to believe in the value of Shabbat or work, other than for its ability to produce a desired social outcome.

The membership status of the American students during the compliant phase was that of aspiring, eligible *non*-members interacting in the established patterns of living in the community. Although the Israelis were cordial in their welcome, there was considerable evidence of a negative stereotype of Americans. Yet, the initial compliance with the norms and the early successes with families, work, and the Israeli *chevrah*, resulted in the realization that these were “good kids,” and the possibility of temporary membership increased.

As the American students noted this initial tentative acceptance among the Israelis, and became familiar with the life style of Ner Tamid, they began to develop positive sentiments toward the host community. Rather than merely complying with the norms of the community, the *Ziyon* Class began to look upon the behavior of Jewish living as satisfying to their own self-image. In short, the normative reference relationship moved from compliant to *identification*.

The most convincing evidence that the American students were beginning to identify themselves with the Israelis arose as the *Ziyon* Class completed its work commitment and began a program of travel throughout the country. While touring like Israelis—traveling in pickup trucks, sleeping in schools, and even eating home-cooked food sent along by the Israeli mothers—these excursions allowed the American students the opportunity to venture out into the rest of Israeli society, where they were faced with the task of defining themselves.

A short extract from the data will illustrate the point. The scene is the Weizmann Institute, where the Americans and a few of the Israelis were about to go on their first tour of the sojourn:

At 1:30 PM we were off to Rehovot. Neda, Shmuel, and Eliahu came along with us for the visit. We met Arthur Zalkin at the reception center and awaited the start of the guided tour of the Weizmann Institute. The waiting lounge was jammed with tourists and the receptionist was angry because she had no previous notice that we were coming although I had called in last week. So when the tour bus

arrived, there was standing room only and most of the kids stood during the ride through the campus.

The first stop was Chaim Weizmann's grave site. He, of course, was the first president of the State of Israel and a famous diplomat and scientist. A short rotund woman guide gave a very cursory summary of Weizmann's life. She seemed in a hurry to get the tour over with. Immediately I was aware of our kids' displeasure with the other tourists, predominantly Americans dressed in bermuda shorts, white patent leather shoes, and outfitted with bright orange and white kibbutz hats with "Dan Tours" imprinted on them.

On the way back to the bus, we stopped at a symbolic Torah scroll with all of the concentration camp names inscribed upon it. Arthur explained it to us, although most of the kids were already complaining of being tired and someone suggested skipping the rest of the tour.

But I herded the kids back into the crowded tourist bus for the short drive to a huge auditorium. There we were led into a hall where at least eight hundred tourists sat waiting to see a film on the work of the Institute. After the film, we were guided into the Weizmann Library where a permanent exhibition of memorabilia, ranging from Weizmann's pajamas to his Israel passport with no. 0000001 on it, was on display. Some of the kids enjoyed it, but Sara got pushed around by a crowd of tourists and the girls reported an American man with a New York accent walked into the girl's rest room by mistake. Most of the kids were the first back on the bus for the return trip to the tenders.

All the kids could talk about was how "gross" the American tourists were with their funny hats, name tags and cameras draped all over them. They did not want to be identified with them at all and were slightly embarrassed in front of their Israeli friends. They kept saying, "Let's get off this bus," and "Let's go back to Ner Tamid." As we walked back to the tenders, I pointed out a whole group of tourists boarding their big air-conditioned bus:

"See that, kids. They're going back to their big impersonal tourist hotel for the night. Aren't you glad you're going back home to Ner Tamid instead?"

There was no disagreement. I've been telling the kids for the past week that the way we're seeing Israel is the best way and that most American tourists don't get to really know Israel and Israelis. Today the kids mingled for the first time with other Americans and wanted nothing to do with them. They very happily identify themselves to others as American kids living with and like Israelis at Ner Tamid. When we returned home to Ner Tamid, the kids agreed that this trip was not as good as the others, mainly because we had to join other American *touristeam*. They were very happy to return to their families and friends in the moshav.¹⁸

18. Wolfson, "A Description and Analysis of an Innovative Living Experience in Israel," pp. 609-611.

During the identification phase the source of influence moved from essentially external forces to a tentative self-identification with the norms and values of Ner Tamid. This became quite clear as the *Ziyon* Class students' membership status moved from *aspiring* non-members to *defining themselves* as members of Ner Tamid. This self-definition reached a climax near the end of the experience when they met another group of tourists at Ramat Hanadiv. I quote from the actual written notes of August 6, 1972: "We stop at a map of the area and other American tourists are nearby. The kids ask where they are from — New York and Miami. *They* ask back — the answer is: NER TAMID!"¹⁹

Finally, during the last weeks of the sojourn, highlighted by a five-day tour with the Israeli *chevrah*, the *Ziyon* Class moved from an identification to an internalized normative reference relationship with Ner Tamid. An individual who internalizes behaviors takes note of norms and adopts them as his own because he perceives them to be similar to and contributing towards the maximization of his own values. An example of internalization is the case of a visitor to a foreign country who, challenged by the different patterns of behavior to which he is exposed, may decide to adopt them selectively and in modified form because they are more in keeping with his own values than patterns in his home country. Thus, a *Ziyon* Class student, once back home, might observe Shabbat as he did in Ner Tamid because he finds the norms of observance of Shabbat in Ner Tamid intrinsically rewarding and consistent with his own values. Such internalized norms stand the greatest chance of remaining operative in the student's value system back in the United States.

In sum then, the American students first complied neutrally with a set of external demands in order to gain initial acceptance, then began to identify positively with these norms, and finally began to internalize the standards of behavior as being relevant to their own personal value systems.

As for the American students' membership status during the final phase, let me quote a brief excerpt from the data reporting the farewell celebration on the eve of the *Ziyon* Class departure from Ner Tamid:

19. *Ibid.*, p. 806.

Then Moti called on Shlomo Solar for a few words. As always, he was magnificent. First he presented each American with a copy of the *T'fillat ha-Derech*, the prayer for travel, with the hope that "God will hear your prayer and will guard you wherever you go." Then he told the assembled group that because of the successful summer, the Americans should no longer be called "*Americayeem*;" rather, they are the "*chaverim* of B'nai Israel," and "our *chaverim*," our friends. The impact of Shlomo's thoughts was instantaneous. After his speech, no one called our group "*Americayeem*." What a great moment, for it represented the dropping of a negative stereotype by the Israelis. It is hard to gauge how much that name "*Americayeem*" meant to the Israelis before, but Shlomo did away with it.²⁰

Thus, it was not until this final phase that the Israelis verbalized their acceptance of the *Ziyon* Class students as "*chaverim*." The evidence for this development consisted of various *symbols of acceptance*: Israeli mothers trusting their American "children" with shopping chores; Israeli boys sharing their most prized possessions — bicycles — with the American students; the sincere invitations to return offered by the Israeli families; Ner Tamid's desire to continue the program for the benefit of *their* teenagers; and the painful departure which most accurately described amounted to a separation of family members. Having undergone successfully the process of enculturation into the Ner Tamid Jewish — now *normative* for the Americans — reference community, the *Ziyon* Class students were *defined by the Israelis as members* of their families, peer *chevrah*, and general community.

In fact, it can be stated that at the end of this final phase of enculturation, for the American student, the *Ziyon* Class and Ner Tamid became *mutually sustaining* Jewish normative reference communities. Through the enculturation process into Ner Tamid, the minimum structures of Jewish culture present in the American student reference community since the *Vov* Class were "fleshed out." To the extent these behaviors were internalized by the American students, the hope was that they would continue to participate in Jewish living and maintain the norms, values, and beliefs of Judaism upon their return to America.

Certainly there were problems encountered during the experience. Among them were:

1. The students had a difficult time with Hebrew. In fact the

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 868-869.

data indicate the students acquired more of a will to begin serious study of Hebrew than actual Hebrew fluency.

2. The leadership of the Israeli counselor was lacking.

3. Some teenagers did not relate closely to the peer host, but were able to establish relationships with other people in the moshav.

4. The Americans had a hard time with food — both the content and amount of the diet provided by the Israeli mothers. In fact, one Israeli mother wrote a note to Louise's parents on the bottom of a letter home which read: "Hello! I only want to say to you that you gave us a very pretty and good girl. Her adopted Mom. P.S: She begin to eat like a person!"²¹

And although the study does not analyze the effects of the experience on the Israelis, some points can be made from the self-reports of the Israelis, both adults and teenagers:

1. Initially, they feared the Americans would corrupt their children; as long as this did not happen, the Israelis were willing to host them. The Israeli *chevrah* would have something to do besides watch TV all summer.

2. There was a feeling of duty on the part of the *meshek* (farming community) to save these Americans from assimilation by imparting the Jewish tradition.

3. The host families welcomed the opportunity to adopt and get to know an American child.

4. The Israelis learned a lot of English.

5. And finally, the Israelis gained a tremendous feeling of appreciation for their own way of life as they compared their life styles with what the Americans reported as their life styles, both general and Jewish.

In short, it came as quite a shock to the Israelis that they seemed to get as much out of the experience as the Americans did.

The dissertation ends at this point and only informal data has been collected on two last central questions: What has happened to the American students? And what has happened to the program? Although a follow-up study is in progress, let me briefly report some impressions:

Upon their return to Graceville, the *Ziyon* Class was formally

21. *Ibid.*, p. 599.

disbanded: a costly mistake. The period of adjustment upon returning home was fraught with the problems of reconciling their normative Jewish living experience in Ner Tamid with living Jewishly in the United States. Some students who had internalized certain behaviors such as Shabbat observance and wearing *kipot* continued the practices. However, for most of the students, the commitment to Jewish living varied, depending on a host of factors such as degree of parental support, the importance of competing norms, and the relative influence of other reference individuals and peer groups. Future groups of returning students continued into a *Chet* Class which provided social support for students who had not quite fully internalized some of the norms of Jewish living.

One of the significant outcomes of the experience appears to be the feeling among the American students that they now have "family" in Israel. During the following summer, two of the *Ziyon* Class students returned to live and work in Ner Tamid and a year later one of the Israeli teenagers visited Graceville. Many of the students have maintained contact at various levels to this day. Although half of the students seriously discussed the possibility of *aliyah*, only one student is actually living in Israel today. As an aside, all of the *Ziyon* Class students have graduated college and three are married, so far, all to Jews. B'nai Israel has sent over 150 students to Ner Tamid during the past nine years. The tenth anniversary of the program is to be celebrated by a pilgrimage of 150 alumni and parents of the program and an appropriate celebration in Ner Tamid.

I believe this work has much to say not only about how an Israel experience can be conceived and implemented, but also about the very nature of Jewish education of adolescents. I believe that Jewish communities and families have by and large lost the ability to educate Jewish teenagers, because they do not provide a context for Jewish learning and living; that membership in a small Jewish normative reference community is important for positive identification with Judaism; that Jewish education is a process of enculturation; that the reference community is one of the most effective vehicles for that process to occur; and that the central methodology of such a process is experiential participation in all aspects of the Jewish experience, including religious observances, ethical behavior, and study.

Section II

*CURRICULAR THEORY AND PEDAGOGIC MODELS IN
JEWISH EDUCATION*

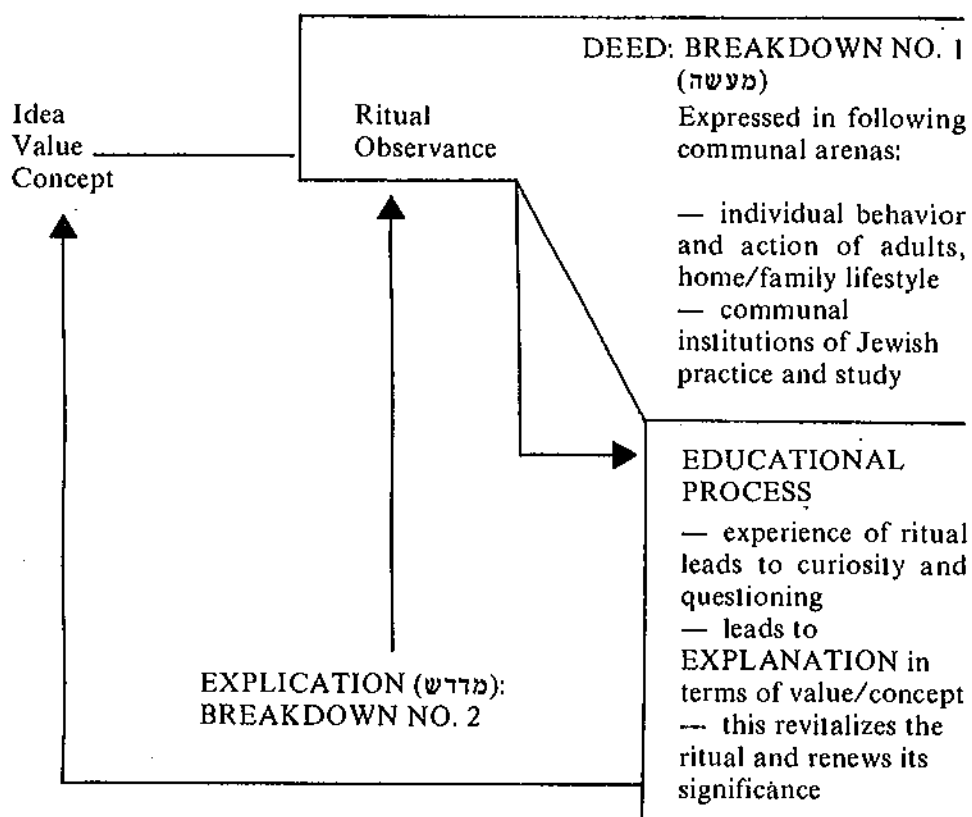
A MODEL FOR JEWISH EDUCATION IN AMERICA **Guidelines for the Restructuring of Conservative** **Congregational Education**

Sheldon A. Dorph

Part I: *Toward a Theory of Jewish Education: Education as Rededication*

The purpose of Jewish religious education (Hebrew term: חינוך) is the *rededication* (Hebrew term from the same root: חנוכה) of the individual to Jewish communal religious life style and value concepts. An (perhaps *the*) authentically Jewish mode of achieving such rededication was a Jewish educational paedaia involving two elements: 1) integration (participation) of the individual into the religious behavior pattern and life style of the educative community (מעשה — deed), and 2) the ongoing explication of the *meaning and values inherent* in such behavior (מדרש — explication-learning-study).

In regard to 1), such an education community consists of a number of arenas of existence, each of which must embody the religious behaviors, life styles, and values to which the culture wishes to socialize its young. The basic arenas are the individual's own behavior, the life of the family unit, and the adult institutions of the community — be they synagogue, charity organizations, etc. In regard to 2), such an educative community possesses the intellectual and interpretive powers to offer adequate and convincing rationales interpreting its religious behavior and life style in terms of values, ideals, myths, and ultimate meaning to those it wishes to socialize into adulthood. This process may be diagrammed and summarized as follows:



Five essential characteristics emerge from this process of education.

(1) Events, ideas, and values are embodied in ritual observances. The experience of ritual observance in an integrated communal environment gives rise to a curiosity, a questioning which becomes the occasion for the adult to educate, to explain to the next generation.

(2) This educative process, at one and the same time, increases understanding of the ritual itself, and exposes the value or idea behind the ritual — leading to rededication of the coming generation to Judaism. The nature of this "educational process" is crucial to the viability of Judaism, where each generation must be rededicated (re-educated) to the enactment of deeds, which are central in Judaism.

(3) *Education cannot be reduced to schooling.* As a process, education goes beyond classroom and teacher, and becomes a function of the adult religious community and its expressed values.

(4) The educational process assumes and requires a *committed adult life style* which embodies the values and behaviors it seeks to impart to the young. It is out of contact with, and exposure to, a viable Jewish *adult* life style that the young come to ask concerning its significance.

(5) The educational process described requires *specific adult models* who are accessible to the young, who personally live committed Jewish lives, and who can answer the questions of the young regarding the significance and meaning of their Jewish behaviors and values.

Two Points Of Process Breakdown and the Jewish Education Today

The process of Jewish education or *rededication* (as opposed to notions of schooling, training for a job or liberal arts for the cultured gentleman) can fail due to a breakdown in either of these operative elements — a discontinuity in the living pattern of the education community or the failure to attach significant meaning, or values to that living pattern.

It should be clear that most of our educational effort is concentrated around the assumption that our problem in American Jewish identity and education lies in Breakdown No. 2. For the most part, American Jewish educators assume that if we write a better textbook about Jewish values; or train a teacher in how to teach Jewish holidays, or learn to decorate schools for holidays, or if we outline a new curriculum in subject matter, then we are attacking the issue of creating Jewish commitment and interest in Jewish identity among our children.

I would like to suggest that most of these efforts are directed toward the *wrong* breakdown point in the process of Jewish education. Heinemann puts the problem of Jewish education and dedication in the modern world most succinctly:

In view of the fact that the great majority of those praying in synagogues and of those parents sending their children to Hebrew school desecrate the Sabbath, it became impossible for teachers of Judaism to emphasize and vigorously teach the value of the ritual commandments without wondering whether impossible demands would lead only to alienating ...the students ...The educators were thereby forced to

implant in their listeners a warped picture of Judaism ...as if its requirements were merely legal and not practical, functional demands. This was an image which radically contradicted the true image of Judaism from the days of the prophets.¹

Thus, we have come full circle. For the above quotation from Heinemann indicates that the *underpinnings* of the process of education we have been describing had begun to break down as the modern world came into being. The breakdown of the integration of institution and individual had rendered explanation and rationale sterile. The loss of integration and an adult Jewish life style meant that answers were being given to questions which were no longer being asked; that the meaning of the commandments was an academic question — for those commandments, by and large, no longer functioned in the life of the individual, his family, or his Jewish community. This dis-integration represents the core problem, largely unrecognized, in American Jewish education.

Again: Our Chronic Problem

Place the child in a world of his own and you take from him the most powerful incentives to growth and achievement. Perhaps one of the greatest tragedies of contemporary society lies in the fact that the child is becoming increasingly isolated from the serious activities of adults.²

If our chronic problem lies in Breakdown No. 1 — the disintegration of Jewish adult communal institutions of observance and life styles — then one must ask of Counts' 1932 statement: What does one do if there are *no* "serious activities of (Jewish) adults"? What does one do if there is not only isolation of children from

1. Isaac Heinemann. *Taame HaMitzvot B'Safrut Yisrael*, II (Israel: Jewish Agency Department of Youth, 1942), p. 183 (Translated by S. Dorph).

2. George S. Counts. *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: Teachers College, 1932), p. 5.

the adult Jewish community, but also a crisis in purpose and life style among the mature bearers of Jewish culture? If one can document the problematic quality of Jewish life indicated by the research in this thesis, then what meaning has the phrase "serious activities of adults" in the Jewish framework?

The problem of our youth is not youth. The problem is the spirit of our age; denial of transcendence, the vapidness of values ... The problem will not be solved by implanting in the youth a sense of belonging. Belonging to a society that fails in offering to satisfy authentic human needs will not soothe ... frustration and rebellion ... What youth needs is a sense ... of reverence for the society to which we all belong...³

...drug abuse, particularly among teenagers, is usually the result of an overdose of adolescence in a society whose institutions have generally failed the adolescent; a society in which family structure is in disarray, values are in confusion and the "rites of passage" from adolescence to adulthood are generally absent; a society in which the pleasure of "now" is ascendent, change is a truism, and adolescents have only an insignificant role and few places to go — except to a school.⁴

Both the Jewish theory of education suggested in this paper and the ancient Greek concept of "paideia" held that it is the community and the culture that educate.⁵ The crisis in American Jewish education consists in this very loss of an educating adult Jewish community and life style. This is the factor which makes the education (rededication) of the young so problematic, for it presents no distinct, positive Jewish adult model in our society. Without such an image of cultural and communal Jewish adulthood, the direction, purposes, and methods of education — formal schooling or otherwise — become unclear.

3. Abraham Joshua Heschel. "Children and Youth," in *The Insecurity of Freedom* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1960), p. 39.

4. Richard H. DeLone. "The Ups and Downs of Drug Abuse Education," *Saturday Review* (September 11, 1972), p. 30.

5. Charles E. Silberman. *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Vintage-Random House, 1971), p. 5. Also see G. D. Cohen, "The Jews of Andalusia" (New York: Melton Research Center, 1974), mimeographed-unpublished work, pp. 2-5.

Part II: The Contemporary Situation

My survey of American life and educational trends showed a breakdown of both community living patterns and value systems in America.⁶ The cult of self-fulfillment, extreme mobility, and the individualization of contemporary American life clearly signal a loss of community. The inability of the American educational system to teach (or even agree upon) fundamental cultural values, and the flight to the relativity of "values-clarification" point to a central crisis in values. Green, Bell and others have noted the disjuncture between corporate society and the aggregate values of the good society on the one hand, and the individualization of antinomian culture with its distributive values on the other.

Whatever these may portend for American culture, they represent a serious impediment to the goals and purposes of Jewish religious education. The increasing acculturation of the Jewish community to the American life style is well documented in my doctoral research. It highlights the breakdown of the first essential element of Jewish education (dedication) — the religious living pattern of the educative community — in which the individual questions and may personally reaffirm the existence of that community and integrate himself into its life.⁷ The disintegration of that communal religious living pattern was traced in each of the arenas of communal life — family, synagogue, school, community-at-large. This study exposed as a reality the *inability of the major structures of Conservative Judaism — family, synagogue and school — to function as integrative arenas or educational contexts for modeling committed Jewish adulthood.*

Chapter IV of my thesis established the need to socialize the next generation to the skills, behavior patterns and values of a culture as a basic task for each society contemplating continued existence. It documented the centrality of the socio-cultural environment (educative community) in the process of acquiring

6. Sheldon A. Dorph, *A Model for Jewish Education in America: Guidelines for the Reconstructing of Conservative Congregation Education*, (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976), see Chapter II.

7. *Ibid.*, Chapter III.

behavioral patterns, life style, values and even personality. Without an adult community embodying a culture, there can be no socialization. Chapter IV shed light on the problems of a minority culture (Judaism), as it attempts to exist in a larger more pervasive culture (American secularism). It elucidated the concept of *cultural focus* as a way of isolating areas of culture which might be essential to a minority culture. Thus, Judaism would tend to focus energies on kinship, religious system, aesthetics, language and goals, while recognizing its limited power over sanctions, technology, economics, and politics. Within a complex and multi-faceted society, which is greater than the sum of its parts and often seems to be beyond control of even our central institutions of government, *community may well be the master concept for a minority culture*. It may be the *largest-controllable sociocultural institution of Jewish enculturation*. Together with synagogue and family, the Jewish community constitutes the proximal Jewish sociocultural environment. It must present a continuity of values and behavior to be an educative community in which children may successfully achieve Jewish adulthood.

Part III: *The Ramah Camps: A Study of the Effects of a Sociocultural Environment upon Jewish Behavior and Life Style*

Ramah has succeeded over the years because, with intelligence and sensitivity, it has introduced youngsters to intensive and unadulterated Jewish living. In its hothouse atmosphere, it could implement those ideals which rabbis, at best, would laud. Youngsters *lived* all the slogans which seemed so empty in Hebrew school back home. Ramah appropriated the most enduring aims of Conservative Judaism — the importance of Jewish study in Hebrew, regular prayer, significant ...observance of *Shabbat* and *Kashrut*, concern for one's fellowman, identification with Israel — and made them work.⁸

The research study described in Chapter V of the thesis is undertaken as a study of the effects of a sociocultural environment upon the behavior, commitment, and Jewish future orien-

8. Stephen C. Lerner. "Ramah and Its Critics," *Conservative Judaism*, XXV, 4 (Summer, 1971), p. 25. This article is a fine summary of the development of the

tation of the adolescents exposed to the "hothouse environment" which is a summer at Ramah. Ramah may be viewed as an attempt by the Conservative Movement to recreate that adult educating community which previous chapters have indicated is essential to the engendering of culture and values in the young.

While the effect of Ramah in producing a generation of Rabbis, educators and dedicated laymen has not been measured scientifically, it is generally agreed that the camps have had a most powerful, even incalculable, role in producing a responsible American Jewish elite of professionals and laymen.⁹

Almost no social-psychological evaluation has been done on Ramah's effectiveness in creating or encouraging committed Jewishness in its campers as teenagers or as young adults¹⁰ (the original Ramah campers cannot be much more than 40 years of age today). In spite of the fact that Ramah envisages itself as an

Ramah camps from an organizational and political viewpoint, as well as a summary of the problems Ramah faced in the late 1960's and early '70's.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1. This opinion is shared by Seymour Fox (former Dean of the Seminary's Teachers Institute who was a major force in the educational development of the Ramah movement). In his contribution to the volume of David Sidorsky, *The Future of the Jewish Community in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), Fox notes, "Though the effectiveness of informal education (e.g., camping) has not been demonstrated 'scientifically,' there is good reason to assume that it is a very powerful tool for Jewish education. Camps such as Ramah ...appear to have made a great impact" (p. 216, footnote no. 8).

10. The one significant exception to this is an unpublished doctoral thesis in social psychology by Uri Farago entitled "The Influence of a Jewish Summer Camps' Social Climate on the Camper's Identity," Brandeis University, 1972. Farago's analysis was done around the concepts of social climate and ethnic identity. A copy of Farago's thesis was obtained by this writer after completing the first four chapters of his thesis and key punching the data from the questionnaire used in this study. The findings of this doctorate were compared with some of Farago's findings which touch upon the questions central to the thesis (the cross-pressures of reference groups upon the religious behavior and life style of Jewish adolescents). Farago's work was based on a population sample at Ramah in New England during the *least* stable summer of its history (1969), as he himself notes.

educational-religious milieu characterized by a unique configuration of educational-environmental elements whose purpose is to affect the behavior and life-style of its participants upon their return home and attaining adulthood, careful evaluation of Ramah¹¹ in terms of this central purpose has yet to be undertaken.

A Summary of Findings: Educational Implications

Religious Behavior and Jewish Camp Experience

Our first set of research questions intended to investigate the nature and relationship of family religious behavior (below referred to as FRB), teenage religious behavior (TRB) and Jewish camp experience. Two of the four research issues were especially pertinent to the area of religious behavior and camp experience:

What are the effects of parental religious norms upon children? To what extent are the religious behavioral patterns learned and reinforced in one sociocultural environment, transferable and relevant to other environments?

The research and findings reported in this chapter lead us to the following conclusions:

1) Even in carefully matched groups and homogeneous populations, there are significant differences in religious behavior among the families of Hebrew High School students — both by geographic location and by groups according to the Jewish camp experience of their children. Because of this, the relationship of teenage religious behavior to camp experience can only be properly interpreted when FRB is held constant. It is essential to know

11. In referring to the environmental configuration as "Ramah" and not "Camp Ramah," I am stressing the importance of the configuration of the educational elements rather than the summer camp setting. Obviously, much of the intensity and power of the experience derives from the "hothouse" quality of Ramah — a total environment of limited duration (4–8 weeks per year), isolated from cross-pressure reference groups. However, in analyzing the educational elements of that environment called Ramah, we may gain valuable insight into educational principles which may be duplicated in other educational settings with the Conservative Movement.

whether the camp is functioning as a support and reinforcement of a high level of FRB, or whether it is attempting to counteract a low level of FRB.

2) FRB is a strong factor in explaining (accounting for) seemingly significant differences in TRB. *This is especially so for ritualistic areas* (rather than communal service areas). On the other hand, service areas of TRB seem extremely independent of influence by the FRB norm (e.g., charity, Jewish and general community service, and Israel plans).

3) Beyond the basic effect of FRB, the influence of geographic location and the "Jewishness" of the general environment is a significant independent factor in effecting TRB. Numerous locational differences persist — even when FRB is held constant. The locational effect of the New York (NY) area Jewish concentration is most clearly seen when FRB is held negative — *for environment or sociocultural milieu provides a strong support for young people wishing to buck low FRB in favor of more observant patterns*. On the other hand, the lack of such environmental support, *may well be the crucial factor in lower levels of TRB among Los Angeles (LA) groups* — even when FRB is held constant and high. Lower levels of FRB in LA, as they affect synagogue and Jewish community norms, create an environment which gives less support to teenagers who might wish to experiment with higher levels of a religious behavior. Thus, *there is a complex interaction between FRB and geographic sociocultural milieu, which has not been considered in planning for religious education*.

4) *The data indicates that the effect of camp on TRB, when all other independent factors are held constant, is highly selective, specific, and takes a number of forms in various situations.*

(a) It acts as re-enforcement of high FRB, or (b) it can have an additive effect to a locational difference, where FRB is low, or (c) in some areas, where FRB and location are held constant, it seems to have an independent effect upon TRB.

The direction of significant differences in TRB shows the Ramah group's level of TRB to be consistently the higher level — sometimes in relation to Other Jewish Camps (OJC) students and at others in relation to No Jewish Camp (NJC) students — depending on the area of religious behavior. *In almost no case does the OJC or NJC experience result in a TRB significantly*

higher than Ramah (R). We will return to this point in relating it to attitudes below.

5) *Camp is clearly a distal environment*, to use Brunswik's term.¹² As such, one ought not expect a massive transfer of its behavioral or attitudinal norms into the proximal environment formed by the nexus of family and city life which is the real world situation of the teenager. The data supports this expectation. *There is no massive significant transfer of behavior patterns and norms of Ramah into TRB in the city environment. There are small, selective transfers — where feasible. The norms and values of the proximal environment, as embodied in FRB and the socio-cultural environment of the particular geographic location, are much more relevant to the pattern of TRB.*

Perceptions of Camp Environment and Its Effects

Our second set of research questions intended to investigate the perception of one's Jewish camp experience and its effect on the camper. The research issue: "What is the Nature of Jewish Identity?" is involved in this set of findings, which leads us to the following summary statements.

(1) The pattern of factors which emerged from factor analysis is, itself, most significant. Campers perceived and differentiated four distinct aspects of their camp experience:

- A. Jewish selfhood
- B. Participative and supportive environment
- C. Overall value of camp as an ideal life style
- D. Human concern and sensitivity

The fact that campers perceive such distinctions has important implications for the structure of educational institutions and the training of educational personnel. For a camp such as Ramah, which theoretically envisages Judaism as related to and wishing

12. Egon Brunswik, *Perception and the Representative Design of Psychological Experiments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956). Quoted in Robert A. Levine, *Culture, Behavior and Personality* (Chicago: Aldene Publishing Company, 1973), p. 90.

to promote all four factors as a religious unity,¹³ the finding that they are perceived as distinct poses important educational questions.

(2) All camp populations express rather positive perceptions toward camp as a supportive and participative environment (*FACTOR* no. 2). This seems to be characteristic of all Jewish content camps — Ramah and others.

(3) The Ramah population showed a significantly more positive perception of camp as promoting their Jewish selfhood (*FACTOR* no. 1) and as an ideal life style (*FACTOR* no. 3) than did the OJC NY group on *FACTOR* no. 3.

We have commented previously on the tendency of the teenager to see his Jewish selfhood — including commitments, responsibility, capability, and satisfaction — as a psychological whole. The loading onto a single factor of what were considered to be logically disparate aspects of Jewish commitment (perception of the Jewishness of camp, plans for Jewish community life, plans for adult Jewish life) *attests to the holistic, integrative, and organic perception of Jewish identity* — at least in its attitudinal aspects. *This is quite different from the reported findings in behavioral dimensions of Jewish identity*, which indicate a *highly specific and selective approach to Jewish religious behavior*.

(4) Ramah campers overall expressed a marginally significant more positive perception of their camp as an arena of human concern and sensitivity (*FACTOR* no. 4) than did the OJC population. The NY R group showed a significantly higher perception of this quality than its NY OJC counterpart.

(5) In sum, Ramah campers seem to express more highly positive perceptions of Ramah as promoting Jewish selfhood, representing an ideal life style and embodying human concern and sensitivity (marginally significant) than OJC campers express about their own camps.

(6) Since the phrasing of the items in Jewish selfhood (*FACTOR* no. 1) and the ideal life style (*FACTOR* no. 3) asked students to speak to the effect of camp on their *own* feelings and attitudes, one may conclude that Ramah — especially the two-month NY

13. Judaism posits the unity of the particularistic and universal, the ritualistic and the ethical, the ideal and the real.

camp — acts as a reference group in that it contributes significantly to their concept of Jewish selfhood and their valuing of the Ramah life style.

The Interrelationship Between Factors and TRB Indices

The third set of research questions attempted to look at the relationship of the camper's perceptions of camp to his TRB in the city. The research issue, "What constitutes a meaningful measurement of Jewish identity?" is especially linked to this set of findings, especially if one accepts Sklare's three subcategories of Jewish identity: affiliation, religiousness (feelings and beliefs) and religious observance (behavior).¹⁴ The following findings should be relevant.

(1) *One is struck by the overall lack of significant relationship between attitudes toward Jewish camp experience and TRB.* This is especially so for the areas of ritual, dietary observance, and Sabbath. The finding would confirm Sklare's contention that the subcategories of affiliation, religiousness, and observance may be quite distinct. Only in the case of Ramah camps — especially the LA R group — did there appear to be any ongoing significant relationship between attitudes toward one's Jewish camp and TRB.

(2) Even where such significant relationships appear, more often than not, the religious behavior level is as accurate (or inaccurate) a predictor of attitude toward camp as vice versa. This can be seen also in the fact that, as often as not, *holding attitude constant and high fails to account for persistent behavior differences.* This confirms Festinger's findings on the relationship of attitudes to behavior.

Some Implications of the Findings

While the Conservative Movement has depended on the "hot-house" theory of cultivating committed Jews, the Ramah study showed clearly the power of the proximal sociocultural environment (family and locational influence) over distal environment

14. Marshall Sklare. *America's Jews* (New York: Random House, 1971).

(summer camp) in affecting the religious behavior of the young. The still-pervasive influence of family religious behavior over teenage religious behavior certainly argues for differential modes of educational intervention in Jewish education — based on family commitment levels. The Conservative Movement has yet to develop an educational approach which takes account of this basic fact. Nor has a mode of family education and involvement developed within the Conservative sphere.¹⁵ The importance of the proximal sociocultural environment as an independent variable affecting *both* family and teenage religious behavior argues for a *strong* educational thrust by Ramah into life in the city — both at the family and congregational level. Especially in light of the Ramah camp's ability to unite positive perceptions of Jewish selfhood and ideal life style with a positive presentation of Jewish ritual behavior, it could serve as a strong factor in helping to create a more positive proximal sociocultural environment among a Jewish minority culture. The Ramah research finding that positive perception of a distal environment (camp) has few behavioral effects in community religious behavior, and the Festinger findings,¹⁶ tend to confirm the traditional Jewish approach that the *behavioral* dimension is an *essential element of religious life and education in its own right* and is *not* a psychological or logical derivative of attitudes, rationalizations or explications of the significance of religious behavior. This argues for a strong, though flexible and sensitive, element of religious practice in the sociocultural environment of a minority culture.

Some Guidelines for Redirecting Educational Energies

1. *Judaism is not for children.* It is clear that our first task is to *stop focusing our Jewish educational efforts on our children.* It is not

15. The beginnings of such an approach were undertaken by the Parent Education Program (PEP) Committee of the United Synagogue Commission on Education, on which the researcher served. For an initial level of planning see the article by Joel H. Zaiman, "An Approach to Jewish Parent Education" *Jewish Education*, XLI, 3, (Spring, 1972).

16. Leon Festinger. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

insignificant to note that the first school institution in the Rabbinic period was the Bet Midrash. Placed next to the synagogue, it was a house of study for *adults* (teens and older). Only upon the establishment of an adult community of learning and education did the Rabbis turn to the question of primary education.¹⁷ Education for Jewish adult living requires primary-associational groups of committed adults living according to that life style, so that those being educated (old or young) may (a) participate with the adult community in that life style; and (b) view it as a *satisfying, viable, serious* mode of adult life for modern man. Thus, the culture must be embodied not only in larger communal structures and family groupings, but also in identifiable face-to-face adult groups, which display the desired values and behaviors in their ongoing group life style, and provide participative experience in that culture for the young. If a life style cannot be lived by the adult members of a culture, it certainly cannot have much value as an option for the new generation.

2. *Accessible adult models.* Education for adult Jewish living requires that there be specific *accessible* adult models of committed Jewish living, who not only model behavior, but are able to answer the questions of a searching youth — regarding the significance, values, meaning, and energizing myth of a particular life style. The lack of accessible, positive adult models in the Jewish community constitutes a serious problem for Jewish education. Research on behaviors, values, and cognitive structures of socializing adults, as the living *bearers* of culture and mediators of culture to the young, confirms the importance of such models in a theory of education as rededication.¹⁸ While Mead noted the general problem of adult male identification for American

17. See George Foote Moore, *Judaism: In the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), vol. k, p. 213 and Louis Ginsberg, "The Jewish Primary School" in his collection *Students, Scholars and Saints* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1938), pp. 2-3.

18. See Dorph, *A Model for Jewish Education in America*, Ch. IV. Also, Robert A. Levine, *Culture, Behavior and Personality* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 61-68 and Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Knopf, 1955), especially pp. 336-338.

boys,¹⁹ we emphasize the special discontinuity between the Jewish life of the male child up to Bar Mitzvah, and the widespread lack of committed adult Jewish male models for boys.

3. *Building Jewish Community and Learning Environments.* Understanding that the crisis in Jewish education and in American Jewish life lies in the breakdown of Jewish community and arenas of Jewish living points to a radical reformulation of how Jewish learning takes place and what its purposes are.

Education for Jewish adulthood means that education *cannot be reduced to an isolated school context*. Since it must be relevant and functional in an adult world, *education should take place in broad, rich living contexts, rather than in narrow, specialized classrooms and isolated contexts*. Such contexts must be highly participative in nature and create bonds of *continuity* in numerous senses.

Continuity in time

There must be a *year-round* pursuit and expression of cultural values and behaviors within the activities of the community. Secondly, the time structure of modern life has largely limited religious education to the *leisure time block* (as opposed to the work and work-related time blocks).²⁰ Some way must be found to penetrate the world of school-work-time, so that religious life style becomes a part of that major time block in a person's life.

In yet a third way, the community must re-establish time continuity and participation in the life of its members. This has to do with the great moments of the life cycle and the calendar cycle. Moments of birth, marriage, sickness, aging, death, celebration of the cycle of the year must be reconstituted as participative moments for both community and family — as religious time.

19. Margaret Mead. *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: Mentor Books 1930), pp. 140–141.

20. See Thomas G. Goman and Ronald S. Laura, "A Conceptual Analysis of Time Blocks and the Scope of Religious Education," *Religious Education*, LV, 1, (Jan-Feb, 1970), pp. 22–29. They present an interesting and important thesis: the effectiveness of religious education will be severely limited unless it is able to penetrate all the time blocks (including school, work and work preparation time). Relegating religion to another "leisure time" activity, like football games and mowing lawns, has serious consequences for its effectiveness and relevance to life.

Continuity in Arenas of Life

On an individual and small group level this means that, to the greatest degree possible, the various arenas of living — home life, work time, leisure time, synagogue and community life, social contacts, and formal schooling — must “hang together” Jewishly, or at least not contradict or undermine the values and behaviors of a Jewish life style. On a broader communal scale, it implies the necessity to shape the behavior and structure of adult communal institutions so that they reflect and embody the Jewish cultural values expected of the young.

Continuity Among Age Populations

The various age groupings within an educative community must be bridged. There must be numerous opportunities for *joint* participation in Jewish living among youngsters, teenagers, and adults. Only through such joint participation in ritual, problem-solving and celebration is each member of the community able to perceive the next stage of his life as offering a meaningful, attractive and accessible Jewish life style.

All of the tendencies in American education are antithetical to these forms of continuity. American education is highly specialized and isolated from community. It is almost synonymous with schooling, and segregates youth from the world of work, the world of adult labor. It places a strong emphasis on training for the corporate system of work, and the aggregate value system of the great society. This model of American education and life has deeply affected the American Jewish notion of education and youth. The same emphasis on schooling, independent of family and synagogue, is evident. The separate treatment of childhood and youth, their isolation from adult Jewish activity in prayer, education, communal issues and problems were documented. *All of the evidence* points to a radical discontinuity and fragmentation in Jewish life — in time, in arenas of living, and in age populations.

While societies with a single cultural norm (such as Manus in Mead's study) may be able to afford such radical discontinuities in the lives of its members, a minority culture in a world of normative pluralism *cannot* afford such discontinuities between the world of the young and world of adult values and behavior. *Unless the adults* of a culture are willing to live by the values and

behaviors of the culture and share their lives and community in participative modes with the young, there is *no reason* for the young to opt for inclusion in that particular culture, its values, or ethnic identity.

A Final Word

We have tried to demonstrate that most recent educational effort and energy have been misdirected and have failed to address the central problem of Jewish education and rededication today: the need for the reconstruction of Jewish community around adult Jewish life styles — as a basis for further Jewish socialization, identity and existence. We are aware of the enormous human energy, commitment, patience and determination required to deal with this aspect of Jewish education and community. The thought that meaningful educational change involves *adult* social and communal change is an enervating one. In response to the enormity of the task and the resultant debilitating sense of despair — two comments.

...The next step lies not in a more concrete plan, but in a *search for a group of people*, some "missing community," with the courage and energy to re-examine how education, most broadly conceived as the interaction between reflection and action, can invigorate the lives of all its citizens.²¹

The second is drawn from the text of the Bible:

(4)...Balak son of Zippor, who was king of Moab at that time, (5) sent messengers to Balaam son of Beor ...saying "There is a people that came out of Egypt; it hides the earth from view and it is settled next to me. (6) Come then, put a curse upon this people..."²²

21. Fred M. Newmann, and Donald W. Oliver. "Education and Community," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXVII, 1, (Winter 1967), p. 104.

22. Numbers 22:4-6.

In spite of Balak's desire to curse Israel, the story concludes:

(2)...As Balaam looked up and saw Israel encamped tribe by tribe, the spirit of God came upon him. (3) Taking up his theme, he said ...(5) How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your dwellings, O Israel!²³

This has been the abiding, eternal covenant of the Lord of Israel with the people of Israel, that the spirit of God dwells among the community of Israel, that within that community there is a power which can turn every curse into a blessing.

And, if both Newmann and Oliver, in their search for the courageous "missing community," and this writer, in his affirmation that the community of Israel is that courageous "missing community," have waxed somewhat rhetorical and sermonic, rather than dispassionate and objective, so be it. For education and religious communal living are both arts — not sciences. And without passion there can be neither art, nor religious community.

23. Numbers 24:2-4.

THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN DEWEY UPON JEWISH EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Ronald Kronish

Introduction

John Dewey has generally been recognized as the most renowned and influential American philosopher of education of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century. As a professor of philosophy and education and as a prolific writer and lecturer, he influenced generations of American educators. Included among those who were inspired by him was a unique group of Jewish educators in the United States in the early decades of this century.

I was introduced to Dewey's life and thought in a number of courses at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Dewey's essays on the child and the curriculum, school and society, democracy and education, have certainly had a major impact upon my theoretical thinking as a student of education, as well as upon my practice as a Jewish educator. As I began to read Dewey, I started to wonder what influence he had exerted upon my predecessors in the field of American Jewish education. From readings and from discussions with scholars in this field, I quickly discovered there has been much lip service to the notion of a Deweyan influence on American Jewish education, without careful documentation or substantiation. Even though it is known that Dewey was the teacher of some of the most important leaders of American Jewish education in the early twentieth century, it was not well established how much impact his ideas, as well as his personal interaction, have made on American Jewish educational theory and practice. Accordingly, in my doctoral dissertation, I sought to explore the substance and significance of Dewey's direct and indirect influence upon Jewish educators and Jewish education

in its formative period of growth during the first half of the twentieth century in America.¹

Dewey's Educational Legacy — Evaluating Dewey's Influence

It is important to note at the outset that this inquiry is not a discussion of the influence of progressive education in general on Jewish education; rather, it is an attempt to trace only one key figure's interactions and influences, in the context of the times in which he lived. While equating Dewey's name with progressive education may in fact have become a general phenomenon,² it is not without deleterious side effects. Though he undoubtedly laid some of the foundations for what has become known as progressive education, not all progressive educators were disciples of Dewey, and Dewey did not accept the practices of progressive educators (which varied widely) uncritically.³

In evaluating Dewey's influence on American education, the greatest problem is trying to assess his impact on educational practice. His writings were sufficiently broad and vague to appeal to the variegated strands of the progressive education movement, made up of child-centered, society-centered and curriculum-centered pedagogues. They all conceived of themselves as acting according to Dewey's dictates, but in actuality what they did was apply his eclectic, imprecise, and multiple dicta to the problems

1. Ronald Kronish, *The Influence of John Dewey on Jewish Education in America*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1979.

2. Jonas Soltis. "John Dewey," *The Encyclopedia of Education* (N.Y.: MacMillan and Free Press, 1971), III, p. 81.

3. In his famous little book, *Experience and Education*, written in 1938 after his experience with the progressive schools and in light of the criticisms his theories received, Dewey emphasized that "those who are looking ahead to a new movement in education ... should think in terms of Education itself rather than in terms of some 'ism' about education, even such an 'ism' as 'progressivism'." (Preface to John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, New York: Collier Books, 1973, p. 6).

which interested them most.⁴ This was also the case, as we shall see, with American Jewish educators.

As important as Dewey's influence has been in general education, it must be recognized that it has been limited: "Limited by the way it has been interpreted, limited by the way it has been applied, limited by the absence of certain social conditions whose existence its ideals presupposed, and limited above all, in comparison with the tremendous possibilities of educational reconstruction which would follow from a nation-wide experiment in carrying out its basic principles."⁵ The difficult social conditions of American public education, especially in urban environments, were and still are the most imposing limitation in trying to adapt Dewey's subtle and anti-bureaucratic ideals of democratic education in schools. It was one thing to have Dewey's educational ideas tested in a systematic way in his own Lab School in the 1890's of Chicago, under his own direction and supervision. It was quite another thing when the new conceptions of education which he helped to develop often became institutionalized by people who only half understood them, and in social settings which were far from the democratic ideal which Dewey had envisioned.

Evaluating Dewey's influence on American Jewish education, as well as on American general education, is a complicated problem, since he was both a molder of social and educational change as well as a critic of imbalances and distortions which were a result of the process of change. With a thinker as renowned as Dewey, there is the inevitable problem of discipleship, "for almost by definition, influential ideas lend themselves to widespread appropriation, and the historian immediately faces the difficult task of allocating responsibility for the inevitable distortions."⁶ With such a long productive career in teaching

4. Patricia Graham, "Progressive Education Movement," *The Encyclopedia of Education*, VII, p. 249.

5. Sidney Hook, *John Dewey: An Intellectual Portrait* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 177.

6. Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (N.Y.: Random House, 1961), p. 238.

and public life, Dewey produced so many disciples that the difficulty of assessing his significance becomes enormous. The problem cannot simply be solved by recourse to what Dewey actually wrote or said because his writings were broad and ambiguous enough to lend themselves to varying interpretations. Clearly Dewey represented to his readers and listeners much more than what he said. His name became a symbol — “a symbol of the educational hopes and despairs of the American people at any given moment in their history.”⁷

What did Dewey symbolize for American Jews at the turn of this century and in its first few decades? To what extent did Dewey's writings provide justification for ethnic survival in democratic America? Did Jewish educational leaders read Dewey carefully and give him serious consideration in the development of their theories of Jewish survival and education? And, how did Dewey himself influence the principles, programs and pedagogy of American Jewish education?

The Americanization of Jewish Education

In 1904, the year that Dewey moved from Chicago to New York City, Jewish education in America was in a far worse state than was general education (which Dewey had so severely criticized in his attacks on the old education). Just as in general education — where the inability of the old education to meet the needs of the new democratic, industrial order had produced revolutionary responses to change the directions and concerns of American education — so too in Jewish education the severity of the educational-cultural crisis produced radical new proposals and a new breed of American Jewish educators to try to implement these proposals. In response to the sad state of affairs at the beginning of the century, new theories and practices were suggested and tried out, in order to adjust Jewish education to the new culture in formation — a culture which concerned itself with democratic progressivism in society as a whole, and in education in particular. This process of adjusting to America — generally

7. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

referred to as Americanization — spawned a new set of theories and institutions for American Jewish life; and most important for Jewish education, it created a new leadership group of Jewish educational professionals with a deeply professed commitment to America and to the possibilities of Jewish survival, via education, in the new hospitable atmosphere of American democracy.

At the heart of the new ideology for Jewish survival through education was a tremendous faith (on the part of the immigrant generation) in America as the golden land of freedom and opportunity. This faith in America was shared by most of the Jewish cultural and educational leaders of the period, especially Samson Benderly, the founder of the Bureau of Jewish Education of New York City. Because of his confidence, not only in America but also in the creative powers of American Jewry, Benderly sought to lay the foundation for a Jewish education that would help to bring about an organic interrelation between Judaism and Americanism.⁸ Benderly was not the only one to express great optimism about the hospitality of America for Jews and about the role American Jews could play in contributing to the development of the country. Most of Benderly's colleagues and disciples spoke and wrote in a similar fashion. They all believed that America offered the Jews an unparalleled opportunity for developing a Jewish educational system which could borrow the best from American culture and education and yet, at the same time, make its own unique contribution to that culture.

The willingness of the immigrant generation to adapt to the openness of American society became manifest in its adoption of the public school as its preferred instructional agency. The public school won the support of the overwhelming majority of Jewish parents. Not only could the immigrants not afford a full-scale day school system, but the whole process of Americanization and its concomitant "melting pot" ideology mitigated against the establishment of a separate system.

The commitment to the public schools was more than practical and self-serving, enabling Jews to be upwardly mobile and thereby attaining social and economic advancement. It was part and

8. Samson Benderly, "The Problem of Jewish Education in New York City," *The American Hebrew*, LXXXVIII (March 24, 1911), pp. 605-607.

parcel of the broader commitment to America and the American Dream. But the Jews of this generation had a problem. They were worried about assimilation, about being drowned in the melting pot of American culture. They were willing to Americanize to an extent, but their leaders, at least, were worried that too much Americanization would cut Jews off from their roots, severely weakening Jewish identity. Therefore, they needed a theory which would allow them to be fully American and Jewish, without diminishing one aspect of their identity at the expense of the other.

Kallen, Dewey, Cultural Pluralism, and Jewish Education

This theory was provided by one of the leading American Jewish intellectuals of the time, Horace M. Kallen. Kallen's cultural pluralism — as expressed in articles in *The Nation* and in the *Menorah Journal* (1915–1916) — supplied reassurance to many American Jews who sought a firm basis for belonging to both Judaism and America.⁹ In accordance with his theory, American Jews would be part of American society, at least insofar as they were allowed to; but they would not be entirely integral to it. In this way, they would accept its values, norms, and obligations, but could at the same time retain their distinctive styles of culture. This enabled many young Jews who otherwise would have become totally Americanized, to retain their Jewish identity.

Kallen's theoretical suggestions for Jewish survival made a strong impact on Jewish community leaders of the time, including Jewish educators. In cultural pluralism, many Jewish educators, who were of the "Hebraic/nationalist" persuasion, saw the American counterpart to the cultural autonomy pattern in European lands.¹⁰ This gave them some needed support to emphasize the nationalist (Zionist) aspects of the Jewish school. Even though not all Jewish educators subscribed to Kallen's theory,

9. Oscar Handlin. *Adventure in Freedom* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), p. 244.

10. Samuel Blumenfield. "Historical Developments in Jewish Education in America," *Jewish Education*, XXI, 1 (Winter, 1949), p. 44.

there is no doubt that his effort to develop a philosophy of Jewish life in terms of the American experience, served as an intellectual foundation for the adjustment of Jewish culture and education to the American environment.

Kallen's doctrine of cultural pluralism, with underpinnings in both James and Dewey, was an important element in the framework for developing a new system of American Jewish education in keeping with twentieth century democratic ideals. Moreover, Kallen, who was a philosopher as well as an educator, was an important link for Jewish educators — through his contacts with Dewey and other philosophers and intellectuals — to the general philosophic and academic community. Through his avowed secularism and his contacts in the academic world, especially in the realm of philosophy, he attempted to bring Dewey's pragmatism, at least in spirit, into high level discussions of Jewish education in America. In particular, Dewey's views on cultural pluralism vis-à-vis the Jewish community were inspired by Kallen, and they provided useful support for Jewish educators, especially those with Zionist-nationalist leanings.

The doctrine of cultural pluralism advanced by Horace Kallen in the early decades of this century was accepted in principle by Jewish educators. But Horace Kallen was not enough. They sought support for their right to preserve their unique cultural/national life among leading American intellectuals. They were looking for credibility and acceptability, and found them in the writings and speeches of Dewey (especially in his article in the *Menorah Journal* of October 1917 on "The Principle of Nationality" and in his address to the National Education Association, "On Nationalizing Education," in the previous year). Jewish educators centered around the Bureau of Jewish Education in New York found in John Dewey "not only justification for educational change but sanction for ethnic survival in democratic America."¹¹

By associating him with the doctrine of cultural pluralism, Jewish educators were able to claim Dewey's support for the

11. Arthur A. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community, the Kehillah Experiment, 1908-1922*, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1970).

system of supplementary ethnic education which they were creating. If cultural nationalism was part of the free interplay of forces that was to shape America, then Jewish cultural nationalism was legitimate and should be an important educational force in American society. The fact that Dewey was wary of the potential evils of separatist tendencies was downplayed; what was important was that he had given the sanction for cultural pluralism and had spoken out vociferously against the melting pot ideology which was anathema to Jewish educators.

Even if some of the leading Jewish educators of the time had read some Dewey, they probably did not study his philosophy in great detail, and as a result they did not focus on the possible inherent dissonance between Dewey's social theory and methodology and their own. One must conclude that either they missed the point of some of Dewey's arguments — based on his adherence to scientific models of social and historical interpretation — or perhaps they simply chose to ignore difficult areas of disagreement which might not have meshed with their political purposes. Rather than going into detail in analyzing Dewey's thought in terms of its total relationship to the Jewish People and Jewish Tradition, they hopped on the intellectual bandwagon of their time, subscribing to the religion of secular humanism, with its twin beliefs in the power of science and democracy to save. Kallen was probably the most devout secular humanist among Jewish intellectuals, yet he maintained that it was possible, even necessary, to merge Judaism with secular humanism in what he called Hebraism or Jewishness.

It may very well be the case that, in their desire to Americanize, Jewish educators and community leaders relied too heavily on the secular humanism of intellectuals like Kallen or Dewey, without realizing the potential threats to Jewish authenticity and continuity in what they were doing. The spirit of science, democracy, and humanism was very appealing and pervasive in American intellectual thought at the time. But would these systems of thought and their concurrent methodology provide the necessary framework and components for keeping the Jewish Tradition alive, and for passing it on to the next generation? The record of the past seventy years provides a negative response to this disturbing question.

Jewish Educators: Dewey's Theoretical Influence

Without doubt, Dewey's theoretical influence upon a dedicated group of Jewish educators in the early decades of this century was profound. In fact, it is undoubtedly the case that his writings on philosophy and education exerted a greater influence on the theories of Jewish educators than upon their practice. Just as in general education — where there inevitably exists a lag between theory and practice — so too in Jewish education, there has all too often been a gap between philosophy and action. This was especially true of those few Jewish educators who gave serious consideration to some aspects of Dewey's educational philosophy, but had difficulty applying these ideas in Jewish settings. Dewey himself, while concerned with both theory and practice and their interrelationship, spent most of his life as a theoretician (philosopher). Following his early career as a high school teacher and Lab School administrator, he gradually shifted his philosophical energies away from the practicalities of education towards more theoretical concerns. While Dewey in his own life became more interested in theory, philosophy, and aesthetics, the pressures of the time and the demands of changing social conditions forced Jewish educators to become more interested in what they viewed as the pressing practical needs of the times — the *how* more than the *why* questions — relegating theory or philosophy to secondary importance.

Responding to the crisis of Jewish education of the period, Jewish educators developed the profession of Jewish education along Jewish and modern lines. The Benderly group that emerged with the Bureau in the second decade of this century grew out of a distinct intellectual-cultural milieu in the New York City of this period. Jewishly, it was a mixture of Jewish traditionalism, cultural Zionism, and an intense sense of communal responsibility for creative Jewish survival. In addition to Benderly's inspirational and administrative leadership, the group was distinguished by a rare blend of intellectual leadership: Israel Friedlander, who offered American interpretations of European theories (Dubnow and Ahad Ha-am) of Jewish nationalism; Judah Magnes, a Reform rabbi who led the New York Kehillah¹²

12. *Ibid.* The New York Kehillah was an attempt by New York Jewry during

and later served with distinction as the first president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; and Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan, Dean of the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary, and later the founder of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (where he propounded his radical theories of the nature of Jewish civilization, especially in the new American democracy). This intellectual elite not only possessed outstanding scholarship and abiding Jewish commitment, but they radiated an aura of charisma and magnetism which made out of the emerging profession of Jewish education a cause and a calling to ensure the Jewish future.

The Jewish future they had in mind was very much an *American* Jewish future. Despite their common commitment to Zionism (generally cultural rather than political), they believed in the possibility and importance of a strong Jewish community in America. To authenticate the Jewish educational profession in the new host country, work at the Bureau under Benderly, and study groups with Friedlander, Magnes, and Kaplan were not enough. Distinctively American credentials were needed, and for these Benderly and his proteges turned mainly to Teachers College of Columbia University. It was at Teachers College that American Jewish education was Americanized and modernized by contact with the new progressivist philosophy and pedagogy of Dewey, Kilpatrick, and their colleagues. In combining work at the Bureau with American graduate training, Benderly's disciples were embellishing their essentially Jewish commitments with the prestige and academic sanction of the American university/secular world.

Of Benderly's Bureau group who attended Teachers College in the late teens, three men wrote significant doctoral dissertations, which later became books. The dissertations of Alexander Dushkin, Isaac Berkson, and Emanuel Gamoran, and their related writings, all reveal a definite, acknowledged indebtedness to Dewey (and Kilpatrick). Although their readings of Dewey were partial and incomplete, and naturally were adjusted to meet their

the 1910's to establish a comprehensive communal structure, which would unite the city's variegated Jewish population. Goren's analysis of the Kehillah Experiment between 1908 and 1922 is rich in detailed description and analysis, including two chapters on Jewish education.

own ends, they nevertheless considered themselves to be Dewey's disciples and his interpreters in the Jewish community

The Gap Between Theory and Practice

While there are many claims of indebtedness to Dewey in the writings of these and other Jewish educators, it appears that Dewey's works were not read thoroughly and his ideas were not taken seriously in any systematic fashion. Even though many Jewish educators paid lip service to Dewey (as did many general educators!), in actuality, Dewey was treated more as a symbol, a prestigious leg to stand on, a way of buying into American culture while still retaining one's Jewish identity (even if in diluted or diminished ways).

Much lip service was paid, for example, to the importance of making Jewish education child-centered, an idea that was supposed to have emanated from Dewey. Dushkin, Berkson, and Gamoran, in their theses and professional articles, called for a change of curricular orientation towards the needs of children. Berkson, for example, felt that the pedagogic greatness of Dewey lay in his recognition that the child ought to be at the center of the educational process.¹³ Berkson's interpretation of Dewey stressed that education had to be primarily concerned with the experiences, needs and potential of the child, so that the curriculum becomes a means to the child's development. Accordingly, Berkson's theory of Americanization emphasized a new concern for the needs of the child in the new American environment, as well as a profound concern for the community and its communal institutions, through which the American Jew could voluntarily express himself. Other Jewish educators — like Alter Landesman,¹⁴

13. Isaac B. Berkson, "John Dewey's Ideas and Their Implications for Hebrew Education in America," *Shivley Hahinuch* (1927, pamphlet 1), p. 28.

14. Alter F. Landesman, *A Curriculum for Jewish Religious Schools* (N.Y.: United Synagogue of America, 1922), p. 8.

Louis Grossman,¹⁵ Samuel Dinin,¹⁶ Samuel Blumenfield,¹⁷ and Judah Pilch¹⁸ — have pointed out the child-centered nature of Dewey's educational thought, as they understood it. They, as well as others, were guilty of a slight stretching of interpretation in making the child the *center* rather than just a crucial factor in the educational process. It is more accurate to say that Dewey's great service to education, especially to children in schools, was in rescuing the child from oblivion "by calling attention to the kind of animal the child really is and by showing how silly it is to ignore his reaction to the manner and content of teaching."¹⁹ The fact that the concerns of the child could no longer be dismissed is without doubt one of the great educational and social legacies of Dewey and his followers. Due to their influence, education could no longer be thought of as mere transmission of knowledge or subject matter; it had to be conceived of as a process of adjustment, in which the child would be recognized not only as an object, but also as a subject and an active participant in learning. Consequently, "the activity of the child came to be recognized as an undeniable factor in the evolution of the curriculum."²⁰ This picture of the child as "an undeniable factor" in relationship to an evolving curriculum is a more accurate reflection of Dewey's notion of "continuous reconstruction" (in which the child and curriculum are two limits of a single process) than the slightly exaggerated conception of the child as the center of the curriculum.

15. Louis Grossman. "The New Jewish Pedagogy," *The Jewish Teacher*, (May, 1917), p. 154.

16. Samuel Dinin. *Judaism in a Changing Civilization* (N.Y.: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

17. Samuel Blumenfield. "John Dewey and Jewish Education," in *Judaism and the Jewish School*, edited by Pilch and Ben-Horin, p. 150.

18. Judah Pilch. "John Dewey and His Influence on Jewish Education," unpublished paper, pp. 8-9.

19. Jack Cohen, *Jewish Education in a Democratic Society* (N.Y.: The Reconstructionist Press, 1964), p. 154.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Jewish educators may have emphasized the factor of the child because Dewey's directives in this area met a social as well as an educational need — namely, the Americanization or adjustment of European Jews to a free, democratic, pluralistic American environment. Since this need was so deeply felt and nurtured among Jews, Dewey's ideas concerning "the school and society" were more influential in providing guidelines for American Jewish educational practice, for in these social-educational conceptions were found the basis for ethnic-national survival.

Dewey's social-educational theory — especially his theory of education as experience — prompted leaders in Jewish education to reorient their positions with regard to school procedure, which resulted in some definite changes in the functioning of the modern American Jewish school.

While there was still a great deal of emphasis on the book, particularly the Bible and the Prayer Book, a great many *activities* have been introduced which were within the realm of the child's interest, and which afford him the opportunity for self-expression and self-involvement. The new Hebrew school of the period derived its *raison d'être* from Dewey's philosophy that living and doing are more important than preaching and teaching.²¹

While living and doing were probably raised to equivalency with preaching and teaching (rather than being more important), textual-based learning was not to be abandoned. Rather, it was now part of the total picture of the school, instead of its sole purpose and mode of operation. The Jewish school now had a larger, overarching purpose — serving as a Jewish community, on a child level. As such, it promoted group solidarity, so that "upon reaching maturity, the individual may be a contributing member of his group's life and share in its destiny."²²

Dewey's ideas for making the school a "school of life" — a place in which the child (via a set of conditions and a unique atmosphere) could find expression for his desires, talents and

21. Pilch, "Dewey and His Influence on Jewish Education," p. 4.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

needs through activities and experiences — have made a significant impact upon the American Jewish educational program. Under the influence of these ideas, the modern Hebrew teacher began to emphasize the value of “practices” and “observances” in the life of the Jewish child in America.²³ Moreover, Dewey’s emphasis upon experience opened the eyes of many modern Jewish educators to the value of the traditional Jewish emphasis on participation as much as on learning.²⁴ Dewey’s identification of education with “the reconstruction of experience” — even though perhaps not fully understood philosophically by Jewish educators — was transferred into Jewish educational settings as a relevant theory under the slogan “education as participation.” These rather simplistic or popular applications of Dewey were typical of the superficial reading he was actually granted in Jewish educational circles. Unfortunately, Jewish educators were better at using catchy slogans than at making full-fledged applications of Deweyan ideas in school practice.

The Lack of Influence in Schools

Even though Dewey’s ideas about democracy and education, child and curriculum, and school and society, were subscribed to in a general sense by many of the leading Jewish educators of the Benderly era, there does not appear to have been even one model school which was a serious and systematic blending of Jewish and Deweyan principles; and Dewey, who did have contacts with Jewish educators when they studied at Teachers College, did not take an interest in their practical work in Jewish schools (as did Kilpatrick, Dewey’s colleague and disciple at Teachers College). The only Jewish schools that could be seriously considered as ones that made a real attempt to adapt Dewey’s ideas to their practice were the Central Jewish Institute (founded in 1917) with Berkson as its first director, and the Beit HaYeled, a private foundation school (founded in 1939, very late for direct Deweyan

23. Blumenfield, *Judaism and the Jewish School*, p. 147.

24. *Ibid.*

influence), both in New York City (and even in these cases the references to Dewey were few and far between).

The lack of substantial influence of Deweyan educational ideas upon the practice of Jewish education flows from the fact that Jewish educators (except for a few) did not take the time to think about Jewish education in a systematic philosophic fashion. They were too busy administering — setting up schools and a whole new modern network of educational institutions. They allocated for themselves precious little time for philosophy, and consequently implementation of new ideas was superficial and spotty.

It seems, therefore, that Dewey's impact upon Jewish education was more superficial or external than previously assumed. Rather than making a substantive or philosophic impact on Jewish education, Dewey's thought was instrumental in helping to engineer a managerial revolution, "an industrial technological kind of revolution affecting the life of the school just as applied science affects the life of society as a whole."²⁵ This managerial revolution — not all of which can be traced to Dewey — has indeed altered (modernized) the structure and functioning of Jewish education in America. But, what about the substance of Jewish education? Ironically, many of the reforms, the impetus for which was credited to Dewey, led "to a diluted curriculum shorn of its traditionally high intellectual goals."²⁶

With all the lip service to the experiential side of Dewey and progressivism, the intellectual side has been drastically underplayed, resulting in a basic distortion of Dewey's philosophy. While the experiential was emphasized, the identification of education with philosophy and the centrality of intelligence which were central to Dewey's philosophy were ignored.²⁷ Had Jewish schools remained more loyal to the principles of free and cooperative inquiry, and to the development of critical, problem-solving

25. Meir Ben-Horin, "John Dewey and Jewish Education," *The Reconstructionist* (Oct. 30, 1959), p. 16.

26. Goren, *New York Jews and the Quest for Community*, p. 119.

27. Ben-Horin, "John Dewey and Jewish Education."

thinking, they would have been more loyal to Dewey's ideas and ideals than in adopting uncritically many of the slogans of progressivism.

Summary and Conclusions

Philosophy has not been the parent of practice in American Jewish education, and therefore its influence has been quite limited. This has been the case with Dewey's influence. Even though his educational and social philosophy became an indelible part of the thinking of some of the leading intellectuals among Jewish educators in the early decades of this century — on such basic issues as democracy and education, the role of the school in the society, and the place of the child in curricular considerations — it was difficult to translate his theory into practice in Jewish educational settings.

On one level, it has been argued that Dewey's philosophy was, in part, used to justify Jewish purposes, such as: strengthened nationalism, intensified ethnicity, and supplementary schooling in the name of cultural pluralism. On another level, it can be said that Dewey's name was of great symbolic value for American Jewish educators. On the social-cultural level, he was one of the leading American intellectuals who spoke eloquently of the ideals and possibilities of American democracy (in which the Jewish community desperately believed, fleeing from the pogroms of Europe in the early years of this century); and on the educational level, he was one of the leading spokesmen for modernizing, via the application of scientific principles to pedagogy and practice. Yet, except for very few thinkers, Dewey's philosophy was not seriously read and reflected upon; and the synthesis between his philosophy (and all that went with it) and Judaism was not analyzed critically or carefully enough. His influence, therefore, was more in terms of style and sociology — what one analyst has called a "managerial revolution" — than in terms of a shift in the philosophical or pedagogical basis of American Jewish education.

Why did Jewish educational theorists turn to Dewey and other American intellectuals in the first place? Why did they not dig deeper into their own roots, their own history and culture, for a philosophy of education and a strategy of adaptation to the new

American environment? In actuality, they tried to do both, but in so doing they struggled with the fundamental question of Jewish authenticity in the modern era. On the one hand, once they had paid lip service to general American principles, they sought fervently to become a part of the American mainstream. They believed deeply in American ideals of democracy and equal opportunity, and they enthusiastically espoused American liberal values, often uncritically. On the other hand, once they had paid lip service to general American principles, they wanted to practice a particularistically Jewish way of life, with an emphasis on Torah and Tradition, albeit adapted to modern circumstances. The intellectual and practical pioneers of Jewish education in America, like the rest of the Jewish community, were feeling their way in the new environment; and they were insecure about their place here, despite the fact that they viewed America as "*the goldene medina*" ("the golden land of opportunity"). This insecurity, a result of centuries of instability in Europe, forced the Jews into more Americanization than they were philosophically comfortable with; it also prevented them from developing an overly distinctive *Jewish* philosophy of education. In a sense, they had no choice but to talk the language of synthesis (of Americanism and Judaism), even though the synthesis was (and is) extraordinarily difficult and led to some unresolved problems.

Previous generations of Jewish educators were able to give lip service to Dewey and accept some general aspects of his philosophic and social world-view, but they were unable to substantively translate his concepts into practice in schools. This is because they were Jewish survivalists first and progressivists second. People like Dushkin, Berkson, and Gamoran believed in the primacy of Torah and Jewish Tradition; although they espoused liberal, secular, humanist points of view, they believed more deeply in the history and cultural continuity of the Jewish Tradition and the Jewish People. In the last quarter of this century, it seems, secular humanism is not as salvational as previously supposed and thus it is no surprise that we are witnessing some return to Tradition. Recognizing that the secular option has denegated the stability of cultures and communities, Jewish educators have begun to see that borrowing secular methodologies brings with it secular ideologies which do not necessarily mesh well with traditional Jewish conceptions of education and community.

We are, as some Jewish scholars have recently pointed out, in a post-emancipation era. Emancipation and Enlightenment made gentlemen out of Jews; now it is time to make Jews out of gentlemen. In educational terms, this will mean more tapping of our own resources and less reliance on the slogans of the popular culture. At the same time, we cannot retreat to a pre-modern world that is no more. We live in the modern world as we seek to develop a delicate, healthy balance between Judaism and modernity, with all the concomitant difficulties of this process. If we have learned anything from Dewey, it is the need for a sense of balance and a refusal to create and live by false dichotomies. The need for intelligent, proportioned, critical thinking, which Dewey instilled in his followers, is more than ever a need and an ideal that we should painstakingly cherish and preserve.

THE TEACHING OF DELIBERATION IN THE JEWISH SCHOOL¹

Burton Cohen

I

One of the regularities of educational institutions at all levels throughout the world is a frequent lack of correspondence between articulated educational objectives and the school curriculum, i.e. the program of educational activities by which the school seeks to achieve or purports to achieve these objectives. Frequently this lack of correspondence is a major reason for the failure of the school to achieve its stated objectives: the educational experiences that had been selected were of such a character that even under the most favorable circumstances they could not have achieved the objectives.² Conversely, it should be noted that the achievement of a stated objective by a student at the end of a curricular unit does not necessarily prove the effectiveness of the educational experience; the student may already have achieved the objective prior to entering this class; or he may have reached such a stage in his psychological development that he intuitively

1. This paper is based on the writer's doctoral dissertation, *Criteria for Developing Curricular Proposals for the Teaching of Deliberation*, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree in Education at the University of Chicago in 1974. Special appreciation is due to Professor Joseph J. Schwab for sharing his insights and providing ongoing encouragement over an extended period. This paper was written with the assistance of the Abbell Publications Fund of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

2. Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 65.

grasped the material; or, very frequently, other educational experiences *outside the school*, independently, or in tandem with the school experiences, may have provided crucial assistance to the student in achieving the objective.³

Jewish education in the Diaspora provides a particularly striking example of the gap between educational objective and curricular experience. All Jewish education has as its primary objective the creation of a Jew who, in his youth as well as in maturity, will choose his general life-style, as well as decide among specific action-options, on the basis of guidance flowing from the Jewish cultural heritage as interpreted by the branch of Judaism under whose auspices the educational program is taking place.⁴ Yet, even a superficial comparison of the educational experiences offered in contemporary Jewish schools to the stated objectives raises serious questions as to whether these experiences contain the potential for achieving the type of ethical, moral, and ritual behavior described in the objectives.

This problem of the lack of correspondence between stated objectives and proffered experiences in Jewish education has become increasingly acute over the past eighty years. In former days, it was not so important if there was a lack of correspondence between the objectives (usually implicit) and the educational experiences offered, because of the character of material studied in Jewish schools; the dynamics of Jewish community life; and the Jewish family; singly and in combination, worked upon the student to achieve the objectives of Jewish education. When Jews lived within a closed social setting, i.e. the *ghetto* in its medieval or modern self-imposed form, the child absorbed much Jewish learning and living simply from being a part of that rich and complex setting. When the Jewish home was suffused with Judaism, the child learned much of the Jewish heritage and its contemporary detailed application from caring and knowledge-

3. Lawrence A. Cremin. *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976) pp. 27 ff.

4. Judah Pilch and Meir Ben-Horin (eds.). *Judaism and the Jewish School: Selected Essays on the Direction and Purpose of Jewish Education* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1966) pp. xi ff.

able parents, siblings, and grandparents who taught this in the normal course of family life in the home. When Jewish education was essentially Talmudic in character, i.e. when it was heavily weighted in the direction of teaching about concrete behaviors and the reasoning which lay behind a decision to act in one way as against another way, it was natural that what was taught in the school would be strongly reflected in the attitudes and behavior of the student. Under such influences as these, the likelihood of the formal or informal educational process producing a student whose behavior was reflective of a serious confrontation with his Jewish heritage was much greater than today, when *none* of the preceding is likely to be true. For this reason the contemporary Jewish educator is compelled to give much greater attention to the relationship of means and ends.

The Jewish school may, to a certain extent, succeed in teaching its students *about* Judaism; but other than for a certain segment of Orthodox Jewry, there is serious question as to whether it succeeds in teaching them *to act* as Jews, i.e. to be individuals who have not only absorbed the ideals and laws of Judaism, but who transform them into the matrix within which their lives are acted out.

II

The problem that we have described is not peculiar to Jewish education. Typically, in general education, curricula in the elementary and secondary schools are organized around the well-known "school-subjects" (science, mathematics, history, etc.). Often the subjects are grouped together either by content (e.g. social studies and language arts) or by their supposed ability to prepare the student for his anticipated area of activity upon graduation from school (e.g. college preparatory or commercial). In almost every case, however, the items called subjects are bodies of knowledge *about* a subject. Schooling is conceived of as learning *about* something — school subjects report the results of the inquiries of scholars into particular areas. As a result, the possibility that some areas represent possibilities not for knowledge, but for action, is submerged. This is notably the case in two areas: literature and politics in the larger sense. Both of these

areas *can* be the subjects of bodies of knowledge, but both of them are equally possible targets of competences brought directly to bear on subjects; for example, literature is meant to be read; and in politics, men are supposed to make choices and act accordingly.

The differentiation suggested above is more formally stated in the Aristotelian division of the disciplines into three main groups: *theoretical*, *practical*, and *productive*.⁵

For Aristotle, the theoretical disciplines are those in which the aim of the inquiry is *to know*. The subject matters of these disciplines are sufficiently stable to make possible the types of inquiries typified by physics, chemistry, and biology. The subject matters of these disciplines are characterized by a uniformity from instance to instance which permits scientific inquiry and allows some warrant for confidence in the durability of general statements made about them.

The productive disciplines are those which are devoted to *making* rather than knowing: the fine arts, the applied arts, and engineering.

The practical disciplines, commonly referred to as ethics and politics, are those in which individuals *deliberate* about their own actions and those of the community in order to choose ends and means and to act on the basis of these choices. The materials on which the deliberations are based are the host of rapidly changing factors that characterize the individual and society; and the crucial character of this host of factors is their particularity. Whereas in the theoretical disciplines, each item is an instance, i.e. an example of a *class* of instances, and statements may be made about the instance on the basis of knowledge about the class to which it belongs, in the practical realm, this is not the case. Knowledge about the nature of man gained from biology or psychology is only a starting point for trying to understand the different ways in which different men react to what may appear to be identical situations.

5. For a discussion of the Aristotelian organization of the disciplines and its relationship to other suggested schemes of organization, see Joseph J. Schwab, "Problems, Topics and Issues," in *Education and the Structure of Knowledge*, ed. by Stanley Elam (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), pp. 4-43.

Each of these three groups of disciplines then has its own unique substantive structure, and its own unique syntactic structure — that is, method of enquiry.⁶ The unique method of enquiry employed in the practical disciplines is known as “deliberation.”

It should be noted that even a most skillful deliberator will find it difficult to achieve a consistent record of success in deliberation. This failure has its roots in the peculiar character of the practical, i.e. in the large number of factors which the deliberator must take into account and the changing and elusive character of some of these factors. This problem of the character of the practical was first formulated by Aristotle in terms that subsequent philosophers have found difficult to quarrel with (insofar as they deal with the problem at all). One contemporary philosopher calls attention to the difference between the theoretical and the practical in this way:

What is real is always particular; what matters is unique, the individual, the concrete, that wherein a thing differs from other things; for that is its essence and its point, and not that which it has in common with other things — all that the generalizing sciences seek to record.⁷

Consequently, we will use the language of the Aristotelian analysis without further apology.

III

Despite Aristotle's convincing argument for the recognition of the practical as one of the three major divisions of the disciplines, and despite the crucial role which deliberation plays in modern western society, nowhere does one find offered in the curricula of the contemporary American school a “course” that can be identi-

6. Joseph J. Schwab, “The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline,” *Educational Record*, XLIII (July 1962), pp. 197–205.

7. *The Jerusalem Post*, July 20, 1980, page 18. Statement by Sir Isaiah Berlin quoted by Abba Eban.

fied with the practical, search as one may. Virtually all offerings fit neatly into the Aristotelian theoretical or productive (and most of them into the theoretical). For example, a course entitled "Problems of Democracy," rather than preparing young people to participate in the solution of "problems of democracy," it often turns out to be a factual presentation of past problems and their solutions; or the problems are stated in such general terms that their practical character (i.e. their particularity) is obscured.

Sensitivity to the marked absence of the practical in the school curriculum and the growing conspicuousness of decision-making in American life gives rise to a number of programs and suggestions concerning the preparation of the young for the practical solution of social-political-moral problems. In fact, it was a growing awareness of the existence of such attempts that led the author to undertake research into the problems of preparing materials for the teaching of deliberation. Among the more innovative approaches to teaching deliberation are the involvement of the students in student council activity; the use of role playing; the involvement of the students in action and research relating to actual community problems; and game-playing. Most often, however, the subject matter here termed deliberation is offered by the social studies educators in curricula aimed at teaching "problem-solving," "critical thinking," or "reflective thinking." A preliminary examination of a representative group of these curricular proposals did not reveal any which claimed to base themselves upon empirical research into how people deliberate. Furthermore, a comparison was made between the types of skills taught in these courses and a preliminary outline of the process of deliberation based upon theoretical notions about deliberation contained in Schwab's writings about the practical.⁸ The comparisons suggested that the skills being taught in these courses were mostly those which the practical disciplines *shared* with the theoretical disciplines, rather than those which were *unique* to the practical disciplines.

8. See especially Joseph J. Schwab, *College Curriculum and Student Protest*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); and Joseph J. Schwab, *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1970).

In view of the above findings, research was undertaken towards the goal of establishing criteria for the teaching of deliberation, and towards pointing out ways in which existing proposals and programs fell short of what was required:

1. First, instances of deliberation *for which there were records of the deliberations that had taken place* were sought out.
2. The facets of the process of deliberation revealed by all of the instances examined were drawn together to form a composite picture of deliberation as it is practiced. This composite picture validated the preliminary outline based upon Schwab's theoretical formulation of the practical, and in addition supplied certain details of the deliberative process not contained there. In broad outline, the following components of the process of deliberation were delineated:
 - a) Formulation of the problem requiring deliberation out of the problematic situation.
 - b) Eliciting the considerations essential to a satisfactory solution to the problem.
 - c) Generation of alternative solutions.
 - d) Entertainment of the alternatives generated.
 - e) Deciding between the alternatives.
3. This composite picture of the process of deliberation, as well as other factors that seemed pertinent, were then applied as criteria for judging the appropriateness for teaching deliberation, of a selected group of curricular proposals from social studies educational literature. Among the deficiencies generally found in the material were the following:
 - a) A failure to differentiate between the nature of and methods for dealing with practical and theoretical knowledge.
 - b) The attempt to teach the components of deliberation as discrete skills rather than as part of an organic whole.
 - c) An erroneous view of the process of deliberation as being made up of a group of necessary and serially ordered "steps."
 - d) A failure to demonstrate that in solving practical problems, generic considerations as well as problem-specific considerations must be taken into account.
 - e) A failure to teach the integral role played in deliberation by subjective factors.

IV

In the Jewish school, increasingly we find textbooks and curricula which recognize the existence of problems regarding which the student will have to deliberate; but, similar to American education generally, nowhere do we find a curriculum which aims to teach the student the skills required to deliberate effectively about these problems (or to measure whether he possesses those skills).

The trailblazing textbook for Jewish schools, organizing a year's study around the problems encountered by young Jews who affirm their Judaism, was Gittelsohn's *Modern Jewish Problems*,⁹ first published in 1943 and updated and republished several times subsequently. Each chapter is devoted to a particular problem, such as assimilation, intermarriage, antisemitism, or Zionism. Each begins with a general exposition of the problem, is followed by a selection of primary sources bearing upon the problem and concludes with a series of thought questions requiring the student to grapple with some aspect of the problem. There is a direct line connecting Gittelsohn's book with Borowitz's *Choosing a Sex Ethic: A Jewish Inquiry*,¹⁰ published some 30 years later. Borowitz's book is a well-written elaboration of one particular problem, raising for the consideration of the Jewish youth who read the book many aspects of this complex problem. The youth who reads Gittelsohn's or Borowitz's volume and absorbs it will have mastered much of the *substantive material* necessary to making an intelligent decision, yet he will not have been offered instruction in the *skills* required to make such a decision.

There is an even larger body of materials which presents the student with selections from classic Jewish sources and encourages his application of those sources to issues that he faces. Here is a selection from the teacher's guide to "A Study and Action Program" published by one of the national synagogue youth movements:

9. Roland B. Gittelsohn. *Modern Jewish Problems* (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1943).

10. Eugene Borowitz. *Choosing A Sex Ethic: A Jewish Inquiry* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

Finally, we want you to understand why we have presented texts from biblical and rabbinic sources in a book that addresses contemporary needs and problems. We are committed to studying Jewish thinking of the past to help us deal with the present and plan for the future of the Jewish people. We are amazed by the recurring themes of Jewish history and the recurring needs of the human condition. We believe in the wisdom of traditional Jewish teaching and so offer many aspects of this wisdom to you. We also offer you an opportunity to try it out, to see how it fits your expression of community and responsibility.¹¹

Now, while the book provides a very rich selection of sources, and provides excellent pedagogic guidance for substantive teaching, and even provides a framework for "action," like most other materials in the field it either ignores or presumes the skills entailed in the deliberation.

Another text, based on *Pirke Avot (The Sayings of the Fathers)* puts it this way:

In this book we have studied the sayings of *Pirke Avot* and have allowed them to stand for the tradition of Jewish knowledge. The world relies upon the Jews to master this tradition and to keep it alive. It is a tradition of truth that we have passed on from generation to generation reviewing it and enlarging it.¹²

We learn the values that our group prizes through following the patterns of the group, patterns that are made up of custom and law. Then, when there is no apparent example for a particular case, we make our decision on the basis of what we think the group would find most acceptable. That is what Simeon was doing in the case of the donkey and the pearl. Even though the law did not cover this particular case, Simeon followed the value that the law represented...¹³

Here too the writer, without instructions or exercises, lays upon the student a very complex task, that of extracting the values

11. Barbara F. Summers. *Community and Responsibility in the Jewish Tradition: A Study and Action Program* (New York: United Synagogue of America, Department of Youth Activities, 1978), pp. 1-2.

12. Seymour Rossel, Hyman Chanover, and Chaim Stern. *When A Jew Seeks Wisdom: The Sayings of the Fathers* (New York: Behrman House, 1975), pp. 240-41.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

from one set of situations and applying them to other situations which may arise.

Recently, a curriculum guide prepared for a Bureau of Jewish Education recognized the problem of applying the values found in classic texts to problematic situations and the need for teaching deliberative skills:

Each of the seven units of this course contain ethical dilemmas. Some of these are likely to confront us in the business of our daily lives; others are less common and more acute, but these have been faced by many people in many places. It is our assumption, however, that by examining the situations and dilemmas, students will gain both insights and skills. They will become more adept at the process of deliberation and experience meaningful approaches to decision-making. By looking, firsthand, at pertinent rabbinic sources, the pupils will learn to extrapolate principles and values; by examining sources in the contexts of problems and dilemmas, pupils will also begin to see how these principles can be applied to life situations.

There has been no attempt to shield the students from the ambiguities and intricacies of ethical considerations. The texts, themselves, present alternatives, different opinions. Unanimity in ethical decision-making is virtually impossible and rather than approaching this field in a pedantic way, "the rabbis said do this...", we prefer to have the students confront the nuances of the texts and the pressures on people in real life situations.¹⁴

Here, too, while there is a recognition of the complex character of the deliberative process, instruction in most of the crucial deliberative skills is omitted.

V

The Jewish educational enterprise is perpetually being attacked for the failure of its students or graduates to "live up to" what they have been taught. It is our position that living up to rules or precepts requires more than a good knowledge of those rules or

14. Susan L. Shevitz (ed.) *Why Be Good: Sensitivities and Ethics in Rabbinic Literature — Teacher's Guide* (Boston: Bureau of Jewish Education of Greater Boston, 1977), p. iii.

precepts; additionally, it requires learning a series of practical skills — skills of deliberation.

While heavy emphasis has been placed upon the role of psychological and sociological factors in determining behavior, our position, supported by our research, is one that calls for a more balanced view of the role of intellect in deliberation. Schwab, in "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology," points out:

... The average pupil is not a mass of affect essentially isolated from all else by abnormality or failure of emotional development. Instead, he is often a reasonably normal child and, as such, is complex. In addition to emotional needs he has intellectual wants and curiosities. There are facts he will need to know and techniques he will need to use... He opines and judges. He infers, generalizes, and applies the knowledge he possesses and is learning. Moreover, the phrase "in addition" is misleading, for these intellectual needs, wants, and dynamisms are not merely appended to emotional needs and dynamisms. On the contrary, each modifies and modulates the other in reciprocal interaction, and the complex person that emerges is a far cry from the simplified model that is constructed when emotional needs and processes are studied in isolation.¹⁵

Earlier we briefly outlined the process of deliberation as arrived at in our dissertation from our examination of reports of deliberations. In an earlier study¹⁶ we dealt with some of the special problem areas that must be dealt with by an individual when the process of deliberation necessarily includes a fund of common ethical principles, as it does in the Jewish school. Among the additional skills required are the following:

1. The ability to identify which principle is applicable to a particular set of circumstances.
2. The ability to resolve the opposition between contradictory principles both of which are applicable in a given case.

15. Joseph J. Schwab. "On the Corruption of Education by Psychology," *School Review*, LXVI (Summer 1958), p. 172.

16. Burton Cohen and Joseph J. Schwab. "Practical Logic: Problems of Ethical Decision," *American Behavioral Scientist*, VIII (April 1965).

3. The ability to translate a "felt" precept into a verbalized precept.
4. The ability to emend a principle to fit a set of circumstances without undermining its basic principle.
5. The ability to anticipate the consequences of following a given ethical precept.

It is rare to find a textbook or curricular program which addresses itself to teaching any of the above problem areas.

It is our basic assertion that deliberation is so pervasive and so basic a human activity that it ought to be included in the curriculum of *every* school, general or Jewish. If students are to be expected to make good decisions and act wisely on the basis of what they learn in school and elsewhere, the school must teach them how to do so. Clearly, many people "catch on" to the skills of deliberation without ever being taught how to do so, but many people deliberate poorly or not at all.

I suspect that, by and large, those who direct Jewish educational programs — whether in local bureaus of Jewish education or in schools — would consider gratuitous the curricular suggestion to teach the skills of deliberation, a set of generic skills, as part of Jewish education. I am convinced that it would be opposed on two grounds: (1) that it *is* generic, whereas the Jewish school ought to devote itself to that which is specifically Judaic in character, and (2) that there is no room for it in an already crowded curriculum. It seems to me, however, that there are compelling arguments favoring such a revision of the curriculum, and refuting these arguments.

As for the crowded curriculum: it is true that there may be some legitimate differences of opinion as to what subject matter Jewish schools should teach in the limited time available to them. However, it seems to me that Jewish education and Jewish life have reached a stage where whatever is taught must provide for the necessary linkage between the subject matter and Jewish living.

Further, let it be noted that it is not a novel idea for Jewish teachers to teach generic access disciplines in order to make Jewish studies meaningful. Hebrew language teachers have long taught the principles of grammar; and teachers of prayer and Bible increasingly explain to their students the nature of poetry

and how an understanding of poetry is crucial to an understanding of the prayerbook or Bible. In a similar vein we would say that the teaching of deliberation is crucial to helping the student translate the Torah, which is an ancient book, into the Torah which is "a way of life," a goal posited by every program of Jewish education.

While the problem of finding sufficient time to teach deliberation is perplexing, when the school already has too little time for its current course of study, it ought to be noted that education in certain aspects of the arts of deliberation can be provided as an intrinsic part of traditional Jewish studies. If, for example, students could study the Hebrew text of the Bible in terms of the multiple *legitimate* interpretations that can be placed upon many words in the Bible, they might be better prepared to deal with the variety of legitimate alternative actions available in most practical situations. If they studied history with a view to examining the *various* causal interpretations which attempt to explain a particular historical event, they might be better prepared to judge a given decision in terms of its likely consequences. If they studied the *different* ways that Jews of *one* country respond to the same governmental decree, they would begin to understand how a variety of solutions could be offered to the identical problem and observe that different solutions respond to different problematic considerations.

Our familiarity with the curriculum of the Jewish school and the analysis that we have made of the process of deliberation convinces us that many of these skills can be taught within the existing curricular framework of Jewish schools, though no doubt requiring the preparation of new materials and the retraining of teachers so as to qualify them to teach something which varies sharply from what they have previously done.

In a very instructive monograph, Elliot Dorff commented that "Jews have gone further than any other cultural group in using text study as *one* method to inculcate moral values."¹⁷ He goes on to point out that there is a rabbinic view rejecting study which does not lead to action, while accepting study which does lead to action as the highest order of human activity.

17. Elliot Dorff, "Study Leads to Action," *Religious Education*, LXXV, 2, (March-April 1980) p. 171.

תני ר' חייא:
 הלמד שלא לעשות,
 נוח לו שלא נברא.
 אמר ר' אחא:
 הלמד על מנת לעשות
 זוכה להקביל רוח הקודש.

Rabbi Hiyya said: If a man learns the Law without the intention of fulfilling it, it were better for him had he never been born...

Rabbi Akha said: He who learns in order to do is worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.¹⁸

The research which I have briefly described in this paper, and my experience in the field of Jewish education convince me that unless deliberation is adopted as a significant element in the curriculum of the Jewish school, there will be fewer and fewer Jews "worthy to receive the Holy Spirit."

I began by describing one regularity of educational institutions. Another such regularity is that the field of Jewish education does not adopt an innovation until it has been accepted (and frequently discarded) in general education. The teaching of deliberation is an instance in which the acute needs of the Jewish people ought to compel the Jewish educator to reverse the procedure and to precede the field of general education in developing significant techniques and programs.

18. *Leviticus Rabbah*, 35:7.

DEWEYAN DELIBERATION AS A MODEL FOR DECISION-MAKING IN JEWISH EDUCATION

Isa Aron

The dissertation upon which this paper is based is entitled: *Curricular Proposals for the Ethical and Political Education of Adolescents: Overcoming Dogmatism and Relativism, and Teaching Deweyan Deliberation*.¹ This rather cumbersome title derives from the rather cumbersome nature of the work itself, which consists of three distinct parts: 1) a practical educational problem; 2) a methodology whereby curricular solutions to that problem are sought; and 3) a philosophical context in which the entire work is placed. The practical problem which constituted the starting point of the dissertation was that of dogmatic and relativistic thinking in adolescence; by this I mean the tendency of adolescents to be rigid and closed in their thinking, on the one hand, and vague and indecisive on the other. While dogmatic and relativistic thinking is common among adults, the research of such psychologists as William Perry, Robert Lifton, Kenneth Kenniston, Lawrence Kohlberg and Carl Frankenstein indicates that the tendency to fall into this way of thinking is especially pronounced in adolescents.²

1. Isa Aron. *Curricular Proposals for the Ethical and Political Education of Adolescents: Overcoming Dogmatism and Relativism, and Teaching Deweyan Deliberation*, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975.

2. William G. Perry. *Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1970. Robert Jay Lifton. "Youth and History: Individual Change in Postwar Japan," in: Erik H. Erikson (Ed.), *The Challenge of Youth* (New York: Anchor Books), 1965. Kenneth Keniston. *The Uncommitted* (New York: Dell), 1965. L. Kohl-

Once the problem was defined, the purpose of the dissertation was to arrive at curricular solutions. Towards this end, I used the methodology outlined by Joseph Schwab in his writings on "The Practical."³ Three psychological theories, those of Erik Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg, and Carl Frankenstein, were examined, in an effort to determine the way in which each theory explains the phenomena of adolescent dogmatism and relativism. Following Schwab's model, the theories were then analyzed by means of a set of commonplaces, so that the areas of conflict and complementarity between them could be exposed. Ultimately, strategies for dealing with adolescent dogmatism and relativism were derived from each theory, and the final choice of curricular solutions was based on an understanding of which interventions would be in harmony with each other and with the philosophical context of the study. The bulk of the study, however, focused on the use of Schwab's methodology, and the study became, in effect, an exercise in the application of the method to a practical problem.

Finally, the third part of the dissertation was the philosophical context, which served as a framework for the first parts. The need for a philosophical context became clear as soon as I asked myself what was wrong with dogmatism and relativism. If these are bad ways to think, is there a correct or better way? The answer to this question was derived from the writings of John Dewey; Dewey's notion of deliberation was taken as a model for ethical and political thinking.

Although I believe that all three parts of the dissertation — the practical problem of adolescent dogmatism and relativism, the methodological exercise in the application of Schwab's "Practical," and the Deweyan context — have far-reaching implications for Jewish education, limitations of space compel me to narrow my focus and discuss only one of these in the present paper. I have

berg and R. Kramer, "Continuities and Discontinuities in Childhood and Adult Moral Development," *Human Development*, XII (1969), pp. 93-120.

Carl Frankenstein. *Roots of the Ego* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins), 1966.

3. Joseph J. Schwab. *The Practical: A Language for Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association), 1970.

Joseph J. Schwab. "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic," *School Review*, LXXIX (1971), pp. 493-542.

chosen, therefore, to concentrate on the Deweyan concept of deliberation and its application to curricular decision-making in Jewish education.

The plan of this paper is as follows: It will begin with a general discussion of Deweyan deliberation, and will point out both its special virtues and its major limitations. It will then discuss the applicability of deliberation (which Dewey held to be a model for all thinking, theoretical as well as practical) to the process of curricular decision-making in Jewish education. A Deweyan approach to curricular decision-making will be counterposed to the more standard model of decision-making in American education today, and the way in which a Deweyan approach would answer the special needs of Jewish education will be examined.

Deweyan Deliberations

Dewey himself described deliberation as "a dramatic rehearsal (in imagination) of various competing lines of action."⁴ Human beings, in his view, normally act according to habits, acquired predispositions which they follow without reflection. In problematic situations, however, prior habits fail the individual in some way. Perhaps they no longer satisfy his or her desires; perhaps two habits conflict and a choice must be made between them. The result is a temporary suspension of action, during which there is an opportunity for reflection. "There is . . . but one issue involved in all reflection upon conduct: the rectifying of present troubles, the harmonizing of present incompatibilities by projecting a course of action which gathers into itself the meaning of them all."⁵ It is important to emphasize Dewey's actual contention that deliberation can only arise out of concrete and actual dilemmas and conflicts. Only if the problem is felt can deliberation come to a satisfactory conclusion.

Deliberation begins with the formulation of the issue, the conversion of the preliminary sense of indeterminacy into a

4. John Dewey. *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: The Modern Library), 1930 (originally published, 1922), p. 179.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

stated problem. The first step is crucial, since the statement of the problem determines the form of proposed solutions. The initial formulation need not remain fixed, however; at a later stage the deliberator may decide that the situation is best defined in a different way.

Once the problem is formulated, the task of the deliberator is to entertain actively as many solutions as possible. He or she must consider a broad range of possible actions and must imagine the result of each. The competing lines of action cannot, according to Dewey, be evaluated by a prior or abstract standard (such as an ultimate principle) but must be assessed in terms of their consequences. These consequences must be construed broadly; not only direct and immediate results, but also indirect and long-term ones must be taken into account. There is not one consequence of an act but a plurality of consequences. Moreover, the consequences of an act include the effects it will have on the character of the deliberator as well as its effects on the physical and social environment.

The forecasting of consequences is a delicate operation requiring knowledge of one's physical surroundings, the society, human nature in general, and one's own character in particular. It often involves a search for new knowledge. The more acute the deliberator's assessment of human nature and dispositions, the more accurate will be his or her projection of consequences. A memory of the outcomes of comparable actions and decisions is an important aid in deliberation; yet the deliberator must bear in mind the possibility that conditions have changed. Principles and ideals too are useful tools for deliberation, for they represent the result, in summary form, of age-old deliberations. Precisely because of their long history, however, certain principles or rules may be outdated, not suitable for current situations. Thus the deliberator must be aware of the need to modify and readapt traditional principles and rules.

The forecasting of consequences is continually endangered by the biases of both habit and desire.

We see what we want to see, we obscure what is unfavorable to a cherished, probably unavowed, wish. We dwell upon favoring circumstances till they have become weighted with reinforcing considera-

tions. We don't give opposing consequences half a chance to develop in thought.⁶

The deliberator must be constantly on guard against the biases which may distort his or her perception of consequences.

Once the consequences of as many different courses of action as possible have been projected, how is the final decision reached? At this point, Dewey's account differs most sharply from those of most philosophers, for Dewey claims that one cannot know the correctness of a decision intellectually. Instead, he says, one feels the desirability of a consequence, one experiences the appropriateness of a particular choice. Just as one's feelings of confusion or conflict give rise to the deliberation, so one's feelings of unity, harmony, and resolution are an indication that it has terminated successfully. This is not to say that the doubt arises from subjective factors alone; Dewey states explicitly that genuine problems arise from indeterminacies that are objective characteristics of situations. Yet the deliberator can only sense an indeterminacy through direct and immediate perception; he or she does not know there is a problem in the sense that one knows a fact. Likewise, though the solution to a problem is an objective occurrence, the feelings attendant upon it are the best indicators of its appropriateness. Once the deliberator knows the reasons for and against different courses of action, he or she can feel that a particular one is most appropriate.

Complacency and annoyance follow hard on the heels of any object presented in image as they do upon its sensuous experience. Some objects when thought of are congruent to our existing state of activity. They fit in, they are welcome. They agree, or are agreeable, not as a matter of calculation, but as a matter of experienced fact.⁷

The fact that one can experience the correctness of a choice explains why Dewey refers to deliberation as a "dramatic rehearsal."

6. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

The feeling of harmony and unity which comes at the close of a successful deliberation is qualitatively different from the feeling of a momentary or chance pleasure.

Enjoyments that issue from conduct directed by insight into relations have a meaning and validity due to the way in which they are experienced. Such enjoyments are not repented of; they generate no after-taste of bitterness. Even in the midst of direct enjoyment, there is a sense of validity, of authorization, which intensifies the enjoyment. There is a solicitude for perpetuation of the object having value which is radically different from the mere anxiety to perpetuate the feeling of enjoyment.⁸

Thus, experienced deliberators come to have a sense of confidence in their ability to perceive directly and immediately that a particular consequence is desirable. Likewise, with experience, deliberators may learn to be more accurate in their estimation of consequences; they also learn what their particular biases are and in what way these biases are likely to prejudice their deliberations. Of course, even the best of deliberations may fail to foresee a particular consequence, and a course of action decided upon may prove, in the end, to have been mistaken. This possibility is unavoidable. Yet in most cases a careful attention to consequences, the anticipatory generation of alternatives, and a diligent avoidance of prejudices will result in judgments and actions that will not be regretted later.

Limitation of the Deweyan Approach

The emphasis in this paper on the strengths of Dewey's philosophical position should not be taken as an indication that this approach has no shortcomings. In fact, Dewey's concept of deliberation seems to have a serious limitation in that it endorses a highly individualistic method of decision-making. If one accepts his contentions that moral discussion should focus on decision-making in concrete cases, rather than on abstract rule-

8. John Dewey, *The Quest for Certainty* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960), p. 267.

making and justification, and that, ultimately, moral choice, though informed by rational considerations, is best made by a reliance on direct emotional perception, then morality becomes an individualistic endeavor. In a concrete deliberation no one but the deliberator is in a position to ascertain how he or she will feel about alternative outcomes. It seems likely, then, that occasions will arise in which two deliberators in similar circumstances will choose different courses of action. A more formidable problem is raised by cases in which the actions of a group of people are in question. Group deliberation is not guaranteed to yield consensus; on the contrary, Dewey's emphasis on the emotional factor in choice all but guarantees that different deliberators will arrive at different decisions. A recognition of this difficulty has led some critics to charge that Dewey's theory is relativistic. But Dewey's position is not that of a relativist, who claims that all questions of value are mere matters of opinion and are not worthy of serious discussion and consideration. On the contrary, he holds that serious discussion and careful deliberation are what should inform one's final feelings. Furthermore, there is, in theory, a clear criterion for evaluating decisions. If all the consequences of an action could be listed, we would then be able to assess the correctness of a particular decision. That such a listing of ultimate consequences will only be completed when the Messiah comes does not help us in our practice, but it does save the theory from the charge of relativism.

In practice, the individualistic nature of Dewey's method means that the more complicated the decision, the more likely it is that the deliberation will fail. In other words, when many choices are available to the deliberator, when his or her knowledge of the consequences of an action are incomplete, and when he or she has a great emotional stake in the outcome, the chances of coming up with a good decision (i.e., one that correctly forecasts both the consequences and our emotional reaction to them) are diminished.

It is no wonder, therefore, that despite Dewey's own stature as an educator, his model of deliberation has rarely been used as a conscious model for curricular decision-making. For in education our choices are many, our knowledge of the consequences of any action is scanty, partial, and highly contested, and our emotional investment in the final outcome is extremely high. None-

theless, it seems ironic that Deweyan deliberation has not been more widely adopted by curriculum experts, while so many other educational "movements" (e.g. progressive education, vocational education and the open classroom) consider Dewey to be their patron saint. Indeed, I would argue that the use of deliberation as a methodology for curricular decision-making is one of the most authentic applications of Dewey's philosophy to education. I would also argue that Deweyan deliberation is badly needed as a supplement (even as an antidote) to the standard method of curricular decision-making, which is utilized in most schools and taught in most schools of education. Finally, I would argue that because of the special problems of non-orthodox Jewish education, Deweyan deliberation is particularly suitable as a model for curricular decision-making in this area. I have tried to substantiate the first of these claims in the section on Deweyan deliberation. In order to substantiate the second and third claims, an examination and critique of the standard method of curricular decision-making will be necessary, and it is to this that I now turn.

The Standard Model of Curricular Decision-Making

The dominant approach to curricular decision-making in America today derives from Ralph Tyler,⁹ and has been refined by such prominent educators as Bloom¹⁰ and Popham.¹¹ According to this approach, the educator must begin by enunciating his or her *goals* in very broad terms. Each goal must then be defined and specified into a series of *objectives*. For example, the goal of "becoming a good citizen" might be broken down into such components as "obeying laws," "voting in elections," or "being

9. Ralph Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1950.

10. Benjamin S. Bloom, *et. al. Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: Longmans, Green-David McKay), 1956.

11. William James Popham, *Educational Criteria Measures* (Inglewood, California: Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development), 1967.

knowledgeable about civic affairs"; the latter objective might be specified behaviorally as "stating the names of one's senators and congressmen," and "citing their opinions on three controversial public issues." The curriculum maker would then survey the available research on educational methodologies and technologies, and would incorporate the most successful means of achieving his or her objectives into the curriculum. Finally, he or she would devise a method for evaluating the extent to which the objectives have been met.

This approach to curricular decision-making has not been without its critics, who have charged that it has led educators to ignore some of the most important issues and outcomes in their field.¹² But one does not have to enter into the terms of this debate (which is worthy of several dissertations in itself) in order to note that this seemingly rational and orderly method of decision-making is rational and orderly only when four conditions prevail:

1. when there is a general consensus as to the validity of the goals;
2. when there is a general consensus as to the meaning of the goals and of the objectives that each entails;
3. when agreement is fairly easily obtained as to whether or not each objective has been met;
4. when there is a substantial body of research as to the efficacy of the methodologies for attaining each objective.

Thus, for example, when the goal is teaching students to read, this approach works fairly well: 1) Everyone agrees that reading is important; it is fairly easy to determine both 2) what constitutes reading, and 3) whether or not someone is able to read; finally, 4) a large body of research exists on the relative efficacy of various methods of teaching reading. A good deal of controversy exists as to which of these methods works best, but since this controversy arises only at the final stage, it does not unduly encumber the decision-making process.

In Jewish education, however, the matter is entirely different, and the controversy begins at the outset: 1) to paraphrase a trite

12. William E. Doll. "Methodology of Experience: An Alternative to Behavioral Objectives," *Educational Theory*, XXII (1972), pp. 309-324.

Harry S. Broudy. "Can Research Escape the Dogma of Behavioral Objectives?" *School Review*, LXXIX, (1970) pp. 43-56.

old line, put two Jews together on an island and you will have three entirely different lists of goals, or at least 2) three different ways of specifying each goal into objectives. 3) Given the abstract and elusive nature of the goals and objectives most commonly held, it is often difficult to determine whether or not an objective is being met. How can you tell if a person is *davening* with *kavana*? How can you tell if his or her actions are informed by Jewish rather than secular concepts and principles? 4) Finally, little or no research exists examining the extent to which actual and potential teaching technologies are successful or unsuccessful.

A certain lack of consensus as to goals and objectives exists even within the Orthodox community, as Yitzhak Goodman's paper (in this volume) reveals; however, the problems of Conservative, Reform, and other liberal Jews are so great as to make the Orthodox community seem uniform by comparison. In non-Orthodox Jewish education it is sometimes possible to reach consensus as to goals, but this consensus is too often attained at the expense of clarity and specificity. A case in point was the publication, several years ago, by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations of the "Ten Goals of Jewish Education," which includes the goals of "affirming one's Jewish identity," "affirming the historic bond to Eretz Yisroel," and "pursuing *tsedek, mishpat, and chesed*." Indisputable goals — but what do they mean? As soon as an attempt was made to specify their meaning, the debate began. Three years ago a task force was designated to delineate the objectives entailed in each goal. As the documents accumulate, the consensus is eroding. More seriously, it seems now that the resultant document will be so huge and unwieldy as to be unusable in the actual process of making curricular decisions. How is an educator going to choose from among a myriad of concrete objectives? Will a principal or teacher who has not participated in the process of specifying the objectives be able to discern the connections between the disparate objectives, and synthesize them so that class sessions can be more than a series of discrete exercises and drills?

My guess is that the final document, when it appears, will be so cumbersome that some educators will give it a cursory glance and then disregard it completely. Others (the majority, I suspect) will utilize the document as a kind of reference book, and will select from it the objectives they choose to teach. Thus, a decision-

making process which sounds comprehensive, rational, and orderly in theory, can end up being unmanageable, chaotic, and highly subjective in practice.

Deweyan Deliberation in Jewish Education

As stated at the outset, I believe that a Deweyan model of curricular decision-making can be particularly useful to Jewish educators, because it assumes neither agreement on goals nor a large body of research on methods. The Deweyan model requires only one thing — a problem, a conflict, a dissatisfaction or a confusion. A clear definition of goals and objectives and a body of scholarly research bearing on the issues are, of course, useful aids in deliberation, but they are not the starting point, and deliberation can proceed without either, albeit in a less efficient manner. Dewey assumes that the deliberator's goals and objectives may change as a result of his or her investigations and self-scrutiny. As for the consequences of alternative courses of action, such knowledge is always partial and incomplete, and the deliberator must learn to make do with that which is available.

Thus, a Deweyan curricular deliberation would begin with a problem or, more likely, a series of problems: How can one teach a child about the *Akeda*? *Should* one teach about the *Akeda*? Why did God choose to try Abraham by demanding the sacrifice of Isaac? Or, to follow another train of thought, a deliberation might begin by asking why so many students drop out of religious schools after their bar/bat mitzvah, and what might be done about it? Depending upon the deliberator(s) this question might evolve into the relatively simple one of how to plan an appealing program for post bar/bat mitzvah students, or it might lead to even larger issues, such as the failure of the curriculum to suggest viable Jewish adult life-styles, or the failure of the community to present adequate role models. However it started, the deliberation would always end with a tentative solution which would be put into practice.

Deliberating according to Dewey's method is not easy. It is time-consuming, and therefore costly; it requires intensive work on the part of an individual, or relatively small group. It is hard to imagine a deliberation in a group larger than forty, or delibera-

tion in which the participants did not attend regularly and maintain a strong commitment to the group and to the solution of the problem. There are no blueprints for the process, nor any guarantees of a solution; in group deliberations there is no guarantee of consensus. Because the procedure assumes that one's goals, definitions, and even problems will change in the course of deliberation, the evaluation of curricular changes instituted as a result of deliberation is considerably more difficult, though by no means impossible.

The most serious limitation, however, is that the success or failure of a Deweyan deliberation is entirely dependent upon the capabilities of its practitioners. With the more standard model, a certain objectivity, or at least an inter-subjectivity, is presumed, because, as noted above, a high degree of consensus is assumed at every stage. Since Deweyan deliberation is appealing for precisely those areas in which consensus cannot be obtained, a much greater demand is placed upon the individual deliberator(s). To be successful, the deliberator must be expert enough to digest large amounts of disparate data, yet remain open to new conceptualizations and formulations. He or she must walk the fine line between compromise and sell-out, between frankness and diplomacy.

Despite these stringent demands, the deliberator should find the experience involving and exhilarating. Rather than simply performing a task, he or she will be "having an experience," in the fullest possible sense.¹³

Conclusion

One of the recurrent themes of Jewish educational deliberation has been that of alienation. Both quantitative and qualitative studies indicate that a significant segment of the American Jewish community is alienated from organized Jewish life in general, and from the religious school in particular. Even those who affiliate with synagogues and send their children to religious

13. John Dewey. *Art as Experience* (New York: Capricorn Books), 1958 (originally published in 1930).

schools feel alienated from these institutions. According to David Schoem, members of a suburban congregation which he studied identify strongly as Jews, but perceive an immense gap between their own life styles and the mythical "Jewish Way of Life" held up as a model in the religious school.¹⁴ If this community resembles those with which I am familiar, I suspect that a majority of the teachers in the school and probably a majority of the members of the school committee are themselves uncomfortable with this model. Yet they feel (I would guess) that they must have some model to present to their students, and since they lack an alternative model, they continue to utilize this one, fully aware of its inadequacies.

This, in a nutshell, is the problem with the way in which schools, especially religious schools, have traditionally planned their curricula. They have assumed that one must start with the goal, which might, in our case, be summarized as a model for Jewish living. They may have tried to find an authentic, realistic model, but when they failed to do so, they resurrected an outdated one, and hoped no one would notice the discrepancies between what was being taught in school and how everyone — parents, students and teachers — behaved. In fact, of course, everyone noticed, and everyone became increasingly alienated from the school and, by extension, from the congregation. Schoem correctly states that what this community needs is one or several viable models for contemporary Jewish living upon which a new curriculum can be based. But where is even one such model? And, in the absence of an alternative, must one be tied to a conception of curriculum construction that insists upon starting with goals?

The great strength of Deweyan deliberation is that it allows educators to begin with the fact of alienation at the outset, and not wait for a satisfactory set of goals to be articulated. Dewey's assumption would be that if one were to begin with the problem of alienation, the process of deliberation would include an examination of one's ostensible goals, and a search for more satisfactory alternatives. Along the way, one might or might not arrive at

14. David Schoem. "Inside the Classroom: Reflections of a Troubled People," *Jewish Education*, XLVIII (Spring, 1980), pp. 35-41.

such alternatives. But at least no one would be playing games, pretending allegiance to a set of goals for the purpose of maintaining (or even faking) consensus. And one would feel stymied if a model did not emerge. In my own work with alienated and unaffiliated parents, I have found that the very process of deliberation, with the tension it maintains between tradition and change, the past and the present, can itself become a kind of model for how to live a Jewish life.

CURRICULAR INTEGRATION IN THE JEWISH ALL-DAY SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES

Bennett I. Solomon

Introduction

The Jewish day school in the United States offers a complete program of general and Judaic studies within one institution, with separate faculties dividing the school day between the two curricula. In most day schools there is little if any interaction among the teachers working with a group of students, for the secular and the religious worlds and subjects are kept quite distinct. The child's day is often split, therefore, between his being "Jewish" in the morning and "American" in the afternoon, or vice versa. This bifurcated school experience significantly affects the child's total world view, even though such a schizophrenic self-image is often the antithesis of the day school's avowed purpose.

Need I tell you that our day schools are anything but unitary in their program? The typical day school is bi-departmental. The school day is dichotomized. The administrative apparatus is frequently run by two principals, and there are two faculties. The educational climate permeating one part of the program is far removed from whatever transpires in the other. Not only do the two faculties operate in different universes of discourse, they, at times, are not, literally, on speaking terms.¹

1. Shimon Frost. "Integrating the Judaic and General Studies Curriculum," *The Synagogue School*, XXIV, 3 (Spring, 1966), p. 30.

The day school does incorporate the two educational curricula into the same educational institution. But must they teach the two realms as separate and unique worlds mutually coexisting but unrelated, or can they somehow meld these into a unified educational program? This will depend upon the perspective of the specific religious orientation of the school, for a wide range of religious views toward the relationship of the sacred and the secular do exist. Before an educational philosophy can be created, therefore, the *a priori* religious convictions of the school must be clarified and understood.

The underlying assumptions of this analysis and the proposals offered will not appeal to all day school educators. We make no presumption of universal applicability. The educational philosophy of a day school must reflect the religious commitments and perspectives of its community. But these insights are relevant to those Jewish day school educators who wish to correlate or "integrate" to some degree their general and Jewish studies programs. The literature on the day school in the United States indicates that this interest exists within many modern Orthodox *yeshivot*, communal and Reform day schools, as well as the Solomon Schechter Day Schools of the Conservative Movement. All day school educators committed to this idea, therefore, will find this analysis relevant to their endeavors.

We shall undertake an analytical philosophical task. We shall identify commonalities which exist within knowledge — both general and religious — describe cognitive skills and affective dispositions necessary for the appreciation of these similarities, and outline general structural and pedagogical proposals reflecting integrative educational experiences. As a result of our efforts it will be possible to create integrative experiences which will enable students to think and to make sense of their world.

Our first task is to define the term "integration." It has been widely used throughout the literature on Jewish all-day school education in America. But the word is ambiguous; for it has variously referred to subjects, values, cultures, activities, personalities, loyalties, and learning environments. The diversity of connotations has clouded, rather than clarified, the current discussion of the form and significance of integration for contemporary Jewish day school education. So that this discussion can proceed toward a statement of purpose and a recommended

pedagogy, an analysis of the use of this term must be undertaken. (I have however dealt with this elsewhere, and, therefore, at this time shall not review the entire discussion.)²

The "Structure of the Disciplines" Movement and the Problem of Integration

Now we turn to what, in our opinion, is the fundamental philosophical problem behind the lack of unity within the Jewish day school educational program. The working ideology of the schools is one which distinguishes and stresses the differences between the various forms or structures of knowledge which are taught. The curricular approach builds specific subjects into the school day, adding the Judaic studies as an adjunct — an addendum — to the plethora of general studies subjects. As a result, it is impossible for the child to see his educational program as anything but a conglomeration of disparate subjects. Let us delve more deeply into this question of curricular organization and the structure of knowledge.

Questions concerning the nature and organization of learning are as old as philosophy itself. Aristotle advocated categorizing knowledge according to its function, whereas Plato had distinguished various levels of cognitive activity and abstraction. Theories of knowledge have proliferated ever since. Within educational practice the issue becomes "How do we choose from among these various accounts of knowledge in order to create an educational program?" As every analysis of knowledge is selective, choosing to emphasize one realm in place of another, the educator must choose that epistemological view which is most valid for him and most conducive to his purpose. Jane Martin, a contemporary American philosopher, asks:

...if alternative descriptions can be given, on which one ought the curriculum be based? We cannot appeal to epistemology for an answer to this question. In effect we are asking which of alternative true descriptions of knowledge is better for our purpose, and our purpose,

2. Bennett I. Solomon. "A Critical Review of the Term 'Integration' in the Literature on the Jewish Day School in America," *Jewish Education*, XLVI:4 (Winter, 1978).

of course, is educational ...it is as accurate to say that our view of knowledge will depend on what we want to teach as it is to say that what we want to teach will depend on our view of knowledge.³

If the day school wishes to foster the development of rational autonomous individuals, inclined toward and capable of knowledgeably integrating their American and Jewish life experiences, then the school must plan its program accordingly. To base the program on some other principle, or worse, to develop a course of studies without a guiding aim or purpose, is to plan ineffectively.

Very little integration actually occurs in most schools.

The so-called integrated day school alternates Jewish and general subjects, while other (schools) teach one set, usually the Jewish in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. The general and the Jewish are at best put side by side mechanically, not combined organically ...the day schools do not really make the connection between the Jewish and the general, or the Western.⁴

This view of the Jewish education as an additional element attached to the overall school program reflects a "structure of knowledge" approach to educational planning. This view emphasizes the distinct concepts, methods, and truth criteria which allegedly characterize each discipline.

This emphasis upon "structure" has been the basis of an entire movement in curriculum planning since the late 1950's. Lukinsky described it in his survey and analysis, "Structure in Educational Theory."

This curriculum reform effort stressed the role of the academic scholar...Several new curricula were developed in diverse fields, and recognized scholars, though working with curriculum specialists and teachers, were given the power of decision with regard to both content and methodology ...Books and articles began to appear...conferences

3. Jane R. Martin. *Readings in the Philosophy of Education: A Study of Curriculum* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), pp. 154-155.

4. Milton Himmelfarb. "Reflections on the Jewish Day School," *Commentary*, XXX, 1 (July, 1960), p. 35.

were held on the subject of teaching the structure of the disciplines, with implications drawn for knowledge in general, for the separate disciplines, for curriculum making, and for learning theory and teaching methods.⁵

Our analysis of this theory will concentrate upon the contribution made by Paul Hirst in his essay "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge."⁶ I will not suggest here that the entire "structure of knowledge" school was historically responsible for the direction and structure of the day school curricula throughout Jewish schools in the United States. I shall suggest, however, that were the implicit rationale for the structure and content of these schools made explicit, it would reflect this school of epistemological and curricular thought. Let us examine Hirst's ideas to see why this is so.

According to Hirst, understanding is achieved through the development and use of conceptual patterns which help man make sense of the world. Each form of knowledge possesses a unique set of concepts which function in relation to experience, e.g., mathematical concepts such as number, integer, matrix, relate to experience in different ways than do scientific concepts such as hydrogen and atoms. Since these concepts relate to one another in different settings and in unique ways, meaningful statements are dependent upon their correct use in their proper contexts i.e. discussing the color of right angles or the goodness of

5. Joseph S. Lukinsky, "Structure in Educational Theory," *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 11, 2 (Oct., 1970), p. 16. Books promulgating this position include: Jerome E. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum* edited by Ford and Pugno; Stanley Elam, ed. *Education & the Structure of Knowledge*; Philip H. Phenix, *Realms of Meaning* (New York: McGraw Hill Books Co., 1964); Arthur R. King, Jr. and John A. Brownell, *The Curriculum and the Disciplines of Knowledge* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

6. Paul Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge," in *Readings in the Philosophy of Education*, edited by Martin (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), pp. 157-178; also in *Philosophical Analysis and Education*, ed. by Reginald Archambault (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 113-138; also in Paul Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 30-53.

molecules makes little sense. Varying tests of validity and truth also exist for these varying concepts and contexts, for one cannot prove the truth of a mathematical assertion in the same way that one maintains the certainty of a religious belief.

According to Hirst, the three distinguishing criteria of the forms of knowledge are: 1) unique central concepts; 2) distinctive logical structures relating to terms and statements; and 3) unique truth criteria which test statements against experience.

The seven forms of knowledge enumerated by Hirst are mathematics, physical science, human science, history, religion, literature and the fine arts and philosophy. Although he acknowledges that there exists some overlap in concepts, he insists that each of these forms produces distinctive rational judgements due to their unique means and criteria of verification.

The central feature ...is that the major forms of knowledge or disciplines, can be distinguished by their dependence on some particular kind of test against experience for their distinctive expressions ...the sciences depend crucially on empirical experimentation and observational tests, mathematics depends on deductive demonstrations from certain sets of axioms. Similarly moral knowledge and the arts involve distinct forms of critical tests...⁷

Hirst bases his contention that various forms of knowledge exist upon a "structure of knowledge" analysis. In doing so he joins a very wide ranging and ongoing debate between so-called "differentists" who maintain that the concepts and methods of the social sciences and humanities differ qualitatively from those of the natural sciences, and the so-called "uniformists" who feel these differences are outweighed by characteristics which are shared by all forms of knowledge.⁸ Hirst concludes that the concepts and methods are different enough to establish seven distinct forms of knowledge. But we side with that point of view

7. Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum*, p. 45.

8. Israel Scheffler, "Science, Morals and Educational Policy," in *Reason and Teaching* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), pp. 97-114; Carl Hempel, *Aspects of Scientific Explanation* (New York: The Free Press, 1965); Richard Rudner, *Philosophy of Social Science* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

which sees the unifying forces as outweighing those which differentiate forms of knowledge. Each form of knowledge might possess concepts which are fundamental to it. Certainly physics deals with neutrons and radiation fields while history deals with revolutions and dynasties and wars. Moral discussions involve right and obligation while religious issues encompass the concepts of God, commanded action, and worship. But what do we do about those concepts which bridge a number of disciplines? How does Hirst intend to determine if the word "cell," for example, is a physical, chemical or biological concept? And even if there are separate vocabularies for the various disciplines, there can still be commonalities among them. Things that are different can still share some properties. The concepts of time, space, and causality infiltrate all areas of knowledge. The concept of man is studiable from a physical, historical, moral, and religious perspective.

Hirst's criterion of verification or methodology is no more successful in establishing clear differences between forms of knowledge. If we clarify the difference between logical method and technique, this will become clear. Scheffler suggests that logical method includes:

1. Formulation of assertions in logically coherent, objectively testable systems of hypotheses.
2. Observational control of the acceptance and rejection of assertions.
3. Inductive or probabilistic interpretation of observational evidence.
4. Theoretical reversibility of all decisions on acceptance and rejection of assertions.
5. Use of general hypotheses and singular statements to explain and predict occurrence.⁹

Technique, on the other hand, refers to specific apparatus, modes of observation or data-collection. Although the techniques employed by experts in various fields differ, the actual process and canons of thought are similar within all phases of knowing. Classification, counting, observation, hypothesis formation — all of these methods are of fundamental importance in the pursuit of knowledge. Although this is a controversial conclusion, this

9. Scheffler, "Science and Morals," p. 99.

author accepts its validity and will present corroborating evidence in support of this conviction.

There exist numerous specific examples of methods of verification spanning a number of Hirst's forms of knowledge. Empirical experimentation is valid not only in natural science, but in economics, history, and art as well. The deductive process crucial to mathematical thinking also applies to moral decision making.¹⁰ Broad generalizations are employed not only in scientific explanations, but in social scientific investigations and literary criticism as well. Scientists, as well as historians, rely upon ancient artifacts and historical explanations. Musicians, as well as philosophers and scientists, rely upon imagination to formulate solutions. Therefore, it is fallacious to conclude that differences in techniques are tantamount to differences in method.

Let us now turn to those skills and dispositions which can foster a unified perspective toward education in a day school.

Rationality and Objectivity

Contemporary analytic philosophers of education have insisted that rationality lies at the heart of the educational enterprise. As rationality "involves a primary concern for the free and critical judgement of the free mind in all realms,"¹¹ it has been proposed as a fundamental property linking all forms of knowledge. Rationality is a commitment to guide one's life by the rule of reason, reflectively applying principles to all situations. It is characterized by an openness to discussion and debate, and a willingness to admit mistakes if reasons prove one to be wrong. Rationality, therefore, must reject dogmatism, blind faith, or considerations of expediency.

Scheffler emphasizes this commitment to rationality as characteristic of study in all realms of knowledge. What unites all studies and all knowledge is:

10. See Stephen Brown and Joseph Lukinsky, "Morality and the Teaching of Mathematics," *Ethical Education*, 1, 2 (Summer, 1970), p. 2ff.

11. Israel Scheffler, *Reason and Teaching*, p. 62.

...a common striving to develop forms of critical understanding, to define and progressively test criteria of rational judgement and associated principles of generalization and evaluation. This striving is embodied in the several traditions of thought, each providing a realization of the associated concepts of 'reason' and 'principle' within its sphere. To become rational is to enter into these traditions, to inherit them and to learn to participate in the never-ending work of testing, expanding, and altering them for the better.¹²

Rationality involves the ability to use information. Problem solving is a related and necessary skill, for an individual cannot survive in a changing society with a collection of static, tradition-sanctioned facts. He is constantly confronted with problems which existing bodies of knowledge and skill cannot solve, and changes are constantly occurring. Keeping up with these, demands understanding their essential characteristics. This means recognizing the evidence of change and the reasons for adjustments. It means the ability to use, apply and modify facts and skills. This ability to construct useful reasons creatively and apply deductive reasoning entails skills fundamental to all creative cognitive tasks, and is a skill which can be developed and reinforced in all aspects of the Jewish day school curriculum.

Built into rationality is the notion of objectivity — meaning a reliance upon empirical facts, independent and impartial criteria, and verifiable conclusions. Capricious subjectivity — a willingness to recognize personal expediency and whim as a determining factor in the decision-making process — must be ruled out. Decisions must be based on principles!

These critical procedures do not develop on their own in children's minds as they mature. In fact, the tendency to pursue rational, critical thought runs counter to the natural inclinations of children. It must be developed, therefore, and Scheffler has tied the development of rationality to the special process called teaching. It is the process which puts rationality into practice while attempting to develop it. Within every field of knowledge, teaching encompasses the same criteria:

12. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

...teaching, is differentiated from mere acquisition of beliefs, for beliefs can be acquired or transferred through mere unthinking contact, propaganda, indoctrination, or brainwashing. Teaching, by contrast, engages the mind, no matter what the subject matter. The teacher is prepared to explain, that is, acknowledge the student's right to ask for reasons and this concomitant right to exercise his judgement on the merits of the case. Teaching is, in this standard sense, an initiation into open rational discussion.¹³

The student taught to think as an autonomous individual, to seek evidence for conclusions, and to ponder alternative actions, must manifest this capability and tendency throughout all aspects of life — cognitive, moral, social and religious. Doing so will help unify knowledge through the cognitive process itself.

Within the literature on the natural and social sciences, humanities, and religion, there is great controversy over their respective research and verification methodologies. A classical position debated back and forth is the assertion that the personal nature of social scientific, historical and religious knowledge must be distinguished from the objective and empirical findings and methods of the natural sciences and mathematics. But rationality need not mean an objectivity divorced from personal input. There exists no knowledge which can be divorced from the knower. Even within the realm of so-called objective science, knowledge of objects must pass through the screen of previous experiences, preconceived conceptual schemas, and symbolic language systems before it is conceived by the scientist. Data are always a selection from experience according to one's purpose and expectations. What the scientist concentrates upon and locates is a reflection of his scientific community as well. Science is not the mechanical process implied by Weber as he contrasts it with the personal involvement of the social scientist. Rather, as Polanyi notes, "Complete objectivity as usually attributed to the exact sciences is a delusion and is in fact a false idea."¹⁴ The subject is always involved in the perception of his object, be it in the natural or the social sciences. Polanyi stresses this idea:

13. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

14. Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 18.

As human beings, we must inevitably see the universe from a center lying within ourselves and speak about it in terms of a human language shaped by the exigencies of human intercourse. Any attempt rigorously to eliminate our human perspective from our picture of the world must lead to absurdity.¹⁵

Objectivity, therefore, does not mean "divorced from personal input." The claim that the natural sciences are "objective," while the social sciences, humanities, and religion are "subjective" is too simplistic. The religionist pursues facts and reviews evidence before determining the religious significance of any object or situation. Similarly, the natural scientist studies the empirical data before him. Both organize their data according to prior conceptions and interests, and only selected items are attended to in either realm. Whether obtained through observation, controlled experimentation, or exact measurement, the data are personally collected, but publicly verifiable. Not everyone will see the same things in the same data, but the objects are equally available to "intersubjective testability" — they are open to any community of investigators to evaluate. Objectivity — meaning a commitment to rationality and universality, and not impersonal detachment — therefore, can and does apply to the natural sciences, as well as the social sciences and religion.

Objectivity does not exclude emotion. One can believe passionately in an idea or be enamoured of a procedure. But if it is not logically sound or it cannot be verified publicly, then it cannot be accepted rationally. The scientist can have interests and convictions, but these must be verified by investigators with other commitments for them to be scientifically valid. Polanyi insists, in fact, that scientists can, and must, passionately pursue this very criterion of objectivity so defined.

The act of knowing includes an appraisal; and this personal coefficient, which shapes all factual knowledge, bridges in doing so the disjunction between subjectivity and objectivity. It implies the claim

15. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

of testability, or what you will ...such is the true sense of objectivity in science.¹⁶

Appreciation of all realms of knowledge, therefore, entails a commitment to rationality which does not exclude a personal involvement. By emphasizing both the commonalities and the differences in the structure of knowledge, the day school can help the child unify his learning experience and the knowledge he acquires.

Reason and Emotions

We have already argued that objectivity is compatible with emotion. We shall now pursue this in greater detail.

Scheffler, Peters, and Polanyi offer fascinating insights into the interrelationship of cognition and emotion. Scheffler bemoans the fact that the strongly entrenched visions of cognition and emotion as hostile enemies lead to educational processes which split the minds and the attitudes of young people. This bifurcated vision must be replaced by one which recognizes the important role emotion plays in the cognitive process. Scheffler emphasizes the emotional dispositions which actually accompany rational thought:

...a love of truth and a contempt of lying, a concern for accuracy in observation and inference, and a corresponding repugnance of error in logic and fact. It demands revulsion at distortion, disgust at evasion, admiration of theoretical achievement, respect for the considered arguments of others. Failing such demands, we incur rational shame; fulfilling them makes for rational self-respect.¹⁷

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

17. Israel Scheffler, "In Praise of the Cognitive Emotions," *Teachers College Record*, LXXIX, 2 (December, 1977), p. 173.

Scheffler denies that thinking can be dichotomized between one realm which concentrates only upon cold, cognitive processes while others rely upon emotional commitment. Instead he shows that emotions are inexorably interwoven with all thinking. Even in mathematics successful performance "rests not only on general skills, but also on general attitudes and traits such as perseverance, self-confidence, willingness to try out a hunch, appreciation for exactness, and yet others."¹⁸

Polanyi develops this theme in great detail, calling these "intellectual passions" a vital part of cognitive activity and discovery.

...scientific passions are no mere psychological by-product, but have a logical function which contributes an indispensable element to science ... The excitement of the scientist making a discovery is an *intellectual* passion, telling that something is *intellectually precious*, and, more particularly, that it is *precious to science*. And this affirmation forms part of science...¹⁹

These passions represent commitments to the cognitive process which must be nurtured and developed in students over time. As they are pervasive, and vitally important, all efforts to reinforce them will be beneficial to the child's intellectual development. As Frost remarked about instruction in the day school:

It is foolhardy to insist that general studies instructors train our youngsters to freedoms of inquiry, critical analysis and intellectual curiosity, if the same qualities are stifled by religiously dogmatic and rigid instructors in the Hebrew department.²⁰

An orientation to the cognitive skills and emotional commitments inherent in rationality must be displayed throughout the entire school for this crucial integrating capacity to develop within the students.

18. Israel Scheffler, "Basic Mathematical Skills: Some Philosophical and Practical Remarks," *Teachers College Record*, LXXVIII, 2 (December, 1976), p. 207.

19. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, pp. 134-135.

20. Frost, "Integrating the Judaic and General Studies Curriculum," p. 31.

Cognitive Emotions: Joy, Surprise, Awe

Scheffler introduces two specific cognitive emotions which are of considerable importance to the day school: the "joy of verification" and the "feeling of surprise." As both suppositions are based in the cognitive realm, they are accessible throughout all realms of knowledge.

The "joy of verification" is the joy which accompanies the fulfillment of an expectation — "a triumphant feeling of having guessed correctly."²¹ Awareness of this special feeling of joy can play a vital reinforcing role in the educational process. The religious studies, as well as the natural and social sciences, must be open to critical study and investigation so that the student can become a part of the learning process and experience the joy of verification. Study of the Bible, prayers, and Jewish history through the method of inquiry characterized by an openness to discovery — opportunities to predict outcomes or attempt interpretations based upon historical precedent or prior commentary — are types of educational experiences which must be available to the day school student. If the religious education as well as the general education make these experiences possible, an important unifying emotion will be developed within the students.

Scheffler's second cognitive emotion — the "feeling of surprise" — is intrinsically linked to the religious domain. Surprise results when events conflict with prior experience and expectations. But in order to be surprised, one must be open to it. A school dedicated to forging integrative individuals will not seek to avoid surprise through dogmatic instruction. Rather, it will prepare teachers to respond to surprise when it arises, e.g. during science class when Biblical stories seem to contradict scientific explanations; when moral decisions seem to demand disobeying God's commandments; when historical perspectives run counter to those expected; when theological questions arise after shattering emotional traumas. The teachers must react consistently to these instances of surprise.

21. Scheffler, "In Praise of Cognitive Emotions," p. 179.

Surprise may be dissipated and evaporate into lethargy. It may culminate in confusion or panic. It may be swiftly overcome by a redoubled dogmatism. Or it may be transformed into wonder or curiosity, and so become an educative occasion ...critical inquiry in pursuit of explanation is a constructive outcome of surprise.²²

The ability to doubt and still retain religious commitment is tantamount to an appropriate response to the feeling of surprise.

A "sense of wonder" is another "cognitive emotion" which the day school must develop. Greenberg stresses this attitude as one which should permeate the entire learning environment. He refers to an appreciation of Heschel's idea of "radical amazement."

To sense wonder involves a profound intuitive conviction that there are realms beyond one's intellectual comprehension and immediate emotional experience ...it inevitably involves a simultaneous awareness of one's personal inadequacies...²³

The child's sense of wonder can be developed in relation to the phenomena of the physical world as well as the historic experience of the Jewish people. It would entail the use of empirical facts as well as an openness to questions and reasons which,

...at the same time, would not rob (the child) of the sense of wonder and even radical amazement as he contemplates the universe ...and events in Jewish history.²⁴

The development of this appreciation of awe qualifies as a cognitive emotion because it dwells in the cognitive domain, but is appreciated as an emotion. If every teacher in the school is sensitive to this sense of wonder it could help develop a vital

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

23. Simon Greenberg, "The Religious Policy of the Solomon Schechter Day Schools," *The Synagogue School*, XXIV, 3 (Spring, 1966), pp. 14-15.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

religious appreciation within the children's perception of all knowledge and experience.

So far we have considered the concept of rationality and its attending emotions, as well as a number of cognitive emotions which can be integrating forces within the Jewish day school. We move now to a number of related concepts, skills, and dispositions which characterize all learning and all knowledge.

Creative Imagination

Creative imagination has usually been associated with music, art, and literature. The talent and insight inherent in artistic creation has been distinguished from the procedures which allegedly characterize mathematical or scientific thought. But if it can be shown that creative imagination is as vital to science, religion, and other academic disciplines as it is to the arts, then we will have identified another ability which can be reinforced throughout the day school as an integrating thread.

Theories of any kind — whether scientific, mathematical, musical, or theological — are mental constructs *created* to interpret observations. Hypotheses are not derived from empirical facts, but rather are invented to account for observable facts. They are created not through the mere collection of data, but through abstract interpretive constructions which enable one to see coherent patterns of relationships among the data. Creative imagination, therefore, is the capacity which enables one to leap from data to their explanations in theories.

No methods exist for theory creation. No fixed routine will lead to the creation of a successful theory. Sometimes theoretical insights appear as "intuitive flashes." Hempel cites this personal creative element in theoretical formulations in his account of the nineteenth century chemist F. A. Kekule's description of his conceptualization of the structural formula of the benzene molecule. Gazing into the flames of his fireplace he suddenly saw:

...atoms dancing in snakelike arrays. Suddenly, one of the snakes formed a ring by seizing hold of its own tail and whirled mockingly before him. Kekule awoke in a flash; he had hit upon the now famous and familiar

idea of representing the molecular structure of benzene by a hexagonal ring.²⁵

Scheffler summarizes by insisting that the ideal scientist,

...loyal to the demands of rational character and the institutions of scientific objectivity, is not therefore passionless and prim. Theoretical inventiveness requires not caution but boldness, verve, speculative daring. Imagination is no hindrance but the very life of theory, without which there is no science.²⁶

Imagination, according to Collingwood, is also central to the historian's process of inquiry.

The web of imagination construction is something far more solid and powerful than we have hitherto realized... It is thus the historian's picture of the past, the product of his own *a priori* imagination, that has to justify the sources used in its construction ... Whatever flows into it, goes into it not because his imagination passively accepts it, but because it actually demands it.²⁷

The crucial role of imagination in art exists somewhat more obviously, as Cassirer explains.

The fact of originality, individuality, creativeness seems definitely to prevail ... In art we are not content with the repetition or reproduction of traditional forms. We sense a new obligation; we introduce new critical standards...²⁸

Creative imagination has been and remains a vital component to full appreciation of the Jewish heritage, both religious and

25. Carl Hempel, *The Philosophy of Natural Science* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 16.

26. Scheffler, "Cognitive Emotions," p. 177.

27. Robin G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 244-245; Quoted by King and Brownell, *The Curriculum and the Disciplines of Knowledge* p. 72.

28. Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 224.

historical. The most fundamental and extensive example is its role in the understanding of the Biblical text. Maimonides wrote his *Guide to the Perplexed* for those individuals who, through literal interpretation of the text, had run into unsettling, irreconcilable conflicts with reason. He offered a philosophical interpretation in his *Guide* based upon an allegorical interpretation of the text. Understanding of God (not the "notion of God" or the "idea of God," but God himself) demands a creative insight capable of lifting one beyond the anthropomorphic representation of Him in the Bible. Attempts to conceptualize the events of the Bible also demand keen creative talents.

Understanding the nature of revelation demands creative insight as well. If one accepts the literal text as an accurate account of God's revelation, then comprehension of the majestic glory of that encounter between God and the Children of Israel demands a finely tuned and highly developed imagination; not a fanciful imagination, but rather one whose mental pictures can evince emotional commitment and affiliation. If one cannot accept the veracity of the literal depiction of the theophany at Sinai, efforts to formulate a compelling alternative view demand creativity and sensitivity. Is revelation similar to the feelings of inspiration often described by creative persons? Or is revelation substantially different from this phenomenon? Both views have been articulated by contemporary Jewish thinkers, each necessitating the creative imagination of the student to be fully comprehended. Therefore, the encouragement of creative thinking — the active and purposeful development of this skill and propensity within every aspect of the school curriculum — must be pursued, from scientific theories to mathematical formulas to poetic license to Midrashim (religious legends) to historical role-playing activities. Creative imagination will only be possible for the mind which is prepared for it, so a unified approach to the development of this talent will serve the interests of the day school child.

Symbolism

Ernst Cassirer, in his important book, *An Essay on Man*, states that man lives in a unique dimension of reality due to his symbolic system of thought and communication. He depicts this

symbol system as the essential feature of human consciousness. Through its use and development, man attempts to make sense of his world. Cassirer sees these symbols as unifying man's otherwise disparate concerns and activities. Myth, language, art, religion, history, and science are all symbolic forms. Although each pursues its own path, they all share a functional unity. Their common task is explanation and understanding of life. An appreciation of their importance, according to Cassirer, will serve a vital integrating function. The day school, by focusing on the variety of symbols and their significance for man, can help forge unity out of diversity. It can also help develop the specific skills needed for appreciation of symbols in their respective domains.

The principle of symbolism, with its universality, validity, and general applicability, is the magic word, the Open Sesame! giving access to the specifically human world, to the world of human culture. Once man is in possession of this magic key further progress is assured.²⁹

Bokser speaks specifically of the importance of symbolism to the Jewish religion.

Religion speaks of realities which are intrinsically ineffable, and they do not permit of precise discourse. It has therefore created a language of myth and symbol corresponding to the limitations of human comprehension. Thus we speak of God as though He were a person ... It is important that a school sensitize the child to this characteristic of religious discourse, to enable him to see the reality behind the figure of speech.³⁰

Although symbols do exist throughout every realm of knowledge and they all serve to explain the universe, there are differences in the way they function. A short overview of these differences is important.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

30. Ben Zion Bokser, "Solomon Schechter Day School Education and the Conservative Movement," (New York: Solomon Schechter Day School Association Resource Library, 1967), 105, p. 7.

Any phenomenon which arouses in consciousness an awareness of phenomena other than itself is functioning as a symbol. Words, therefore, are the most common symbols, for they are in constant use and they call attention to the objects and ideas of which they are merely referents. But any object or gesture can cause the mind to associate it with something else, thereby causing it to function as a symbol. This can occur, however, only after the connection has already been made, relating the former phenomenon to the latter.

Symbols function in different ways, although all seek to explain. The scientific symbol used to have a one-to-one correspondence between itself and its referent which could be verified empirically, e.g. H_2O . These symbols help simplify scientific communication and classification. Today, with atomic physics being abstract, the symbols in use are not readily verifiable, but they still do refer to specific ideas or properties. Coherent systematic terminology is indispensable to the activities of science.

This can be contrasted to the role of symbols in the artistic and literary realms. These symbols stimulate an emotional and aesthetic response within the observer. Artistic and literary symbols, acting through the imagination, arouse sentiments and passions. Therefore they cannot be empirically tested like scientific symbols. They will lead to varying responses within different observers, differing, in this regard, from scientific symbols which should connote identical phenomena to all knowledgeable observers. Art and literature, in addition to transferring information, therefore, also hope to engage the emotions.

Religious symbols differ in purpose and essence from scientific and artistic symbols. They combine aspects of each, however, as they transmit their message.

The meaning or value of any given (religious) symbol is not a denotative, precise meaning, but a connotative one — a meaning in a language designed to speak to the mind, but having more immediate relation to the emotions than verbal thinking. Beyond simply arousing emotions, however, these symbols carry potent ideas...³¹

31. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, IV (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1954). p. 37.

In other words, the religious symbol connotes a specific phenomenon (like the scientific symbol) and also evinces an emotional response (like the artistic symbol). The specific phenomenon which religious symbols connote is the ultimate reality symbolized by God.

The efficacy of the religious symbols in Western tradition is judged by their ability to involve man's emotional endowments and overt acts in a relationship of loyalty, dependence upon, hope in, obedience to, joy in, and love for, God.³²

Only one symbol in Judaism relates directly to God, that being the four-lettered Tetragrammaton which connotes God's essence. All other symbols relate to God indirectly, for they refer to commandments, rituals, or observances within which God's presence is revealed. These symbols are similar to scientific symbols in that they have specific referents, i.e. *challah* on the Sabbath; the *matzah*, bitter herbs and *charoseth* of the Passover holiday; the wine, spices and candle of the *Havdalah* ceremony. But they differ from scientific symbols in that the meaning of these referents is not empirically validated; rather it is merged with moral and theological values, ideas and concepts. Reid has applied the term "symbolical" to the function of religious symbols because they have non-literal referents — their literal meanings are not adequate for their subjects. Their realm is the noumenal, not the phenomenal. Symbols abound within religious language and ritual to help man grasp the ideas which are beyond physical or literal comprehension.

The significance of these symbols can be transmitted to the young, with their similarities to and differences from other symbols stressed not in a detached, cognitive fashion, but rather through participation within and among these Jewish symbols and ideas. The fact that they are shared by the community of Jews around the world and throughout history will give these symbols even greater cogency. At the same time it will be vitally important to point out to the students that symbols — all symbols — create

32. Simon Greenberg, *Foundations of a Faith* (New York: The Burning Bush Press, 1967), p. 185.

certain barriers in addition to the bridges which they construct. Reid has articulated this very well by stating that:

It is difficult, even at quite advanced levels, not to take them (religious myths) rather too literally, so that they become substitutes for the reality they are attempting to symbolize ...that which we seek to know is never identical with what in our limited way we apprehend through symbols. That which we seek to know is a mysterious world which is beyond all symbols ...The world is *not* these signs and symbols, nor even like them, and yet through them we have to begin to try to live in and understand the independent world...³³

A conscious pursuit of the role of symbols throughout the entire day school curriculum will be yet another integrating thread, one which will help forge unity of purpose while building important skills into the foundation of the children's education.

Participation within a Community of Investigators and *Verstehen*

All language is learned and used in interpersonal situations. The community within which one participates will directly affect his vocabulary, symbols, etc. In science, for example, the individual scientist does not function alone. Communication among scientists is crucial to the development of this dynamic discipline. To facilitate such communication, a system of terms, attitudes, and values, as well as a standard paradigm, must be jointly held. These determine the current structure of the discipline, the questions appropriate for study, the techniques generally acceptable and the solutions admissible. This applies to all realms of knowledge and experience, including religion. Full appreciation of the Jewish community, its history, symbols, beliefs, and practices demands a type of understanding which is not only cognitive but also personal. The Jew is instructed on Passover to view the events of the Exodus from Egypt as if he personally had been liberated from bondage.

33. Louis Arnaud Reid. *Ways of Knowledge and Experience* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1961), p. 20.

This personal involvement with the tradition and people of Israel and the special meaning it evokes, is similar to the notion of *verstehen* coined by Max Weber. It is a theory of understanding which proposes that human actions can only be understood from the actor's point of view. Only if one puts oneself into the agent's position can he truly understand his behavior. We have argued that all knowledge includes a personal element. However, it is accurate to say that appreciation of historical events, literary figures, and religious events and ideals requires an empathetic ability. Developing this in students is a major educational task. The entire day school program should reflect increased efforts. In so doing the school will not only be developing a vital and dynamic source of information for the children, but also will be reinforcing yet another capability which can be an integrative thread within the school program.

Epilogue

Educational objectives which require bringing together a total curriculum around ...central themes or problems involve a much more complex organizational problem ... (than) objectives which emphasize only knowledge of subject matter.³⁴

The Jewish day school in America, therefore, in attempting to offer an integrated and integrative educational program, faces a significant challenge. It could continue to assume the more easily organized "subject-centered" approach to curriculum planning, but doing so would virtually eliminate its ability to pursue the integrative ideal which is its unique potential and purpose. This opportunity to forge unity and wholeness must not be lost! The day school must develop within its students the ability to relate all the various aspects of these educational and general life experiences within an overall philosophy of life. The day school must

34. Paul L. Dressel, "Meaning and Significance of Integration," *The Integration of Educational Experiences*, edited by Nelson B. Henry (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, 1958) pp. 17-18.

enable its students to participate within a rich and authentic Jewish-American civilization, in which each cultural heritage enhances the appreciation of the other. The day school must convey to its students a knowledge of Judaism which recognizes that Jewish values and personalities have helped shape mores and customs throughout time, and can continue to guide Jews as they interact with modern society and culture.

The day school is committed to more than the survival of the Jewish people. The number of hours it provides for study of Judaica and the positive Jewish identity of most of its community provide the student with the time and support which can engender a knowledgeable, positive, secure, and active Jewish identification. The day school student will have gained the wherewithal to move beyond mere rote learning and inculcated religious and moral behavior to autonomous religious interpretation and action based upon a personal and educated understanding and association with the Jewish and American heritages. Only such an individual will contribute to the dynamic growth of Judaism and America.

The education of such Jewish-Americans cannot follow a single pattern. The input of specific teachers; the special concerns and contingencies of local communities; and the individual interests, needs, and capabilities of each student rule out the feasibility and desirability of a normative curriculum for all day schools. Dressel has emphasized this point in his writing on integration.

There is a tendency in connection with this problem of integration for an individual or a school to hit upon some particular ideas as *the* way to solve the problem. Carried to the extreme, this almost insures that broader aspects of integration will be lost sight of ... The very nature of integration means that a multiplicity of approaches must be used and properly interrelated or integrated among themselves ... The force of this is immediately evident if we reflect upon the fact that, after all, integration must be accomplished in and through individuals, for then we realize that no one approach is likely to be equally successful with all persons.³⁵

We can, however, suggest outlines for the structure and content of the day school program. We can urge the employment of

35. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

full-time teachers who personify the integrated ideal of the school, and demand that Hebrew teachers' colleges begin programs for their education. We can list those facts, concepts, skills, and dispositions which can be integrated and correlated throughout the school, and suggest procedures for teacher in-service training. We can recommend structures which will help avoid the creation of artificially dichotomized educational experiences. But in the end, the process of curriculum planning and implementation must take place in each school and classroom!

Elliot Mishler has recently emphasized the important role which context plays in educational research.³⁶ He insists that general methods cannot be used meaningfully and understood without cognizance of each particular research setting. The implication for us is that education does not occur in a vacuum. An integrative educational milieu will convey an image different from a bifurcated or fractionalized environment. It will lead to a particular understanding of the facts, concepts, skills, and values being taught. The content cannot be divorced from the context! The educational context must reflect the educational purposes of the school if those goals are to be achieved. As day schools seek unifying capabilities within their students, their curricula must be structured to pursue this worthy ideal in the most advantageous manner.

36. Elliott Mishler, "Meaning in Context: Is There Any Other Way?" *Harvard Educational Review*, XL, 1 (February, 1979), pp. 1-19.

A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING CHANGE IN JEWISH EDUCATION

Michael Zeldin

Background

Since the middle of the nineteenth-century, Jewish education in the United States has been characterized chiefly by its supplementary nature: Jewish children have attended Jewish schools a few hours each week to supplement their full-time attendance at American public schools. When Isaac M. Wise reported to the United States Commissioner of Education in 1870 "that the education of the young is the business of the State, and the religious instruction, to which we add the Hebrew, is the duty of religious bodies," he was expressing the majority viewpoint of the Jewish community of his day.¹

During the early decades of this century, when vast numbers of Jews entered the United States from Eastern Europe, immigrant parents frequently arranged for their children to be tutored in Jewish subjects in a *heder* (a one-room school), and later in a Talmud Torah — a modernized institution which emphasized Hebrew as a vehicle for the discovery of Jewish culture. Soon congregational schools too began to advance in cities throughout the United States, in many cases replacing the communal Talmud Torah as the dominant form of Jewish education. Ben-Horin, reviewing the development of Jewish education during this period, remarks that "the first four decades of twentieth-century

1. Lloyd P. Gartner, editor. *Jewish Education in the United States: A Documentary History*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), p. 86.

Jewish education in America are marked by striking roots, by consolidation, by progressing inland and uphill."²

Following World War II, Jewish education entered a period of unprecedented growth and expansion. As part of the reawakening of the Jewish community following the destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust, and the subsequent establishment of the State of Israel, congregational membership increased dramatically, and so, too, did the number of Jewish schools and the number of children enrolled in these schools. As Jews moved to the suburbs, local synagogues assumed primary responsibility for Jewish education. The post-war period thus witnessed the "massive expansion of the Jewish educational network."³

While the 1920's and 1930's were decades of consolidation in Jewish education, and the 1940's and 1950's were decades of growth and expansion, the 1960's and 1970's were decades of change and innovation. Although Jewish education remained chiefly a supplementary and secondary enterprise for most American Jews, the inauguration of full-time programs of Jewish education provided, for the first time, an option to the supplementary patterns of education for children of all segments of the Jewish religious community — Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

Even within the dominant supplementary form of Jewish education, change and innovation were the hallmarks of the 1960's and 1970's. New instructional methods were developed to such a degree that values clarification, confluent education, inquiry training, and educational games became commonplace in Jewish classrooms. New settings were explored for their educational potential; weekend retreats, day-long conferences, hands-on museum experiences, and Israel trips were frequently integrated

2. Meir Ben-Horin. "From the Turn of the Century to the Late Thirties," in Judah Pilch, ed., *A History of Jewish Education in America* (New York: the National Curriculum Research Institute of the American Association for Jewish Education, 1969).

3. Zvi Adar, *Jewish Education in Israel and in the United States* (Jerusalem: Samuel Mendel Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, the School of Education and the Institute for Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University, 1977) p. 157.

into Jewish educational programs. Additional educational services were made available so that children with special learning needs found programs designed to meet their needs in a number of religious schools, and fresh ideas about the role of Jewish education were developed with the result that the education of the entire family assumed a high priority in the programs of many schools.

Interest in educational change over the past two decades is also reflected in the frequent discussions on change and innovation among Jewish educators. Professional organizations have sponsored conferences focusing on the issue of change; periodicals have been published with the primary purpose of discussing innovations in Jewish education;⁴ and an organization has been formed to link educators, rabbis, and concerned lay people in a network of concern for bringing about change in Jewish education.⁵

However, despite the surge of innovative activity in Jewish education over the past twenty years, there has been a serious lack of understanding of the complexity of the process and outcomes of efforts to bring about change. Others argue that the changes of the past decades have had little significant impact on Jewish schools. For example, Ackerman argues that despite all the recent educational innovations, "the majority of Jewish schools in the country have (not) become something other than what they have been in recent memory,"⁶ and Schechtman wonders if the "impression (of educational change) is really justified."⁷

While overestimating the impact of educational change, many educators have underestimated the complexity of the processes

4. Audrey Friedman, Editor's page. *Alternatives in Religious Education*, 1, 1 (Fall, 1970) pp. 2-3.

5. Conference on Alternatives in Jewish Education. *Second Conference on Alternatives in Jewish Education* (Rochester, N.Y.: Author, 1977), mimeographed.

6. Walter I. Ackerman. "The Present Moment in Jewish Education," *Midstream* (December 1972), XVIII, 10, p.8.

7. Y. Schechtman. "Jewish Education in the United States: A Survey of Facts and Problems," *Bitfutzot Hagolah* (Spring/Summer 1967) IX, 1-2, p. 142.

by which change is developed and implemented, seeing change as both inevitable and easily manipulatable. But to date, little research has been conducted to explore the various components of the change process or to uncover the intricacies of the process. As N. L. Friedman points out, "there is no existing literature on the 'organizational sociology of Jewish education,' so the area is virgin territory for almost any aspect of intra-organizational analysis."⁸

The initial need in exploring any area of social science that has not previously been studied is the development of an over-all understanding of the issue.⁹ In seeking to develop a framework for understanding change in Jewish education, we turn first to conceptualizations of change developed in the literature of general education.

Conceptual Perspectives on Educational Change

Change implies that "there is some perceptible difference in a situation, a circumstance, or a person between some original time t_0 and some later time t_1 ."¹⁰ While this widely-held definition seems to imply that change can be portrayed as the difference between two snapshots, in fact it is more helpful to look at change as a series of frames in a motion picture. This on-going process has been elucidated from the perspectives of several fields of inquiry, notably social psychology, sociology, and anthropology. The insights developed by these disciplines have been adapted in order to shed light on the process of change in education.

Social psychology suggests that since schools are composed of individual people, changing an educational organization requires changing the ways people behave. As Corwin explains, "(1)

8. Norman L. Friedman, "Religion's Subsystem: Toward a Sociology of Jewish Education," *Sociology of Education*, XLII, 1, (Winter 1969), p. 111.

9. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Adeline Publishing, 1967).

10. Egon G. Guba. *A Model of Change for Instructional Development*, paper presented at Educational Media Conference, Indiana University, June 1968, p. 1.

institutions are the reflections of the people who operate them, and consequently (2) institutions can best be changed by changing the people responsible for managing them."¹¹ Social psychologists have operationalized this view of change by developing a number of approaches to changing individual behavior (e.g. individual therapy, group therapy, sensitivity training) with the goal of thereby changing the educational organization in which the individual functions.

In contrast to this perspective, the sociological view of change is based on the idea that the structure of an organization is of paramount importance. Only changes in structural arrangements can bring about the changes in individual behavior that are required for significant educational change to take place. As Watson explains, "The structures of a system largely determine the patterns of interaction which take place within it; and these, in turn, form the attitudes of participants."¹² The assumption of the sociological perspective on change is thus that official organizational charts represent how organizations function, so that changes in organizational charts lead directly to significant changes in people's behavior.

Anthropology offers a perspective which focuses on "change in culture," defined as changes in a group's shared ideas and behavioral norms.¹³ Rather than focusing on changing individuals or altering structures, this view suggests that modifying environmental demands on the individual results in changes in the patterns of individual behavior.¹⁴ In reviewing these various

11. Ronald G. Corwin. *Education in Crisis: A Sociological Analysis of Schools and Universities in Transition*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), p. 327.

12. Goodwin Watson. "Towards a Conceptual Architecture of a Self-Renewing School System." In Goodwin Watson, ed., *Change in School Systems* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1976) p. 107.

13. Francis A. J. Ianni. "An Anthropological Perspective on Change." In Michael Brick and A. A. Bushko, editors, *The Management of Change* (New York: Community College Center, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1973) — (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 079 861).

14. Seymour B. Sarason. *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1974).

perspectives on change, Baldrige and Deal note that "the goal of this discipline-based research ... is to advance the development of the discipline" and not to elucidate the process of educational change.¹⁵ Each discipline does, however, illuminate one facet in the process of educational change by identifying a single element in the school which can be addressed when seeking to understand or bring about change. Yet no single discipline provides a broad enough perspective to deal with the wide range of possible patterns of educational change.

Theories of Educational Change

The vast majority of conceptual perspectives on the process of educational change take the form of theories that seek to outline the specific progression of stages in the process of change. Most of these theories can be grouped into three families: problem-solver theories, social-interaction theories, and research-development-and-diffusion theories.

The problem-solver family of theories shares a perspective based on a model of change developed by Lewin.¹⁶ He outlines the phases of change as "unfreezing" (realizing the need for change), "moving" (implementing the change), and "freezing" (fixing the new behavior). Following Lewin's paradigm, the problem-solver theories focus exclusively on processes within the school as it is changing.

The basic process of unfreezing, moving, and freezing has been elaborated in various ways, but all the variations begin with the educational organization sensing the need for change. The need for change is then articulated as a problem, and once the problem has been stated explicitly, a search for solutions begins. On the basis of information gathered both from within the school and

15. J. V. Baldrige and T. E. Deal. "Overview of Change Process in Educational Organizations," in J. V. Baldrige and T. E. Deal, editors, *Managing Change in Educational Organizations: Sociological Perspectives, Strategies and Case Studies*, (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing, 1975), p. 5.

16. Kurt Lewin. *Field Theory in Social Science* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1951).

from the outside, a solution is chosen from among several possible alternatives. This solution is then tested and evaluated.

The focus of the second family of change theories, the social-interaction theories, is the process of diffusion, whereby a single educational innovation spreads to a large number of schools. The unit of analysis in social-interaction theories is the individual educator or school receiving new ideas. The primary concern is the delineation of the stages that the individual goes through in making a decision to adopt an innovation based on the information received.

These theories are rooted in the anthropological tradition of the study of the spread of cultural traits and in the rural sociological tradition of the study of the spread of agricultural innovations. Ryan and Gross, in their pioneering work in rural sociology, outline the steps in the process of adoption of innovations as awareness, conviction, acceptance, and complete adoption.¹⁷ Rogers expands on this model and describes the steps as awareness of an innovation, interest in it, evaluation of its appropriateness, trial of the innovation, and adoption of the innovation for permanent use.¹⁸ Most of the social interaction theories of educational change follow Rogers' paradigm.

The research-development-and-diffusion (RD&D) theories differ sharply from the other perspectives by viewing the invention of new ideas as an integral part of the change process. The RD&D models outline a four-step process of change: (1) *Research* is basic scientific inquiry; its objective is the advancement of knowledge; (2) *Development* is "the identification of operating problems and the formulation of solutions to those problems"¹⁹ (3) *Diffusion* is aimed at creating "an awareness and (providing) opportunities for assessment of the invention";²⁰ and

17. B. Ryan and N. C. Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology* (March 1943), VIII, pp. 15-24.

18. E. M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (New York: Free Press, 1962).

19. Egon G. Guba, "The Process of Educational Improvement." In R. G. Goulet, ed., *Educational Change: The Reality and the Promise* (New York: Citation Press, 1968), p. 137.

20. *Ibid.*

(4) *Adoption* is the process of adapting an invention to a local situation and installing it there. The major features of the theories within the RD&D family are the rational sequence of events, the division of labor, the emphasis on planning, and the defined audience or target group.

The three families of theories outlined in the literature on educational change are each useful in illuminating one aspect of the process of educational change, and can therefore be helpful in understanding one aspect of change in Jewish education. The problem-solver theories are useful in exploring what takes place *within* an educational organization as it is undergoing change; the social-interaction theories emphasize the interaction among educators and among schools; and the research-development-and-diffusion theories suggest that change must be viewed as a total process which begins with the invention of new ideas and continues until those ideas are adopted by schools.

However, none of these theories alone is sufficient for a full understanding of the complexities of change in Jewish education. First, the theories assume that change is inevitable; they do not allow for the possibility that an innovation may *not* be adopted by a school. Second, each theory assumes that all change efforts can be understood as following a single, linear pattern of events. None of the theories accounts for the fact that different change efforts follow different patterns. As a result, these theories tend to be prescriptive; they outline what proponents see as an ideal series of stages through which schools *should* proceed as they change. And finally, none of the theories addresses the question of whether or not a change in a school has a significant impact on the lives of students and teachers.

A Framework for Understanding Change in Jewish Education

Since neither the discipline-based perspectives on change nor the linear theories of change outlined in the literature are fully adequate for understanding the complexities of the process of educational change, a different framework has been developed to shed light on change in Jewish education.²¹ This framework draws on

21. Michael Zeldin. *Change in Jewish Education: the Development of a Compre-*

the insights of the models and perspectives described in the literature on educational change, but goes beyond them in terms of scope and flexibility. The view of change portrayed in this framework emerged from a close scrutiny of several case studies of change projects in Jewish schools, and was refined by comparison with data gathered from dozens of other change efforts. The framework is thus "grounded" in the complex realities that characterize educational change in Jewish schools.²²

In contrast with other theories of educational change, this framework does not purport to prescribe what educators should do to facilitate successful change projects in Jewish schools. Rather, by focusing on the crucial aspects of the process of change, this framework seeks to enable both observers and practitioners to understand better the successes and failures of change projects undertaken in Jewish schools.

In seeking to understand a particular change effort, the practitioner or observer must look at five factors — awareness of the need for change, the plan for change, the impetus for change, the impact of change on the school, and the effects of change on students and teachers. All of these factors are present in every effort to bring about change in a Jewish school, but in each effort, they appear in a unique configuration.

The *awareness of the need for change* is a necessary component of any change effort, for it establishes the climate in which change can take place. The awareness that some change is needed is wide-spread in Jewish schools and has been articulated by students and educators:

Boredom, repetition, irrelevance, regurgitation of facts without a future, and stagnation have become synonymous with classroom Judaism ... We are in need of a radically new lesson plan for Judaism.²³

hensive Theory. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1979.

22. Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*.

23. D. Kahn, *Religious Education Turns Me Off*. (New York: National Federation of Temple Youth, n.d., mimeographed) pp. 1,3.

Unless religious schools change, we will turn off so many youngsters that the very survival of Judaism is endangered.²⁴

An atmosphere which encourages change must be accompanied by an awareness within an educational organization of the specific areas of the school which need to be changed. Lipnick, for example, reporting a case study of educational change, notes that "the Hebrew school, the most intensive Jewish education offered by (the congregation) was generally acknowledged to be the least successful of all the departments."²⁵ In another case, the problem of poor Saturday attendance created an awareness within a congregational school board that a change of school hours was needed.

While frequently nothing more happens after the awareness of the need for change is articulated, at times the awareness leads directly to the development and implementation of a *plan for change* — the idea for a new educational project. While each Jewish school plans for change independently, the interaction among schools and professionals is an important influence on the development of plans for change.

In many cases, the idea for a change is borrowed from another school — either Jewish or public. The spread of the "Conference Plan" — a program of Jewish education in which weekly classes are replaced by a series of day-long or weekend conferences spread throughout the school year — illustrates how ideas for change are borrowed from other Jewish schools and then adapted to meet the needs of individual schools. While the idea for a Conference Plan — in several variations — was invented independently in various schools, its widespread use is the result of borrowing from a single model. The Conference Plan, conceived at Temple Micah in Denver, received widespread attention when a description of the program was published in 1969.²⁶ Other

24. Friedman, *Alternatives in Religious Education*, (Fall, 1970), p. 2.

25. B. Lipnick, *An Experiment That Works in Teenage Religious Education*. (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1976), p. 1.

26. Audrey Friedman, *The Temple Micah Conference Plan* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1969).

communities soon adopted the idea and established Conference Plans in their schools. By 1975, approximately one hundred congregations had adopted some variation of the Conference Plan.²⁷ While the original plan involved nine weekend conferences a year, each conference lasting for 5½ hours on both Saturday and Sunday, the variations adopted by other schools included: weekend morning classes supplemented by two camp weekends, monthly day-long conferences supplemented by two camp weekends, monthly sessions stretching from Friday night to Saturday night, weekly one-hour sessions supplemented by six Friday night to Saturday night sessions and two weekend retreats, and monthly retreats in the fall and spring with weekly classes during the winter months. It appears that each school borrowed the idea from the single source and then adapted the idea to develop a plan for change designed to fit local circumstances.

Another source of ideas for change in Jewish schools, ideas developed in public schools, has been widely documented. Among the changes that have taken place in Jewish schools over the past generation that were borrowed from public schools are: new methodologies in language instruction, novel patterns of instruction including programmed instruction and the open classroom, new patterns of organization including the use of specialist teachers and departmentalization of the school, curriculum reform in which curricular materials are developed by teams of educators and academicians, and fresh approaches to education including humanistic education.²⁸

Rather than borrowing plans for change from other schools, local school personnel often develop ideas independently. A principal or teacher may create a curriculum or devise an idea for classroom organization by himself or herself, even though the idea may already be in use in other schools. One educator who developed a plan for an open school reported that he "came up with this plan from my head."

27. Audrey F. Marcus, "The Conference Plan: Eight Years Later," *Pedagogic Reporter* (Spring 1975) XXVI, 3, pp. 3-5.

28. George Pollak, "Back to Basics," *Jewish Education* (Winter, 1977) XLV, 4, pp. 5-9, 48.

Leon H. Spotts, "Jewish Education and the Public Schools — The Debt and the

The relationship between the plan for change and the awareness of the need for change is a complex one; there is no single pattern which characterizes all change efforts. While in some cases, the awareness of the need for change in a school leads directly to the search for ideas to implement, just as often, the success of a program in one school stimulates an awareness of the need for a similar change in other schools. Thus, while plans for change and awareness of the need for change are both part of the pattern of all change efforts, the relationship between the two may be very different in different change projects.

The third element in the change process, the *impetus for change*, is the force which triggers the implementation of a plan for change. In some cases, the awareness of the need for change can become so intense that it alone serves as the impetus for change. In these cases, awareness of need serves more than to establish a climate for change; awareness alone leads to the development and implementation of a plan for change.

More frequently, the impetus for change in Jewish schools originates from sources external to Jewish education, especially from developments in the public schools. The attempt to establish year-round Jewish schools illustrates how public school developments can play the role of impetus for change in Jewish education. In the early 1970's, several public school systems began to consider the idea of year-round schooling with vacations for students and teachers staggered throughout the year. In communities where such a plan was under consideration, Jewish schools began to plan to change their programs to meet the anticipated situation. In one city where the public schools considered such a plan and then voted it down, the Jewish schools which had been planning to implement certain educational changes did not put their plans into action. In contrast, in Miami, where the all-year plan was adopted by the public schools, the central

Danger," *Jewish Education* (Winter 1967), 3, pp. 122-134.

Jack Dauber and William Cutter. "Confluent Education in the Jewish Setting," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, (Fall, 1972), XLIX, 1, pp. 58-65.

Walter I. Ackerman. "Jewish Education — For What?" *American Jewish Year Book* (1969), LXX, pp. 3-36.

Jack J. Cohen. "New Trends in Jewish Education." In Judah Pilch, ed., *A History of Jewish Education in America* (New York: the National Curriculum Research Institute of the American Association for Jewish Education, 1969).

agency for Jewish education implemented a plan whereby students could spend one "quinmester" studying in Israel.²⁹

Personal motivation may also serve as the impetus for change in Jewish education. For example, in describing the establishment of a liberal Jewish day school in Cleveland, the rabbi who was most active in the drive to establish the school writes, "My initial motive was purely personal. My first-born son was going to enter the first grade the following fall."³⁰ In another case, the educator in a religious school associated with a temple was moved to establish a program for gifted students in the upper grades of the school the same year his own gifted child was entering junior high school.

Impetus is a key, often overlooked, factor in understanding the process of change in Jewish education. The observer seeking to understand a change project must therefore attempt to identify the impetus for change in order to understand the success or failure of the project. Without an impetus — whether from an intense awareness of the need for specific change, from trends in society, or from personal motivations — no change in Jewish education can take place.

One way to determine the success or failure of an effort to bring about change is to assess the *impact of the change*, the institutional change in the educational system which results when plans for change are put into practice. The impact may include the introduction of an element which is new to an institution or the substantial modification of an existing element in an institution's educational program. Changes may have an impact on the following facets of Jewish schools:

The *goals* and/or *philosophy* of a school can change. For example, the new statement of educational goals of the Reform movement represents a substantial shift from earlier policy.³¹

29. Richard K. Goldstein, "Greater Miami High School Quinmester Program in Israel," *Pedagogic Reporter* (Fall, 1974) XXVI, 1, pp. 18-20.

30. Mordecai Schreiber, "The Agnon School of Cleveland: The Unlikely Birth of a Day School," *Central Conference of American Rabbis' Journal* (April, 1970) XVII, 2, pp. 66-79.

31. "Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations — Central Conference of American Rabbis," *Goals of Reform Jewish Education* (New York: Author, 1975).

New *approaches to teaching* can be introduced. For example, values clarification, confluent education, inquiry training, and educational games have come into use in Jewish classrooms.³²

New *curricula* can be developed along with new curricular materials.

The target *population* of Jewish schools can be expanded. For example, there has been an emphasis recently on providing Jewish education for the handicapped, mentally retarded, and learning disabled.³³

The environment for learning can be extended beyond the classroom. For example, hands-on experiences in Jewish museums have become part of the educational scene.³⁴

Structures, including schedules, facilities, and organizational arrangements, can be altered.

New *technology* can be used in the classrooms of a school.

Changes in *personal practices* pre- and in-service *training* can be effected.³⁵

It is important to note that an educational change can have an impact on a single facet, or it can bring with it changes in many facets. For example, a shift in the days on which a school meets may have an impact only on structure, while the establishment of a Jewish day school in a congregation may bring in its wake changes in philosophy, goals, curriculum, learning environment, structure, personnel, and training. It is also important to note

32. S.A. Gertman. *And You Shall Teach Them Diligently: A Study of the Current State of Religious Education in the Reform Movement*. (New York: National Association of Temple Educators and Union of Hebrew Congregations, Department of Education, 1977).

33. J. Alper and V. Reibes. "A Survey of Jewish Special Education Programs in the United States." Unpublished masters thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Los Angeles, 1977.

34. *MUSE News*. Los Angeles: Hebrew Union College, March 1979 (mimeographed).

35. See for example: William Cutter. "Rationale for Graduate Professional Training in Jewish Education at Hebrew Union College in California," *Jewish Education* (Fall 1974) XLIII, 3, pp. 7-10, 20.

that changes which are directed at one particular facet of a school may have an unintended impact on other facets as well.

Another way to assess the results of a change project is to look at the *effects of the change* on the behavior and attitudes of students and teachers. The effects include short-term effects on both students and teachers as well as long-range effects on the future religious lifestyle of students. The effects of change can be demonstrated by research comparing a group of students experiencing an educational change project with a control group, but unfortunately, there has been a "dearth of well-designed empirical studies comparing the results of different educational efforts."³⁶ It is important to note that even if the implementation of a plan for change has an impact on an educational system, it may or may not have an *effect* on students and teachers.

In sum, assessing the success or failure of a change project in a Jewish school requires looking at both the impact on the school and at the effects on students and teachers. Understanding what led to these outcomes requires looking at the awareness of the need for change, the plan for change, the impetus for change, and the relationship among these elements.

Conclusion

This framework for understanding change in Jewish education makes a rather modest claim: By looking at five factors, an observer or practitioner can gain a better understanding of whether an attempt to bring about change in a Jewish school has succeeded or failed, and can gain insights into the reasons behind the success or failure. While this view of change does not seek to direct the actions of a practitioner striving to bring about change in a school, the more thorough understanding of the change process provided by this framework can lead to more thorough and successful planning for educational change.

36. Paul Weinberger. "The Effects of Jewish Education," *American Jewish Year Book*, LXXII (1971) pp. 230-249.

Section III

JEWISH THOUGHT AND JEWISH TEACHING

THE ORAL READING EXPERIENCE IN JEWISH LEARNING

Steve Copeland

I assume that research results are not simply “out there” to be discovered, but arise from a developing dialogue between the questions of the researcher and his setting or subject of study. Because of this — and because my subject is the medium of oral communication, I think being a little autobiographical about my interest in reading aloud — by opening with four very short מעשים שהיו, “stories that happened” to me — is appropriate and should be helpful.

First “story”: Once when I was demonstrating to a group of Jewish educators something of the Jewish traditional mode of text study (not only our students need to re-learn what was for previous generations as natural as the air they breathed!) — the graphic design of the page, work in *chavrutot*, oral reading—one of the teachers said: “But that’s only a method. There are so many other ways of getting across the same content — like a slide show or movie. And if we are discussing a text, I think it would be better if we first read it silently to ourselves.”

Second “story”: I see the total absorption of my students as they sit around a campfire listening to a folksinger; and I think: if I could only understand what it is that is so delighting, attracting, entrancing here and apply it to Jewish text learning.

Third “story”: My experience with many students is that there is something special about storytelling and learning classical Jewish texts aloud. Many students have told me, after learning together, that they caught “moments of magic” — that it was a learning experience different from any they ever had before. My last “story”: I find modern libraries distracting — they’re too quiet.

The common element in these four experiences, of course, is the sound and rhythm of the human voice somewhere along the continuum of speaking, chanting, and singing the words of a written text, read or remembered (and, frequently, one's conversation with it). We see this oral action in the Hebrew word for, and Jewish conception of, reading, לקרוא, which also means "to call out." Throughout ancient and medieval times — and not only in Jewish culture, but universally — readers customarily pronounced the words of their text aloud — even when alone.¹ The common English description of the *Amidah* as "the Silent Devotion" is misleading, if not mistaken, for the halachah prescribes, in the words of the Rambam, that one "cut the words with his lips causing the ear to hear them." (Although when in public the *Amidah* is to be said quietly so as not to upset the concentration of others with one's voice, it still must be pronounced so that the worshipper hears his own words.)² The Jewish tradition's "universal" emphasis upon the value of oral reading is found in works of halachah and aggadah, ethical wills,³ and mystical tracts. The most frequent reason offered in the sources for its value is that it aids memory. In *Eruvin* 54a we find the Talmudic origin of this idea — and the Gemara's longest single reference to reading aloud. One of the string of several interpretations or incidents in that *sugiyah* (passage) tells us: "Bruria found a student who learned silently. She rebuked him with the words: Isn't it said: 'Ordered in all things and sure' (Second Samuel 22:5)? — (This means:) If ordered through your 248 limbs (including throat, mouth lips, ears), then (what you have learned) is sure (in memory), and if not — it is not sure."⁴ There are other

1. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962). See pp. 104, 105, 107 & 111. Also see Moses Hadas, *Ancilla to Classical Learning* and Dom Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, to whom McLuhan makes reference.

2. Mishneh Torah, *Hilchot Tefillah*, 5:9.

3. Israel Abrahams, editor, *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1926), pp. 175, 204, & 254.

4. Since Bruria refers to the involvement of the whole body — the whole person! — in memory, it is interesting to note here that the *Ma-aseh Efod*

reasons offered by the tradition for reading aloud, and what I've until this point shared with you I haven't interpreted yet. But so far I'm just reviewing what is more generally known — the basic elements I had to work from when I began my study.⁵

The hum of the ancient and medieval reading-room and of the bet-midrash, contrasts sharply with the hushed silence of the modern library or classroom when students are asked to read to themselves. Most contemporary Jewish schools follow the latter normative reading practice — of the public school and society. And when Jewish schools do read orally, whether from time to time or regularly, I don't think they generally have much understanding or appreciation of the oral reading *process*.

In case there's confusion about my subject, let me clarify that I'm thinking especially of the adolescent and adult oral reader — even when alone — and of storytelling for all ages. The use of oral reading to teach reading skills, however, isn't what I have in mind. Neither does a mechanical oral reading — asleep to its depths — have much to do with the type of experience I'm interested in.

There are three major questions my study attempts to answer:

First, what about the tradition's claim that reading aloud aids memory? Does experimental evidence in the psychology of reading support it? If so, then why does modern education and society choose silent reading as its normative reading mode? If the evidence doesn't support it, then how are we to understand the tradition's claim?

Second, is reading aloud "only a method" or does it make a difference whether one reads orally or silently? If it does aid memory, is that all there is to it — or does it have other effects? Is it a more or less simple act, or a complex one involving aesthetic, philosophical, and value components? In my experience at the campfire that I told you about, the fire itself, of course, is an engaging factor. A philosopher of aesthetics, Gaston Bachelard,

suggests that swaying may also be an aid to memory. Simcha Asaf, editor, *Mikrot L'Toldot HaChinuch Bi-Yisrael* (Sources in the History of Jewish Education — Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, Dvir, 1930, Volume 2), pp. 70–71.

5. Doctoral thesis at Harvard University Graduate School of Education, *Values and Experiences of Reading Aloud in Traditional Jewish Text Learning: A Study in the Coordination of Form and Meaning*, 1978.

has offered a phenomenology — a description of the inner experience or consciousness — of fire in his little book *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*. Can such a phenomenology be developed of oral reading? Assuming that it can, what would it look like?

And my third question: What kind of educational model or directions does the oral reading experience — once decoded into its effects and messages — suggest? Contemporary Jewish education too often uncritically adopts general educational theory and practice as its guiding principles. It's time we looked to our own tradition which, in dialogue with our contemporary commitments, can suggest more appropriate pedagogic models for the modern Jewish school.

A review of the psychology of reading literature indicates that what is called reading, or even thinking "silently," is an inaccurate or misleading description of what happens. Much, if not most, of our thinking is accompanied by an inner conversation with our companion self — what the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky calls a "going underground" of the child's egocentric speech (his talking aloud to himself as he works or plays, even when around others).⁶ Elwyn Richardson reports that his students came to realize "that they had been accustomed to chant (some would say sing-song) their thoughts as they walked alone on their rounds or over their farms, and they came to regard chanting as their natural form of musical expression and enjoyed it all the more for that reason."⁷

This "stream of speech running through our heads" usually accompanies "silent" reading, as well. Though silent to the external ear, there is an imaginative kind of "inward ear"⁸ that

6. Lev Vygotsky, *Thought and Language* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1962), p. 18. Also see Jean Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (New York: Meridian, 1974 — First copyright with World Publishing Company, 1955), p. 59; and Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 21; and Gilbert Ryle, *The Concept of Mind* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1949), p. 27.

7. Elwyn Richardson, *In the Early World: Discovering Art Through Crafts* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 75.

8. R. Conrad, "Speech and Reading" in *Language by Ear and Eye: The Relationships Between Speech and Reading*, edited by James Kavanagh and Ignatius Mattingly (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1972), p. 236.

hears what we imaginatively pronounce. As one friend told me: "Even though it is silent, I imagine hearing the words in my head." A psychologist of reading, R. Conrad, calls this "silent speech in the form of speech imagery."⁹ Reading usually involves the translation of the visually received text into imagined speech sounds that can be "heard" by the "inward ear" of the imagination. It makes sense, says Conrad, that "printed words are... perceptually... far more discriminable as speech sounds than as pictures" — since "our written language is a system of describing and distinguishing the sounds of spoken language."¹⁰ The written word represents a kind of freeze-drying of the spoken word. In order to let it give us its full message it has to be converted back to its original state.

How does all this relate to comprehension, concentration, and retention or memory of what is read? Murray, as well as Mowbary and Gerhard, are of the opinion that "optimum understanding and retention of prose material is obtained when the same material is presented simultaneously to both senses."¹¹ In other words, according to this view, reading aloud enhances comprehension and memory. Gibson and Levin report that subvocalization or articulation — throat and lip movements — tend to help the comprehension of difficult material, and concentration under distracting conditions.¹² When asked to understand a passage more accurately or to memorize it more carefully, increased subvocalization tends to occur.¹³ But Gibson and Levin, as well as Conrad, argue that there is no evidence to indicate that a full

9. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

11. D. J. Murray, "Vocalization-at-Presentation and Immediate Recall, With Varying Presentation-Rates," *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* (February, 1965), p. 48.

12. Eleanor Gibson and Harry Levin, *The Psychology of Reading* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1975), pp. 341, 345, 346, 348, & 349; and Conrad, "Speech and Reading," p. 210.

13. Gibson and Levin, *The Psychology of Reading*, p. 348.

vocalization, or oral reading — “the addition of sound to articulation” — helps comprehension.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Conrad concedes that it is possible, especially with difficult material. But if so, he says, it is because reading aloud may “simply act as an arousing device,” or because of “nothing more fundamental than making sure that we do in fact read” the text.¹⁵

What about memory? Concerning short-term memory, or immediate recall, everyone agrees that it is significantly enhanced by a full oral reading.¹⁶ Indeed, Murray reports that the quality of short-term memory increases with significant regularity along the continuum of reading silently — mouthing the letter without making a sound — whispering it — and saying it aloud.¹⁷ But long-term memory — what the Jewish sources earlier referred to clearly have in mind¹⁸ — has not been significantly researched. One theory contends that short- and long-term memory function differently.¹⁹ Both Murray and Conrad, however, speculate that oral reading may indeed enhance long-term memory, as it does short-term.²⁰ It seems that many people intuitively believe that

14. Conrad, “Speech and Reading,” pp. 215 & 233.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

16. Murray, “Vocalization-at-Presentation and Immediate Recall, With Varying Presentation-Rates,” pp. 47–48; Conrad, “Speech and Reading,” p. 215. Poulton and Brown’s study didn’t show oral reading to aid short-term memory significantly. But it seems to me that their experiment clearly measured for comprehension and not for STM. Also, Conrad — the most recent and thorough authority on the subject — calls oral reading’s enhancement of STM “an established fact.” See E. C. Poulton and C. H. Brown, “Memory After Reading Aloud and Reading Silently,” *The British Journal of Psychology*, LVIII, (1967).

17. D. J. Murray, “Vocalization-at-Presentation and Immediate Recall, With Varying Recall Methods,” *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* (February, 1966), p. 9.

18. “It is taught that Rabbi Eliezer ben Ya’akov had a student who learned silently. After three years he forgot what he learned.” *Eruvin* 54a.

19. Ulric Neisser, *Cognitive Psychology* (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 240.

20. Conrad, “Speech and Reading,” p. 236; and Murray, “Vocalization-at-Presentation and Immediate Recall, with Varying Presentation-Rates,” p. 55.

reading aloud, especially when a chant or melody is added to it, does aid memory. A great scholar told me how when he was a child his mother taught him Rashi, elaborating his commentary with a melody. Concerning a particularly long Rashi, he said: "I can still hear it. I still remember it."

I draw three conclusions from this psychology of reading data:

1. The evidence concerning the comparative effects of oral and silent reading on comprehension and memory does not strongly indicate the superiority of either. If we are asked, nevertheless, to choose one over the other as regards their cognitive effects, we would have to say that the existing evidence indicates, if not demonstrates, the value of reading aloud over reading silently. We would have to ask, therefore: If reading silently does not help comprehension or memory — *at least* any more than reading aloud does, then on what basis does contemporary practice embrace it as normative? The most obvious answer is that it is faster than reading aloud, according to Huey's studies in 1908, sixty-six per cent faster!²¹ In a given span of time, more material can be read with less effort by reading silently than by reading aloud. Gibson and Levin see the issue in terms of efficiency, which is measured by what they call "the principle of least effort."

2. What emerges most clearly is the primacy of sound or speech, rhythm and the chant — even though frequently gone "underground" — in thought and reading. The connection between sound and meaning, between uttering a word and grasping the reality it represents, appears to be deeply rooted in the cognitive structure of the human mind. Such a basic tendency of thought and perception constitutes what Dewey describes as a "disposition irrecoverable in distinct or intellectual consciousness (alone)" — the kind of primal innate disposition from which aesthetic and religious experience take off.²²

Within this perspective, silent reading constitutes "the splitting... of words and music apart," the "separation of the senses," and the "abstracting (of) sound from meaning" — in the words of

21. Gibson and Levin, *The Psychology of Reading*, p. 342.

22. John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1934), p. 29.

Marshall McLuhan.²³ As such, it is part and parcel of the modern drive toward abstraction, specialization, or fragmentation.²⁴ Silent reading is part of the scene, both a cause and a result, of what Mircea Eliade calls the “desacralized cosmos” of modern man²⁵ — for in its splitting apart the influential connection between sounds-signs-things/events/or spirits and speakers, it explodes one of the most fundamental attitudes of the poetic and religious minds.²⁶

3. This brings me to the last conclusion — or, more correctly, reverberation — that arises from my encounter with the psychology of reading literature: More clarity is needed in talking about “memory.” I propose that the Jewish tradition’s claim concerning reading aloud’s value for memory can be properly understood and appreciated only by distinguishing between two types of memory: memory that is related to information, and memory that is related to meditation.²⁷ The first is characterized by relatively detached and passive acquisition and retention, for the purpose of reference or recall — what has been called psychological memory or “memory as repertory”²⁸ — and is related more to

23. Marshall McLuhan, *Counterblast* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p. 73 (See also p. 92); *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 57; and *Counterblast*, p. 80.

24. Donald Oliver, *Education and Community: A Radical Critique of Innovative Schooling* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 125. On abstraction as a characteristic of modernity see Peter Berger, “Toward a Critique of Modernity” in his *Facing Up to Modernity*, and his *The Homeless Mind*. As for the Talmud’s use of “illustrative examples” or “models, as opposed to abstract concepts,” see Adin Steinsaltz, *The Essential Talmud* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), pp. 229–230.

25. Quoted by McLuhan in *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, pp. 87–88.

26. Oliver, *Education and Community*, p. 72.

27. See McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 112 — quoting Leclercq’s *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, where Leclercq discusses how in the medieval conception reading aloud, meditation, prayer, study and memory were inseparable. Also, of interest here: the Hebrew *להגות* means both “to recite” and “to meditate!”

28. David Farrell Krell, “Phenomenology of Memory: Some Implications for

silent reading; while the second is marked by involved and active concentration and actualization, for the purpose of response — what has been called phenomenological memory or “memory as project”²⁹ — and is more the experience of oral reading.

“Memory as project’s” personal kind of remembering is really a re-experiencing or re-living. It is the memory of the commandment “Remember the Sabbath Day” — to be fulfilled through “saying words” (over wine).³⁰ It is the memory of the events of Purim — aroused by reciting the Scroll of Esther, and the memory of what Amalek did to Israel in the desert — aroused by reciting the story from the Torah. The Gemara in *Megillah* 18a says: “Remembering is reading aloud. You should not think that perhaps it can be merely reflection... ‘Remember’ is with the mouth.” This kind of memory cannot be “merely” a thought or feeling, but is related to physical action. In reading silently we reflect on written data that explains and informs. In reading aloud we meditate on speaking wisdom³¹ that happens and inspires.

Here we arrive, carried on the waves of oral reading, at a conception of history, the type of “time-consciousness” of which Rabbi Soloveitchik speaks,³² that sees the past and future as part of what Thomas Mann calls “the potential present.” In *Joseph and his Brothers*, Mann observes: “Memory, resting on oral tradition from generation to generation, was more direct and confiding, it flowed freer, time was a more unified and briefer vista.”³³

Education” in *Phenomenology and Education*, edited by Bernard Curtis and Wolfe Mays (London: Methuen, 1978).

29. *Ibid.*

30. See *Sefer HaChinuch*. Commandment 31.

31. See McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, pp. 129–130. Also, pp. 104 & 298.

32. See Joseph Soloveitchik, “Sacred and Profane: Kodesh and Chol in World Perspectives” in *Gesher* (student publication of Yeshiva University); and his “The Community,” in *Tradition* (Spring, 1978), pp. 23–24.

33. Thomas Mann, *Joseph and His Brothers*, Volume I: *The Tales of Jacob* (London: Sphere Books, 1968), pp. 27, 39.

This is the memory of identification, the memory of “The Eternal made not this covenant with our fathers only, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day. The Eternal spoke with you face to face...” (Deuteronomy 5:3–4) and of “In every generation a person is obligated to see himself as though he went out of Egypt.” According to this view of memory, we not only reflect upon “the past,”³⁴ but undergo it as present. What we “remember” in oral reading is not only interesting, but engaging. Since in oral reading we encounter not only someone else’s experience, but our own, our “remembering” is action-committing — as we are taught: שמור וזכור בדבור אחד, “Observe and remember in one utterance”!

Let me develop this “topography” of the oral reading consciousness a little further. First, the “magical” power of the spoken word to conjure up or make real — already discussed above.

In *Shabbat* 119b, Rabbi Eliezer says that “speech is like action.” He learns this from what we are told in Psalms 33:6 — “By the word of the Eternal were the heavens made.” The morning prayer ברוך שאמר והיה העולם, “Blessed is He Who spoke and the world came into being,” expresses the same idea, whereby speech has the power to create or conjure up realities, to affect deeply the experience of the speaker. “No matter how well the written word (— silently read! —) may fit in with our thoughts,” says Franz Rosenzweig, “it cannot give us the faith that Creation is completed, to the degree that we experience this... by inaugurating the Sabbath with (the spoken words of the kiddush:) ‘And the heaven and the earth were completed.’”³⁵ Think of silently reading the words of the Passover Seder: “Now we are slaves, next year we shall be free men. Now we are here, next year we shall be in the Land of Israel... We were slaves unto Pharaoh in Egypt and the Eternal brought us out from there... At the beginning our Fathers served idols, but now the Omnipresent has brought us close to His service.” Only by sounding these words

34. See Ralph Waldo Emerson’s poem “The Past.”

35. Franz Rosenzweig, “The Commandments: Divine or Human?” in *On Jewish Learning*, edited by N. N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1955), p. 122.

do they have the power to truly effect the transformation from slavery to freedom within us. The transition happens to us. We say the words and undergo the change, know something of how it feels to go from slavery to freedom. We speak the words as though they are our own and we are saying them for the first time.³⁶ We are moved to believe in them and to act upon their challenge. We understand their personal message for us. Sound-ing them, we feel the seeds of their fulfillment catch in our hearts to take root there, and grow long after they have been spoken. In order to fulfill the Commandment of Telling the Exodus from Egypt, says the *Sefer HaChinuch*, "Even when one is alone, when others are not there, one must cause the words (of the Haggadah) to go out of his mouth, so that his heart is aroused about it, because through speech the heart is aroused."

Everyone has experienced how an idea thought is one thing, but an idea spoken is something else. Once it leaves my mouth I have the feeling that it is more real, more likely to happen, more binding. Thus the Rambam prescribes that in the act of *teshuvah* "one must confess with his lips those matters he has resolved in his heart (to cease from doing)."³⁷

When the Baal Shem Tov and the Maggid of Mezeritch first met, the Besht asked the Maggid if he knew how to study. The Maggid said: Yes. The Besht then showed him a passage from the mystical lore. The Maggid "looked at it carefully," and afterwards told the Besht its meaning. The Besht said to him: "You know nothing," and read the passage aloud, whereupon "the whole house filled with light, fire glowed around him, and they palpably perceived the angels mentioned there." Then he said to our teacher, the Maggid, Rabbi Dov Baer, ז"ר: "It is true that the meaning is as you said, but your study was without soul."³⁸ The Maggid apparently got the point, because his later writing

36. See Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, first published in French in 1958), pp. xix, xxii-xxiii, & 5.

37. *Hilchot Teshuvah* 2:2. Also, on the conjuring power of speech, see, Toshihiko Izutsu, *Language and Magic, Studies in the Magical Function of Speech* (Japan: Keio Institute of Philological Studies, 1956).

38. *Keter Shem Tov*, p. 108.

devotes considerable attention to the power of sensitively spoken words of Torah to engage not only the intellect, but also personal affective experience:

When one studies in the Gemara Rabbi Shimon says, "the word Shimon is the life-force of the teacher... so that when one studies in fear and trembling he attaches himself to Rabbi Shimon and studies with him... When a person... speaks words of Torah in fear and trembling, he brings things to life through these words. "Whoever studies in the Torah about the burnt-offering, it is as though he sacrificed a burnt-offering" because when he speaks these words in reverence and love then he renews the life-force within the words.³⁹

Part of the phenomenon of perceiving Rabbi Shimon as present and personally teaching me is related to the just discussed conjuring power of the spoken word. Another dimension of that experience is the personal dialogic quality of oral reading, which I'd like to say a few words about now.

When one uses the phrase in traditional discourse "to study with Rashi," it doesn't have the modern meaning we would expect: to study with the commentary of Rashi who died in 1105. Rather it means that one is being directly and personally taught by Rashi himself. "Rashi... communes with the student... There is no barrier between the past and the present."⁴⁰ Not only are the Sages and later rabbis brought to life through oral reading, but also the Text itself. A "sefer" is not a book — but a living personality and friend. Thus the expression, "The Gemara says," and the prayer upon completion of a Talmudic tractate: "May we return to you, Masechet Sanhedrin, and may you return to us. May we keep you in mind, Masechet Sanhedrin, and may you keep us in mind. May we not abandon you, Masechet Sanhedrin, and may you not abandon us — not in this world and not in the

39. *Maggid Devarav L'Yaakov of the Maggid Dov Baer of Mezhirech*, critical edition with commentary and introduction, edited by Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1976 — Hebrew), pp. 26–27 & 41.

40. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Earth is the Lord's, and The Sabbath* (New York: Harper and Row, copyright, 1950), pp. 41 & 52.

world to come."⁴¹ And in reading the Torah aloud the Voice of its Giver from Sinai also reaches me as my Teacher.⁴²

George Mead calls this phenomenon the "vocal gesture."⁴³ When I speak it sounds to me like an other is speaking. I am affected by what I myself say as though someone else were addressing me. In uttering a word, the word goes outside me, and then comes back at me as from an other. Bachelard describes this experience beautifully:

A spoken reverie (in reading) transforms the solitary (reading-) dreamer's solitude into a company open to all the beings of the world. The (reading-) dreamer speaks to the world, and now the world is speaking to him... subtle duality of the Voice and the Sound... Where is the dominant being of the spoken reverie? When a (reading-) dreamer speaks, who is speaking, he or the world?⁴⁴

In oral *prayer* the experience of *addressing* an Other outside me is heightened. In oral *study* the experience of *being addressed* by an Other outside is evoked. Thus, in his *Iggeret HaMusar*, Rabbi Kalonimos ben Kalonimos celebrates: "When a person prays he speaks with his God, and when he reads in the Torah his God speaks with him. Behold, how good and how pleasant it is to speak with the Divine and be spoken to by Him!"⁴⁵

While oral reading evokes an experience of dialogue, silent reading conveys the message that "all real values are private,

41. Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik, "On the Love of Torah: Impromptu Remarks at a Siyyum" (orally delivered on April 1, 1973) in *Shiurei HaRav* (Lessons of the Master), HaMevaser Jewish Studies Division of Yeshiva University.

42. Max Kadushin, *Worship and Ethics: A Study in Rabbinic Judaism* (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 195.

43. George Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

44. Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie: Childhood, Language, and the Cosmos* (Boston: Beacon Press, originally published in French in 1960), p. 187.

45. Asaf, *Mikrot L'Toldot HaChinuch Bi-Yisrael*, IV (1947), p. 8.

personal, individual."⁴⁶ Silent reading encourages what Martin Buber calls the modern "widespread superstition that the soul can do everything by itself... (that) what you have just experienced always was in you."⁴⁷

In silent reading the written text is "addressed to no one in particular; its author is essentially anonymous,"⁴⁸ while in oral reading I experience the heard words as personally directed to me⁴⁹ by a particular living personality who becomes my friend and teacher.

Speaking of the Biblical reader, Buber says:

He must face the Book... and let whatever will occur between himself and it... He reads aloud the words written in the book in front of him; he hears the word he utters and it reaches him... I, the reader, the hearer, the man, catch through the words of the Bible the voice which from earliest beginnings has been speaking...⁵⁰

The last dimension of the oral reading experience I have time to mention is the absorbing quality of the orally read text in which the reader can lose himself. Abraham Joshua Heschel describes this phenomenon:

Carried away by the mellow, melting chant of Talmud reading, one's mind would soar high in pure realm of thought, away from... the boundaries of here and now, to a region where the Shechinah listens to what the children of men create in the study of His word.⁵¹

46. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 191.

47. Martin Buber, "The Prejudices of Youth" in *Israel and the World* (New York: Schocken, 1948), p. 50.

48. David Olson, "From Utterance to Text: The Bias of Language in Speech and Writing," *Harvard Educational Review* (August, 1977), p. 276.

49. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, pp. 28-29, quoting J. C. Carothers in *Psychiatry*, November, 1959, on "Culture, Psychiatry, and the Written Word."

50. Martin Buber, "The Man of Today and the Jewish Bible," in *Israel and the World*, pp. 93-94.

51. Heschel, "The Earth is the Lord's," pp. 49-50.

The spoken word sets up a kind of "cosmos" of its own⁵² or "acoustic space"⁵³ into which one enters, leaving his ordinary world behind. Thus the Hebrew word for the title-page of a book is שַׁעַר, "gate." And the Maggid of Mezeritch's advice (or is it a description?): "When a person studies or prays, the word should be uttered with full strength... and that is the meaning of 'Go into the *teyvah*, you and all your household' (Genesis 7:1) (Do not read 'Go into the ark,' but rather 'Go into the word.')." ⁵⁴ This should be done, says the Maggid, "till he forgets his corporeality... and this is a great delight."⁵⁵ Claude Levi-Strauss seems to be talking about the same kind of experience when he suggests that music — and orally related myth — "immobilizes the time which is passing... so that when we listen to it we accede to a sort of immortality."⁵⁶ Abraham Maslow calls such ego, and time and space forgetful-perception a "peak-experience,"⁵⁷ Peter Berger calls it a "signal of transcendence,"⁵⁸ and Erik Erikson says that through the risk of so losing oneself may be the greatest promise of finding oneself.⁵⁹ This absorption occurs in good silent reading, as well. But it seems to me heightened in oral reading. The sound and rhythm of oral reading commands more of our involvement and attention, fills our spirits more fully

52. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Reverie*, p. 187.

53. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, p. 32.

54. R. Schatz quoting the Maggid of Mezeritch, in "Contemplative Prayer in Hasidism" in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 216.

55. *Maggid Devarav Le'Yaakov of the Maggid Dov Baer of Mezheritsch*, pp. 85-86.

56. Octavio Paz quoting Levi-Strauss, in Paz's *Claude Levi-Strauss: An Introduction* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1970), p. 61.

57. Abraham Maslow, *Religions, Values, and Peak-Experiences* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), pp. 62-63.

58. Peter Berger, *A Rumour of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural* (New York: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 52-59.

59. Erik Erikson, "Youth: Fidelity and Diversity" in *The Challenge of Youth*, edited by Erikson (New York: Doubleday, 1961), p. 11.

through the hearing ear, thereby delighting our taste for motion and release, and whispering to us intimations of eternity.

The major thesis that emerges from my phenomenological analysis of oral reading, whose main contours I've sketched out for you here, is that our reading mode — whether silent or oral — evokes a particular type of world and value perception; silent reading — a relatively detached, scientific-secular, information oriented, objective, theoretic, abstract, individualistic attitude; and oral reading — a more empathetic, mythic-religious, value- and relation-oriented, subjective, aesthetic, concrete, communal-dialogic outlook.⁶⁰

I am not suggesting that oral reading should be our sole reading mode. I see contemporary man as possessor of a dual nature or "conflicting tendencies"⁶¹ — traditional and modern, and therefore I advocate both types of reading. Each is appropriate for different kinds of reading and knowing. But since the current perspective and practice — not honoring this duality — has given silent reading and its type of knowing virtually absolute rule, the task is to work for a double-throned chamber of reading, wherein oral reading and its type of apprehension can also be accorded its domain.

As for my ideal Jewish school, I picture (or should I say: I hear!) its teachers and students giving our classical texts — and all texts that speak to the poetic and religious imaginations, or are analyzed closely in class — a sensitive oral reading. The student should be encouraged to do the same with these kinds of texts even when he is alone. Just as he should come to understand that science and our tradition answer different kinds of questions and are, therefore, both appropriate ways of looking at the world — depending upon our question — so should he become sensitive to the differing roles of silent and oral reading.

60. For two examples of delineations of two contrasting world-perspectives: theoretic and aesthetic, in Northrop's analysis; and discursive and mythic, in Cassirer's formulation, see, F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1946); and Ernst Cassirer, *Language and Myth* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946).

61. See David Bidney, *Theoretical Anthropology* (New York: Schocken, 1967); and Oliver, *Education and Community*.

But beyond specifically reading aloud when appropriate, I see the Jewish school embracing the broader educational directions implied by the oral reading experience. That pedagogic model should be largely self-evident at this point, because a phenomenological description of what happens — whether in oral reading, reading literature, viewing a painting, or performing a religious act — itself constitutes a conception of learning and knowing.⁶² In summation, let me highlight a few of its elements.

A pedagogy inspired by the oral reading experience is not subject-centered, but both subject-centered and student-centered together.⁶³ It invites conversation, the active involvement of the student — he adds his voice to the voices of the text, with questions, connections, and additions. The classroom buzzes with human and divine voices, students stand or sit, frequently in smaller independent working groups, reading-talking with each other, with themselves, with the texts and with their teachers. The experience of reading aloud suggests an educational approach that involves the whole person — that relates the emotional and active to the intellectual, fulfills needs for participation, animation, communion, and transcendence: therefore fostering commitment and loyalty to what is learned.⁶⁴

The conception of history evoked is history as our story — for identification and response, for joining the generations' dialogue around eternal questions; not a series of events along a line stretching from the distant past to this real present, but our People's accumulated attitudes toward events which are our collective memory and vision.⁶⁵

62. See William Pinar, "The Analysis of Educational Experience" and his "Search for a Method" in William Pinar, editor, *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists* (Berkeley: McCutchan, 1975).

63. See John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1956), originally published 1902.

64. See Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), and Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), p. 30.

65. See Buber's "Why Should We Study Jewish Sources?" in *Israel and the World*.

What emerges most clearly is that educational methods, like religious practices, are powerful pedagogues. The meaning of experience depends on the mode of experience.⁶⁶ In Dewey's words:

Experience does not go on simply inside a person... There are sources outside an individual which give rise to experience. It is constantly fed from these springs... A primary responsibility of educators is... that they recognize... what surroundings (or methods) are conducive to... (what) experiences...⁶⁷

What I have attempted here can be seen as a case study of one of the major themes in Professor Isadore Twersky's thought: "the coordination of inner meaning and external observance" or "mood and medium."⁶⁸ Whether in *tzedakah*⁶⁹ or Shabbat, the Chanukah lights or reading aloud, "the goal is spirituality together with conformity."⁷⁰ The halachah was intended "to be an education" in spiritual, ethical, and philosophical ideals,⁷¹ and, therefore, a central task before the Jewish educator is to uncover these complex and delicate curricula of Jewish practices. (And this can be extended to aggadah, as well.)

It has been suggested that among all cultures "there appear certain recurrent, simple (proto-musical) idioms that are really

66. See Jacob Bronowski, *The Origins of Knowledge and Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 1-18.

67. John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1938), pp. 39-40.

68. Isadore Twersky, "The Shulchan Aruch: Enduring Code of Jewish Law" in Judah Goldin, editor, *The Jewish Expression* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), pp. 332-337.

69. Isadore Twersky, "Some Aspects of the Jewish Attitude Toward the Welfare State" in *A Treasury of Tradition*, edited by Norman Lamm and Walter Wurzburger (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1967).

70. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

nothing but ultimate symbols of... (that culture's) vital consciousness: calls, chimes, cradle-rhythms, work-rhythms; dance-forms... shouts, hunting-calls and military signals..."⁷² In Rabbi Soloveitchik's eulogy for the Talner Rebbetzin, זצ"ל, he tells us: "As a little girl she listened to the melodious humming of her father's Talmud study — so full of nostalgia. She didn't understand the words. She was only a little girl. But she listened to his voice." For that voice — the oral chant of Torah learning — is the ultimate symbol of Israel's vital consciousness.

72. Susanne Langer quoting Ernst Kurih, in her *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 247.

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING BUBER'S I-THOU/I-IT DICHOTOMY IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION

Oded Schremer

For more than a generation, the writings of Martin Buber on education have fascinated those in the profession. As a rule, it is specifically these articles which have served as the definite source for drawing conclusions concerning the possibility of a Buberian educational theory. Buber's other works are perceived as elucidating his social, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical views — as if these had no clear bearing on the field of education. Buber's own assertion that all his writing is anthropologically/philosophically-based — that is, having the understanding of man as its sole mission — has also eluded most educators. Thus, Buber's prolific writing is regarded as incapable of being fully grasped due to its scope and range. Buber's cumbersome language, too, has not facilitated the reader's task, being a kind of obstacle between the author and himself. It is particularly interesting that even researchers well-versed in the entirety of Buber's works rely, in general, on a selection of articles on education when they set out to extract pedagogic perceptions from his thought. We must, of course, immediately acknowledge research efforts meant to clarify the master's pedagogical thought as he perceived and phrased it, as distinct from attempts to construct an educational theory based on Buber's inclusive doctrine. The former is exegetical in nature, and at times critical and comparative. The latter constructs theories by ascribing Buber's trends of thought and his approach's conceptual structure to various educational components not discussed at all in his writings on education. Command of the array of concepts of the philosophy at hand may well clarify why Buber refrained from relating to such components, whether out of unfamiliarity with them due to lack of expertise in

the field, or through a considered position which denies them weight in explaining educational occurrences. It turns out that some who approach Buber through philosophy and research into literature of Jewish thought tend towards exegesis, turning Buber's articles on education into source material; while others, who deal with Buber through education as philosophy and/or as a practical matter, have concentrated on formulating an educational *weltanschauung* from within his inclusive writings.

In the context of this introduction, we should focus on an intermediate group of writings which has paved the commonplace middle path on our topic, one which fills library shelves and is widely-read among educators in our schools. We speak of anthologies of articles and lectures which superficially summarize each of Buber's works, usually including pieces on education as well. This material summarizes, translates, and abounds in source citations — without shedding light on the flow of thought and the principles which mold the writing into a philosophical whole which may be identified in its unity.

According to our approach, the philosophy under discussion reflects a perspective derived from a rather well-constructed conceptual fabric. Buber approaches and views his objectives by means of a detailed conceptual map. This map is characterized by emphasizing points which its cartologist thought worthy of attention while omitting other points entirely. The fundamental concepts which Buber cites accompany his voyages across fields ranging from religion, literature, and art — to society and education. Seen in this light, his articles on education do not constitute an effort on his part to present an educational theory, but are rather a test of the explanatory ability of concepts and distinctions he has previously presented. Buber therefore approaches educational problems in the framework of philosophy rather than education. Indeed, the educational situation places significant intellectual challenges before him, obliging him to expand an existing set of concepts which proved insufficient for dealing with its special problems; it is in this context that Buber creates auxiliary concepts as required. "Inclusion" is an example of such a concept.

Hence it develops that exploration of the conceptual foundations is a worthy point of departure for any creative attempt to construct educational perceptions faithful to Buber's trends of

thought. In support of this thesis, we would like to trace guidelines for the analysis of two of Buber's key concepts in a way capable of contributing to an understanding of the essence of the educational act and presenting several courses of action consistent with his inclusive approach. The following does not, in fact, depart from past attempts to accentuate the methodological claim.

The conceptual tandem "I-Thou" and "I-It," whose content we shall explore further on, serves as the focus of the conceptual fabric of Buberian humanism and provides its meaning. Indeed, this is what Rotenstreich, citing Bergson, calls "the philosopher's intuition": "The philosopher is impelled by a single and solitary intuition. That which engages the philosopher is the perpetual and regenerative phrasing of that intuition, along with various attempts to transfer it from one path to another."¹

Sources and Conceptual Overview

Identification of the sources of the Buberian perspective is essentially a philosopher's task, but it may also be the educator's if it can sharpen and broaden his understanding. The pair of terms before us reflects a long tradition of dichotomous and dualistic distinctions, such as: appearance and actuality, the present world and the world to come, the substance and the spirit, the natural and the spiritual, the means and the ends. "Buber's 'Thou' is the heir of the intellectual, the concrete, the spiritual, and the desired."² Here the influence of Kierkegaard is plainly visible; for Buber, in his criticism of Hegel, expresses his objections to the binding-intellect — the distinction between an observational (aesthetic, non-involved) attitude, and an attitude in which there is personal, human involvement imparting centrality to the terms "responsibility" and "decision." A common thread passes

1. A literal translation from the Hebrew of: נתן רוטנשטרייך 'דברי סיבוס', יונתן בלוך ואחרים (עורכים), מרטין בובר — מאה שנה להולדתו, הקבוץ המאוחד תשמ"ב (אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב), עמ' 49.

2. Walter Kaufmann, "A Prologue" to Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, New Translation, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 9-48.

through the foundations of Buber's concepts and links up to the idea of the "concept" which is at the root of the aforementioned distinctions. Flohr³ cites the function of the distinction between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*, as explained by Tönnies in the shaping of Buber's thought; he ascribes the pair of concepts under discussion to them. Also relevant here is Dilthey's well-known distinction between "recognition" and "comprehension" (or "empathic comprehension") which — like Buber's distinction — is fundamental to the terminology of the states of human existence as well; neither is merely a fine point of epistemology. Buber himself comments more than once on his ties to Kant, Simmel, Dilthey, and others.⁴

Buber's debt to Kant — concerning differentiation of basic concepts between the phenomenal and the noumenal as two manifestations of reality perceived by man — has already been recognized.⁵ Accordingly, manifestation of phenomenal reality is controlled and determined by the intellect's categorical state; when logical laws and concepts of time and space and causality exercise restrictive control over phenomena, a certain image of awareness arises. As opposed to this, noumenal reality emerges when a conscious mind is released from the limiting conditions of understanding. In its formal respect, the pairing "I-Thou" and "I-It" in Buber's thought expresses parallel situations to those indicated in the Kantian distinction.⁶ But while Kant relates to such states of consciousness, Buber regards both as events characteristic of basic, inclusive human conditions of wider impact on

3. P. Flohr, *From Kulturmystik to Dialogue*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1974.

4. Martin Buber, "The History of the Dialogical Principle," *Between Man and Man*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), pp. 209–224.

5. For example, James Brown, *Subject and Object in Modern Theology*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1955); and שמואל הוגו ברגמן, תחשיבה הדו־שיחית של מ' (New York: Macmillan Co., 1955); and מ' בובר, מבוא לספרו של מ' בובר בסוד שיח, כנ"ל. הפילוסופיה הדיאלוגית מקידקוד עד בובר, ירושלים תשל"ד (מוסד ביאליק).

6. סטיבן בץ, 'תורת החברה של "אני – ואתה"', י' בלוק ואחרים (עורכים), מדטין בובר – מאה שנה להולדתו, הקבוץ המאוחד תשמ"ב (אוניברסיטת בן גוריון בנגב), עמ' 120–95.

the personality than that generally ascribed to functions of the conscious mind.

Buber's work is typified by a systematic attempt to link the divided realms of human activity by identifying two underlying human states which, in his estimation, permeate them. He surveys the nature of these realms one after the other — a survey finalized in his many writings and developed into a finely-chiseled philosophical system. Buber finds that these states have been acknowledged in each realm separately and have been assigned appropriate terminology to indicate respective identical aspects and to prove their respective substance concerning the condition of man. How does Buber himself perceive what we define here as "human states"? *I and Thou* opens thus:

The world is twofold for man in accordance with his twofold attitude. The attitude of man is twofold in accordance with the two basic words he can speak.⁷

The two sentences deal with man and not with the world, and describe man as essentially a being of perception and reaction. In the original German it is written: *Nach seiner zwiefaltigen Haltung*. Wislawski (with Buber's approval) translates *Haltung* as the Hebrew *noheg* (נוהג). The Hebrew work which contains the essay *I and Thou* is subtitled "In the Secret of Dialogue" (בסוד שיח) and invokes the term *amidah-nokah* (עמידה-נוכח): "...concerning man and his stance vis-a-vis the present." In the well-known English translation by Ronald Smith and, similarly, in the new version by Kaufmann, the term "attitude" is used.⁸ Pfuetze and Katz interpret this as "relation" in its *psychological* sense.⁹ But Kohanski

7. Martin Buber. *I and Thou*, translated by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 53.

8. Martin Buber. *I and Thou*, translated by Ronald Gregor Smith, second edition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958); and translation by Kaufmann.

9. Paul E. Pfuetze. *Self, Society, Existence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961). Rober Lee Katz. *Empathy: Its Nature and Uses*, (London: Colliers-Macmillan, 1963).

translates his "twofold communication" as that expression would be used in the fields of communications and relationship; he objects in a footnote to the term "attitude" due to its psychological connotations.¹⁰ Hill interprets the matter as "two states of awareness";¹¹ Tillich refers to "bonds" in the sense which emphasizes connection, closeness, and belonging.¹² These principal, typical interpretations appear throughout discussions of Buber's writings, and we have found no additional terms.

The two states denote the two types of fundamental interpersonal relationships which, in turn, yield various side-effects, or "two prisms of interpersonal linkage."¹³ Nevertheless, it is interesting to recall that in Buber's *Daniel* (published ten years prior to *I and Thou*) Buber constructs the distinction with greater Kantianism than in the work which followed it. In the former, the distinction is given in the shaping of an attitude of "realization" as opposed to "intention."¹⁴ The Kantian identification is likely to obscure aspects decisive to Buber's approach, even as it highlights these aspects all the more by differentiation and emphasis. For example, the Kantian perception defines the knowledge of the phenomenon as something surfacing by intellectual means and a clearly conscious process; according to Buber, the state of relationship indicated by "I-It" is not subject-object knowledge as it appears on the surface, but all interpersonal contact taking place through one or several of the personal forces, and in any case not by the personality-appearance in its generality. That is to say, a distinct emotion or social relationship in and of itself — much like simple knowledge — is characterized in its partial role in interpersonal relationships.

10. Alexander S. Kohanski. *An Analytical Interpretation of Martin Buber's I and Thou* (New York: Barron, 1975), p. 45.

11. Brian Victor-Hill. *Education and the Endangered Individual* (New York: Dell Co., 1973), Part V.

12. Paul Tillich. *Theology of Culture* (London and New York: Oxford University Press), Chapter 14.

13. נתן רוטנשטרייך, 'דברי סיכום', יוחנן בלוך ואחרים (עורכים), *מרטין בובר — מאה שנה להולדתו*, הקיבוץ המאוחד תשמ"ב (אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון כנגב).

14. Martin Buber, *Daniel* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965).

Similarly, identification of Buber's distinction with Kant's phenomenal and noumenal realities may distract from Buber's concept concerning the special reciprocal relations existing between the two states, and from his refusal to grant preference to one of them in terms of process. Indeed, togetherness is likely to appear in a "Thou" state which follows "It" relationships; the "Thou" state must by necessity evolve into the "It."

The "I-It" state refers to mental and emotional processes as well as to the individual's routine contacts with his surroundings. Buber's interpreters note the compound epistemological significance of this state: before us are conditions of consciousness and emotion which psychology — in its various schools of thought — seeks to describe and explain along with structures of the social conditions with which sociology deals. This is actually an intermediary item of knowledge, seeking to fathom the individual through the workings of his personality. So it is with Brown and with Rotenstreich; the latter's analysis is, in our estimation, fundamental to understanding Buber's inclusive philosophy, which sees in the "It" a reflective approach.¹⁵ Many have followed in these scholars' wake. Farber, for example, focuses on the importance of Buber's attempt to determine the location of emotion in the specific field of the "I-It" relationship: "In ascribing emotions to the world of 'It', Buber bypasses the romantic overestimation of 'emotion', and bridges the accepted dichotomy of thought and emotion."¹⁶ Hill defines the "It" concept as a state of awareness aimed at controlling the world;¹⁷ this purpose gives birth to an attitude of the individual's restriction and suspension of involvement in relations with objects on the one hand, and desire towards generalization and expansion based on isolation, analysis, and distinction on the other. According to Hill,

15. Brown, *Subject and Object in Modern Theology* (Macmillan Co., 1955); נתן רוטנשטרייך, "יסודות מחשבתו הדיאלוגית של בובר, עיון, כרך ט' חוברת א' (טבת תשל"ח), עמ' 51–75.

16. Leslie Farber, "Martin Buber and Psychoanalysis," *The Ways of the Will* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 131–154.

17. Hill, *Education and the Endangered Individual*.

this state denotes at once an emotional and intellectual attitude. LeFevre notes characteristics of a life-pattern which includes those elements which this concept symbolizes, and identifies it with an externalized life devoid of authenticity.¹⁸

The "I-Thou" relationship contains no objective knowledge capable of linguistic phrasing, in that it is not subject to categories of intellect through which linguistic expression may take shape. It rather grants man "ontological certainty concerning the fundamentals of his life." What content, however, does this certainty offer?

That which emerges from the 'I-Thou' relationship, and only from it, is not objective knowledge but strictly ontological certainty concerning the fundamentals of man's life, in the manner of an umbilical cord which cannot be disconnected and which passes between the spiritual navel of man to the center of existence itself.¹⁹

We wish to phrase the meaning of this certainty in terms of structural security — at once conscious, emotional, and interpersonal — to be found in the existence of a universal and objectively-existent alter-ego independent in any case of the subject who convokes it. This phrasing frees us from the concept of establishment of contact with a mysterious "center of existence" and from the predictable analogy between mystical, religious, and scholastic experience and the "I-Thou" state. In its place, Katz suggests that we remain amidst concepts of interpersonal relationships, concepts through which Buber's philosophical ontology is discussed. We shall return later to the well-known implications of this inherent structural security.

18. P. LeFevre, *Understanding of Man* (New York: Westminster, 1966).

19. סטיבן כץ, 'תורת ההכרה של "אני-ואתה"', יוחנן בלוך ואחרים (עורכים), מרטין בובר — מאה שנה להולדתו הקבוץ המאוחד תשמ"ב (אוניברסיטת בן גוריון בנגב), עמ' 95-120.

Attempts at Establishing Dialogue

Attempts to identify the "I-Thou" relationship as epistemological theory²⁰ are based on Buber's description of it as someone's having raised a special, holistic notion:

- What, then, does one experience of the You?
- Nothing at all. For one does not experience it.
- What, then, does one know of the You?
- Only everything. For one no longer knows particulars.²¹

Kaufmann, in his new translation of *I and Thou*, has rendered with the author's approval what another may have called "know" as "experience," in the first passage. Indeed, Buber speaks at first of experiencing and then of knowing, as if wanting to imply two distinct kinds of knowledge. The "knowledge" which emerges from the relationship itself, in any case, is not rationalistic knowledge in the literal sense, although it may so be translated (so may it evolve) *ex post facto* in rationalistic contents concerning the objective and autonomous situations of one's fellow-man. According to Buber, these contents are conscious or emotional reworkings of a contentless event called "relationship".

A similar interpretation concerning "relationship" may be found in Barbour as well:

It mandates complete involvement and participation of the entire 'self', directness and immediacy of perception, and concern for the other as a purpose unto itself. Convergence of this sort takes place in reciprocal contact and in the openness of true dialogue, and in awareness, sensitivity, and the giving of oneself to genuine and true love. The 'I-Thou' meeting may be plumbed, but not narrowed down to concepts of the world of 'It' — the realm of expanse, time, and causality.

20. Among others, see Maurice Friedman, "Introductory Essay," in Martin Buber, *The Knowledge of Man* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 11–58; Stuart Charmé, "The Two I-Thou Relations in Martin Buber's Philosophy," *The Harvard Theological Review*, LXX (1977) pp. 161–173.

21. Buber, *I and Thou*, translated by Kaufmann, p. 61.

For Buber, there is in the Man-God conflict the immediacy and involvement of the 'I-Thou' relationship, while scientific research takes place in the realm of 'I-It'.²²

Here too, the conceptualization is epistemological.

Since the state of the "I-Thou" relationship contains no knowledge capable of literal phrasing, we tend to empty it of its epistemological value completely. But the truth of the matter is that certain items of knowledge exist which linguistic rhetoric cannot communicate, even as the rhetoric of deed expresses them well. An athlete's skill, for example, is known to him in his complete personality and firm control, as demonstrated and proven before spectators; their reaction to his performance testifies to their acknowledgement that he knows his craft. But this knowledge by itself is not given to precise description through linguistic symbols. Aesthetic rhetoric, too, is a language unto itself and it is clearly not one of words; the overall impression it transmits emerges through its communicative power. Rhetoric of the feeling of complete certainty is, by all appearances, the language of the well-known sensation through the entire personality, as demonstrated in its behavior. These cases indicate knowledge of the sort which cannot be put to tests of validity and reliability as conventional science understands them.

The "I-Thou" relationship contains formal elements of the mystic state as described in religious literature — a fact noted by Buber interpreters of all stripes. Buber attempts in part to borrow the format of mystical experience from the field of religion and to transfer it nicely to the field of anthropological states. Were it not for his reservations concerning the mystic "unity" (*unio*) which denies solitude and, along with it, its moral weight and responsibility to others, the borrowing could be called complete. But,

...if all conceptual categories and all sense information are withdrawn, it may become difficult to maintain the individuality of I and Thou, the distinction between self and other. Without a view of spatial and temporal dimensions, the boundaries between things begin to dissolve. As a result, the very notion of relation is threatened, since

22. L. Barbour, *Issues in Science and Religion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 120.

relation requires some way of distinguishing the individual sides of the relation.²³

This criticism challenges Buber's claim that within this state, which lacks every dimension of phenomenon, is concealed the concept of morality and the essence of the moral attitude in the concept of the primary interpersonal state.

To Buber's aid comes the concept of mobility or alternate exchangeability of the two kinds of relationship-states: "This ... is the sublime melancholy of our lot that every You must become an It in our world."²⁴ This concept is repeated explicitly, and also frequently serves obliquely the philosopher's train of thought; the relationship-state is described thereby as of weighty consequence. The rationalistic, emotional, aesthetic, or social phrasing of these consequences follows "the moment of relationship," and it is this which constitutes the content of the "I-It" state. Buber's concern centers on "It" relationships neither preceded by a relationship-state nor concluded and generalized in this state.²⁵ It develops that Buber has constructed a concept of a mystical state in the very midst of which the uniqueness-blurring-unification process may or may not take place. He refuses to say a word concerning the content of this state; he can only testify to what comes in its wake — knowledge or sensation of the reality of the other's existence, the presence of an objective and autonomous "other" opposite the individual. This is in fact awareness of the existence and presence of an other-ness in its totality, an awareness which obliges the individual during the course of his life. It is this basic obligation which, to Buber, constitutes morality.

Substituting the essence of the Buberian distinction for moral and amoral attitudes has been attempted several times. Kaufmann demonstrates that it is suitable to a commandment mandating humane behavior as an end but never merely as a means.²⁶

23. Charmé, "The Two I-Thou Relations in Martin Buber's Philosophy," p. 168.

24. Buber, *I and Thou*, Translated by Kaufmann, p.68.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Kaufmann, "A Prologue" to Buber, *I and Thou*.

Nothing here demands that one reject relationships based on requests for help, offers of aid, or demands for information, goods, entertainment or relief of isolation, says Kaufmann — rather, one must refrain from basing the full range of human relationships on these kinds of ties alone.²⁷ The phrasing of this matter recurs very clearly in Rotenstreich as well; he singles out Buber's work in establishing "an ontology of morality" by clarifying the situation in which "the ontology is replaced ...in fact, by commandments concerning desired behavior by man over a certain historical period."²⁸ It is true that his analysis rests on reflective fundamentals and their functioning in Buber's thought concerning morality; while Buber's efforts are concentrated on establishing morality in its own right, and not as an element in the introspective and cognitive realms.

One's moral relationship with another should be without preconditions, and therefore may not stem from justification or rational considerations. It is true that such justification can serve as a basis — *a priori* or *a posteriori* — but the relationship cannot derive from it. It is nearly certain that Buber has sought to distinguish between the various types of justifications — belonging in terms of categorization to the world of "Its" — and the moral state itself, which exists through desire and absolute free will. For this reason, he characterizes the state of the "I-Thou" relationship as intuitive, devoid of content, and self-fulfilling from within and not according to external criteria. In other words, Buber bases moral behavior neither on one's rational knowledge concerning one's counterpart nor on an obligatory emotional experience (such as concern) which mandates it; but rather on a primary ontological state of man as a creature tending to form relationships with other objectively existent creatures. It is this state which is the source of the relationship; the fundamental justification for it is to be found within it and through it.²⁹

27. *Ibid.*

28. רוטנשטרייך, "יסודות מחשבתו הריאלוגית של בובר."

29. עורר שרמר, האישיות בהגותו של מ' בובר — השתמעויות לחינוך, ירושלים תשל"ה (חיבור לשם קבלת תואר ר"ר, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים).

Hence we see that the moral posture does not achieve justification through explanations of benefit, gain, satisfaction of needs of various kinds and extents, for those are extraneous to its essence.

In establishing the moral attitude in a way which relieves it of its rationalistic and psychological props, Buber sees to the elimination of criticism of it from those quarters. Had he utilized explanations emerging from the content of the specific and empiric knowledge and experiences known during the course of an "I-Thou" relationship, it would have been possible to subject him to criticism on their basis. But this is not the case when the relationship is unphrasable and incommunicable, apart from testimony that a mysterious "something" takes place therein and that any attempt to provide detail is to be defined immediately as *a posteriori* translation, incarnation, or crafting of the event with mental tools which miss the whole point — as Buber has indeed done. In justice, Charmé contends that the "I-Thou" relationship *in and of itself* contains no epistemological, ethical, or behavioral effects.³⁰ Therefore, even the urging of non-manipulative relationships with others, for example, is not possible through the relationship-state. This understanding has eluded any number of Buber's principal interpreters. Justice is on his side, too, in that:

...this fleeting, contentless kind of I-Thou relation in itself, like mystical ecstasy, involves no obvious ethical implications for action in the world, since any type of responsible action rests on some knowledge about the world and takes place in space.³¹

The "I-Thou" relationship in and of itself, therefore, yields no behavioral decisions or intentions. But it does engender a complete experience of unity or some other totality as immediate, real, and obligatory; this is the principle of otherness. This experience, strengthened by togetherness, certainly may not be

30. Charmé, "The Two I-Thou Relations in Martin Buber's Philosophy."

31. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

expressed in language in that such means of expression invites by nature the use of defined categories of thought and emotion, thereby slicing the total experience into parts. No man is so fully in command of his linguistic, aesthetic, or behavioral faculties. This very conclusion abounds in implications concerning education, although this is not the place to explore them.

The Educational Context

The attempt to test Buberian insights in their educational context should raise the question of how the educational process is perceived from this special vantage point concerning the nature of human existence. Derivation of educational objectives and their selection by means of the filter of morality is one thing; understanding the state of the educational act from an anthropological/philosophical perspective different from that of the social sciences is another. But lately educational philosophy has been less concerned than at first with aspects predicated upon understanding Buber's thought. The point of departure to such understanding, Buber would say, is rooted in definition of the educational state as a matter of relations and relationships between the learner and his human and cultural environment, as controlled by the moral attitude of those participating in these processes to one another. More precisely, the flow of relations and relationships which brings education about is conditional on the fundamental attitude of the participants towards one another, an attitude mandating the otherness of one's counterpart as an autonomous being with whom one may intervene in only a limited way; that is to say, an intervention controlled by considerations of morality and appreciation of the other. This understanding is presumed in the foundations of Buber's sharp reservations concerning forced communication, the "projecting of oneself upon another" which characterizes a number of practices in education.

As will be recalled, Buber expands the applicability of his concept of "relationship" to beyond the frontiers of the interpersonal:

Three are the spheres in which the world of relation arises. The first [realm]: life with nature ... The second: life with men ... The third: life with spiritual beings.³²

This expansion implies the placing of conditions on the daily relationships and experiences in one's natural, human, and spiritual environment according to a fundamental, moral interrelational attitude. This insight opens new possibilities regarding explanation of learning processes, for example, for it subjects processes of consciousness and psychology to a moral attitude which precedes them. Elsewhere we have suggested linking this insight to the didactic work of Carl Frankenstein.³³ We have demonstrated that it is possible to identify Buberian elements in the special dialogue which these didactics seek to create between the learner and his learning material and between teacher and student. Frankenstein's belief in strengthening the learner's cognitive functioning is executed by means of essential "Its," though the main and ultimate intention is thereby to strengthen non-cognitive elements in the learner's personality, those responsible for his conscious functioning. The suggested didactic process is built on the concept of trust as a basic experience and on enhancing the ability to relate autonomously to the non-I (abstract or human) — in philosophical terms, a relationship of appreciation. We are, in fact, dealing with the oblique use of categories rooted in moral thought in a manner wondrously close to the thought processes of Martin Buber. Frankenstein himself indicates this closeness in his critical essay concerning the ability of Buberian concepts to help one distinguish between oneself and the holder of one's statements.³⁴ Thus we have demonstrated the point which we set out to establish: that systematic conceptual analysis of Buber's thought is capable of engendering principles of an educational approach. The question remains: how?

32. Buber, *I and Thou*, translated by Kaufmann, pp. 56–57.

33. שרמר, האישיות בהגותו של מ' בובר — השתמעויות לחינוך

34. קרל פרנקנשטיין, 'אתה ולא-אני' (הרהורים על תורת דו-חשית של מרטין בובר). כנות ושוויון, לתל-אביב 1977 (ספרית פועלים).

The above analysis demonstrates that we are dealing with an attempt to link the Kantian distinction between moral and amoral relationships and the social relationships in *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to the compound epistemological distinctions in Dilthey's *verstehen* doctrine and those found also in the doctrine concerning the special knowledge which emerges from the mystical state, along with Kant's differentiation between the phenomenal and the noumenal. This convergence of categories in moral, social, and conscious thinking — a cutting-tool concept which slices through them — is achieved through Buber's tandem concepts "I-Thou" and "I-It." This combination is meaningful in understanding the educational process, which attempts to link interpersonal, social, and conscious processes. Concerning education, moreover, the special content of this link is imbedded in the theory that there indeed exists such a link, in which the interpersonal process forms the basis for the conscious process. This theory goes on to say that the conscious is contingent for its validation on an attitude which is inherently moral: appreciation of an object as an autonomous entity. Indeed, this appreciation is not merely an activity of the conscious mind, but rather a relationship of man towards objects surrounding him in totality — with neither the dichotomy symbolized as emotion/appreciation or thought/appreciation, nor behavior which expresses the appreciation of another. The order is reversed: flaws in the field of the ability of conscience, for example, are rooted in one's lack of ability to conduct a full relationship with the world — his environment, the other — as an entity distinct and autonomous vis-à-vis him. Accordingly, one's self-perception as lacking autonomy and as dependent on one's counterpart is also a flawed attitude; its symptoms manifest themselves in flawed functioning of the powers of one's personality: thought, interpersonal relationships, and role in society.

In terms of educational theory, the philosophy before us belongs to the tradition of liberal education, though not to that of individualistic education. Indeed, there is no call to exchange liberation from the other for detachment from him and from society; this is rather a liberation which strives for a reasoned, controlled, and coping autonomy. This philosophy seeks to shape an educated man capable of interacting with the other but also of retreating from him, accepting and rejecting, creating and

abolishing without being pinned down to any predetermined, binding obligation. Buber's contribution in this matter departs from the establishing of exclusively liberal/humanistic educational objectives; it claims, in the final analysis, an ideal of the educated man consistent with man's original, substantive nature; and that part of the function of education is to serve this nature in proper working order. Planning an educational environment and learning activities based on this perception of human nature and directed at these among its characteristics, must support the desired, proper working order. Once this is understood, it is easier to cast role models for the teacher and the course of education accordingly, for Buber's philosophy places in our hands both educational objectives and an overview of the nature of man which suggests courses of action faithful to its perception of man's role as learner and as teacher.

Buber's tandem concepts shed light for the educator on the existence of the types of relationships between the learner and his environment, a matter which conventional thinking sidesteps. The accepted *weltanschauung* — that these relationships are strictly psychological — is insufficient; neither does description of these relationships in cognitive subject-object terms succinctly grasp the whole of human activity. Furthermore, acceptance of the commonly-held view obstructs the educator's comprehension of the educational situation to its fullest extent, and drags him into insufficiently grounded considerations and determinations. Buber's distinction invites those who accept it to develop a new rhetoric for description of the educational situation, inasmuch as the currently available psychological rhetoric is insufficient.

Analyses of Buberian thought typically conclude with statements concerning the role of education in grappling with man's tendency to dominate and restrain his fellow-man — that the educator must therefore relate to the learner's individuality with awed respect where educational objectives are concerned.³⁵ This accepted narrowing of the field relegates Buber's contribution to the areas of educational philosophy alone, notwithstanding — as we have seen — its ability to shed practical light on the educational process itself. The weak spot of these analyses emerges in

35. For example, מרטין בובר והחינוך המודרני, ירושלים ותל-אביב, צבי קרצווייל, תשל"ח (שוקן).

their absence of systematic distinction between aims and means, and between ultimate and intermediate objectives. So it is with the interpretation of Buber's lecture "On the Educational Act," which determines that its substance lies in the place where educational investment should be placed: in development of the learner's creative ability or in student-teacher relationships.³⁶ This phrasing, too, is meant to indicate a purpose in education. An alternate and correct reading of the same essay, though, shows that Buber's interest is not in purposes but rather in identification of the main motivating act in the state which we refer to as "education," a purpose which is the key to the attainment of educational objectives. This act, according to Buber, is the dialogue unique to this situation — "inclusion." It is in developing the circumstances under which this may take place, Buber recommends, that we should invest our efforts. These circumstances encompass the teacher-student relationship as well, which constitutes a conceptual base for the occurrence of the educational act. Indeed, in the opening of his aforementioned essay, Buber explicitly rejects the focusing of educational philosophy on the question of objectives (development of creative or other aspects of the learner's personality) and suggests in its place discussion of what may, perhaps, be called "the educational lever." The advantage of this interpretation lies in its expansion of Buber's contribution from the realm of general objectives to the fundamental and practical realms of understanding the education occurrence itself. Thus it is seen that Buber links the two existential states symbolized by the concepts discussed above, neither portraying them as a pair of opposites nor delineating a tension of contradiction between them. From the vantage point of the educational act, the routine of the instrumental "I-It" relationship is validated, if only when that routine takes shape exclusively. Attention is thus directed towards the individual's disposition to accept a state in which others will treat him like an instrument to a certain extent, when this is convenient for that individual. Contrary to Erich Fromm's analysis, which sees man as seeking to escape authority and which speaks against this

36. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

profound tendency,³⁷ Buber's distinction serves to remind the educator that it is occasionally convenient for the learner to let others behave towards him not only as an objective and not only as a means. He does not reject instrumental relations, and he cannot tolerate relationships based entirely on the continual responsibility placed on him and mandated by others' relating to him as an objective alone.

This philosophy, therefore, is not concerned with belittling the "I-It" relationship. Franz Rosenzweig's complaint that Buber's approach neglects the wealth of the world of "Its" relates perhaps to the early Buber; his over-all work leaves no doubt concerning his obligatory regard for the "It" side. In the psychological realm, It-awareness grants self-awareness and self-confidence; the Thou experience grants this confidence its certainty and basic permanence. Frankenstein would lead the learner to this confidence by means of a strong emphasis on classroom learning experiences in the world of "Its." Buber would not reject this, for also in these experiences do experiences of the relationship which form the basis for psychological confidence and development of its substance take place and intrude. The importance of the Buberian distinction discussed here concerning education lies in the unconventional perspective it offers. In this philosophy, the moral dimension is presented as a prime fundamental in the personality and as a lever of activity in every field; this innovation, characteristically Jewish, of Buber's in his attempt to show the primacy of this fundamental in our lives opens a new path to further understanding of the educational process, a path which begs for continued in-depth study and discussion.

37. John H. Schaar. *Escape from Authority* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

Section IV

*AMERICAN JEWISH EDUCATION AND JEWISH
IDENTIFICATION IN A CHANGING WORLD*

THE FUNCTIONS OF JEWISH SCHOOLING IN AMERICA¹

Geoffrey E. Bock

This paper will assess the functions of Jewish schooling in terms of the overall process of Jewish identification in American society. Using a random sample of all American Jews (the National Jewish Population Study), I shall describe the role of Jewish schooling in America. While Jewish schooling is an important aspect in the identification process, I do not consider it to be the most determining factor. Moreover, the relative impact of Jewish schooling, compared to the relative importance of other factors, depends on the forms of identification in question. Jewish schooling has a relatively greater impact on promoting *public* expression of Jewishness — synagogue attendance, support for Israel, participation in Jewish organizations, than on promoting *personal* expressions of Jewishness — home ritual observances, participating in Jewish social networks, appreciating Jewish culture. By comparison, family background and generation have a relatively greater impact on promoting personal Jewishness than public Jewishness. Finally, the effects of schooling vary between the type of identification in question. Although schooling has a greater impact on public Jewishness than personal Jewishness, the critical threshold beyond which

1. This research has been supported by grants from the John Slawson Fund of the American Jewish Committee, and the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research. The data on which this study is based has been graciously made available to me by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Professors Stephen P. Cohen, Nathan Glazer and Christopher Jencks with their strategic and timely advice, in helping me to carry out this analysis.

instruction begins to exert this effect is higher — roughly 1,000 hours of instruction for public Jewishness, compared to about 500 hours of instruction for personal Jewishness.

I. Jewish Identification and Socialization

Diversity is the central aspect of Jewish identification.² Not only do American Jews vary in the extent of their Jewishness, but they are more or less identified in a number of different ways. Contemporary research on Jewish identification utilizes multiple measures to capture varied dimensions of the American Jewish experience.³ Identification is traditionally defined and measured in terms of religious, associational, and/or ethnic behaviors, attitudes or beliefs.

That is to say, contemporary research seeks to explain American Jewish life in terms of religious behaviors and beliefs; participation in formal and informal associations; cultural expressions and affiliation. These religious, associational, and ethnic paradigms serve both to document degrees of Jewishness among Jews, and to index differences between Jews and non-Jews; yet focusing on outcomes to index inter-group and intra-group differences does not directly address the underlying process of Jew-

2. By identification, I mean the actual, observable and measurable behaviors and attitudes, what *Webster's Third International Dictionary* defines as "the act or action of being linked in an unseparable fashion." "Identification" is distinct from "identity," the innate personality of characteristics of an individual or group (Simon N. Herman, *Israelis and Jews: The Continuity of an Identity* (New York: Random House, 1970).

3. Harold Himmelfarb. *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education upon Adult Religious Involvement*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1974).

Bernard Lazerwitz, "Religious Identification and its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model," *Social Forces*, LII (December 1973), pp. 204-220.

Steven M. Cohen, "The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXXVI (July-October, 1974), pp. 316-326.

Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum. *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 1967).

ish socialization. One must consider the relative impact of key social factors — such as Jewishness of home background, generation and formal Jewish schooling — on the transmission of identification from generation to generation.

It seems to me that specific conceptions of Jewish identification derive from one of two clusters of factors. In some instances Jewish identification is the product of *internalized, personalized norms which individuals inherit largely from their parents*. Whether Jews feel that Jewishness is personally important, and whether they integrate Jewish behavior and beliefs into their everyday lives, depends mainly on the Jewishness of the home environment in which they were raised, and only to a lesser degree on their Jewish schooling during childhood. I shall term this a general process of *personal Jewishness*.

In other instances, Jewishness is the *product of externalized social norms, fostered by the larger social milieu*. Whether Jews formally interact with one another, and whether they participate in activities on behalf of the Jewish group, depend not only on their Jewish home background, but also on their Jewish school experiences and on more general social forces such as the nature of Jewish communal life or the differences between generations of American Jews. I shall term this a general process of *public Jewishness*.

As I shall show below, formal Jewish schooling has a greater impact on public Jewishness than personal Jewishness. Its impact, however, is mitigated by other key factors in the socialization process, most notably Jewishness of home background and generation of American birth.

II. The NJPS Identification Study

My doctoral research is based on a disproportionately stratified, multi-staged clustered sample of 4,275 Jewish respondents drawn from the National Jewish Population Survey. Collected between 1969 and 1973 (with 1971 as the approximate date) the sample is composed of all Jewish individuals age 18 and above who answered a special section on behavioral and attitude items about their Jewishness. Jewish individuals are those who said they were Jewish, who had at least one Jewish parent or who had converted

to Judaism. Assuming that the average Jewish child completed his/her Jewish schooling by age 15, all respondents were enrolled before 1968. A detailed analysis of survey and sampling criteria, including comparisons with available community-level studies, reveal that the Identification Sample is basically representative of the American Jewish population as a whole; for purposes of this study, possible sources of sampling and response bias are minimal.⁴

III. Defining Jewishness: The Measurement of Jewish Identification

How American Jews indicate their Jewishness is a critical part of the problem. Some may be more religious than others. Some may have more extensive "organizational" ties than others. Some may be more "ethnic" than others. I have used a variety of scaling techniques to construct nine identification scales based on items in the Identification Sample. A description of the items in each scale is presented in Table One.

Items included in the identification scales are: Jewish Self-Esteem Scale, Home Ritual Observance Scale, Social Networks Scale, Cultural Perceptions Scale, Synagogue Attendance Scale, Synagogue Activities Scale, Organizational Activities Scale, Israel Support Scale, and Political Attitudes Scale.

4. For a detailed assessment of possible biases, see: Geoffrey E. Bock, *The Jewish Schooling of American Jews: A Study of Non-cognitive Educational Effects*, Ed.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1976).

Table One

<i>Scale Name</i>	<i>Summary of Item Contents</i>
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	11 general, global attitudes about the importance of being Jewish.
Home Ritual Observance Scale	11 instances of Jewish rituals performed annually, weekly, or daily in the home.
Social Networks Scale	Extent of and attitudes towards ingroup friendships and Jewish neighborhoods. Attitudes towards intergroup dating and intermarriage.
Cultural Perceptions Scale	7 items about perceived knowledge of or enjoyment of specific aspects of Jewish culture.
Synagogue Attendance Scale	9 instances of when individuals might attend synagogue services during the year.
Synagogue Activities Scale	Membership in one or more synagogues; perceived activity in a synagogue.
Organizational Activities Scale	Membership in '0' to '3 or more' secular Jewish organizations; perceived activity in an organization.
Israel Support Scale	3 attitudes about support of Israel; attitudes towards emigrating to Israel; contributing financially to Israel; having been to Israel; planning to visit or move to Israel within the next three years.
Political Attitudes Scale	Attitudes towards race relations, civil rights and public welfare.

The scales can be arranged in terms of contemporary conceptions of Jewish identification — those which measure religious behaviors, associational Jewishness, and ethnic Jewishness. They can also be arranged in terms of two generalizable clusters — personal Jewishness and public Jewishness — which will account for factors in the socialization process. Table Two provides comparisons between these two general strategies for conceptualizing Jewishness. While most analysts consider three basic conceptions of Jewish identification, I shall consider only two. This table provides a useful guide between personal and public Jewishness on the one hand, and religious, associational and ethnic identification on the other.

Table Two
Identification Scales by Aggregating Criteria

	Religious	Associational	Ethnic
Personal Jewishness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Home Ritual Observances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Informal Social Networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Jewish Self-Esteem •Cultural Perceptions
Public Jewishness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Synagogue Attendance •Synagogue Activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Organizational Activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Support for Israel •Political Activities

IV. The Consequences of Jewish Schooling

Involvement in Jewish schooling is one factor in the overall socialization of Jewish children. The ability of formal institutions to transmit values from parents to children is mitigated by competing factors — home background, generation of American birth, age, sex, and community of residence. Since individuals have had widely varying degrees of exposure to Jewish instruction — ranging all the way from a few hours on a weekend to concentrated study in a day school or *Yeshiva* — one must first assess the basic impact of Jewish schooling and only then consider the relative effects of various other factors.

The relationships between Jewish schooling and Jewish identification can be considered in three different ways. First, Jewish schooling may serve as a cultural emblem. Enrolling in a Jewish school may be an end in itself. *Simply attending* a Jewish school may be an affirmation of Jewish culture. This would be a weak function of schooling. Its importance derives from getting inside the Jewish schoolhouse door, and not from the kinds of experiences individuals have had once enrolled in a school. Second, Jewish schooling may serve as a kind of religious and cultural socialization experience. Perhaps the “hidden curriculum” of Jewish schooling is most important: individuals are more identified because they have repeatedly enrolled in a Jewish school from one year to the next, regardless of the intensity of Jewish instruction they may have received. This means that *years of Jewish schooling* is the best measure. Third, Jewish schooling may be an attempt to transmit values, behaviors and beliefs. Perhaps “intensity of instruction” is most important: individuals are more identified because they have spent more hours in Jewish classrooms. This means that *hours of Jewish instruction* is the best predicting measure. Hours of instruction incorporates both the number of years individuals have spent in Jewish schools and the type of schools they have attended.⁵

5. Intensity of instruction is estimated by the hours of Jewish instruction per week: private tutor — 4 hours; Sunday school — 3 hours; afternoon Hebrew school — 8 hours; all-day Hebrew school — 17 hours; Yeshiva — 20 hours; other — 6 hours (Harold Himmelfarb, *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education upon Adult Religious Involvement*, Ph.D.

A. The Basic Impact of Schooling

The zero-order correlations among different measures of Jewish schooling and individual measures of Jewish identification imply that schooling and identification are related (Table Three). "Better Jewishly schooled" Jews are "more identified." Moreover, I do not find any negative correlations. This means that "more" Jewish schooling is not related to a decline in different measures of Jewish identification. But the fact that I find differences in the strength of the correlations means that I must pay considerable attention to the measurement of Jewish schooling.

Table Three
Zero Order Correlations of Jewish Identification Measures and
Three Measures of Jewish Schooling

	Some Jewish Schooling	Years of Jewish Schooling	Hours of Jewish Instruction
Some Jewish Schooling	--	--	--
Years of Jewish Schooling	.564	--	--
Hours of Jewish Instruction	.453	.780	--
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.201	.138	.256
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.198	.207	.240
Synagogue Activities Scale	.178	.195	.199
Organizational Activities Scale	.139	.165	.137
Social Networks Scale	.093	.030	.142
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.216	.114	.169
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.251	.188	.328
Israel Support Scale	.099	.042	.219
Political Attitude Scale	.116	.102	.032

Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1974). These survey-estimates correspond closely to estimates made by Hillel Hochberg, American Association For Jewish Education, in correspondence (1975). Total hours are then the product of Type of School per week multiplied by 40 weeks per School Year multiplied by Number of Years.

In this table, I find that "hours of Jewish instruction" is most highly correlated with six of the measures — the Home Ritual Observance Scale, the Synagogue Attendance Scale, the Synagogue Activities Scale, the Social Networks Scale, the Cultural Perceptions Scale, and the Israel Support Scale. This means that intensity of Jewish instruction probably has the largest effect on these dimensions of Jewish identification. "Years of Jewish schooling" is most highly correlated with the Organizational Activities Scale. This suggests that the socialization experiences of attending a Jewish school over a number of years is probably most important. "Simply attending a Jewish school" is most highly correlated with the Jewish Self-Esteem Scale and the Political Attitudes Scale. For these two forms of Jewish identification, Jewish schooling probably best serves as a cultural emblem. In these cases, the greatest effect of Jewish schooling derives from getting through the Jewish schoolhouse door.

However, for each of the nine conceptions of Jewish identification, I can select the "best predicting" measure of Jewish schooling compared to other background factors. This leads to my "best estimate" of the effects of Jewish schooling and other factors in explaining differences in Jewish identification.

B. The Effects of Schooling in the Socialization Process

I believe the above has established that Jewish schooling is important to some extent. But other salient background characteristics — Jewishness of family background, generation of American birth, sex, chronological age, and present community of residence — also affect identification. It may be argued that even the best predicting measure of Jewish schooling may have little effect on particular conceptions of Jewish identification; Jewish family background or other factors may be much more important. For example, individuals may be much more likely to have a high sense of Jewish self-esteem when they are raised in more identified families, regardless of whether they have ever attended a Jewish school. Alternatively, simply attending a Jewish school may be the critical factor. In other words, by comparing the relative influence of Jewish schooling to other background factors, I can describe some of the complex social forces which influence various forms of Jewish identification.

1. The Determinants of Personal Jewishness

Personal, non-institutional factors are particularly likely to affect certain kinds of Jewishness. The varied effects of the salient social background factors are found in Table Four. First, the more personally identified are raised in more Jewish home environments. Jewishness of family background is consistently the single most important factor accounting for variations in various conceptions of personal Jewishness; Jewish schooling and generation of American birth are comparatively less significant. Depending on the identification scale in question, the effects of Jewish home environment are 1.3 to 2.4 times greater than the effects of Jewish schooling, and 1.2 to 2.4 times greater than the effects of generation (when the latter is defined as a continuous variable).⁶

Second, the more personally identified are usually the earlier generations of Jews. All other factors being equal, I find that second and third generation Jews are progressively less personally Jewish than the first. I find little evidence of the "third generation hypothesis." (This hypothesis asserts that since the third generation has not experienced the cultural conflicts of the second generation, it is more likely to accept the values of the immigrant generation.) But I do find some evidence of a cultural reversal in the fourth generation. Nevertheless, this reversal is relatively modest, and the fourth generation is still far less identified than the first.

Third, the more personally identified may be either men or women of any chronological age and may live in many different kinds of Jewish communities. I find that, all other factors being equal, the effects of sex, chronological age, and New York City residence are usually quite small. This means that personal Jewishness depends almost entirely on the individual's personal experiences, and very little on general social characteristics.

2. The Determinants of Public Jewishness

By comparison, public Jewishness is influenced by more complicated and varied patterns of events. Much depends on the particular identification scale in question. Yet there are some fairly general trends. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table Five.

6. These are ratios of the standardized regression coefficients.

Table Four
Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients
of the Determinants of Personal Jewishness

	Jewish Family Back- ground	Generation of American Birth	Chrono- logical Age	Sex (1= male)	N.Y.C. Resi- dence	Some Jewish School- ing	Hours of Jewish Instruc- tion	R ²
<i>Generation as Dummy Variables</i> (Unstandardized Regression Coefficients)								
		Second	Third	Fourth				
		<i>(Relative to First)</i>						
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.220	-.156	-.332	-.281	.004	-.109	-.031	.244
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.751	-.967	-1.747	-1.313	NS	-.446	.413	.202
Social Networks Scale	.194	-.276	-.459	-.374	.003	-.145	.352	.174
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.278	-.273	-.356	-.205	.003	-.072		.259
<i>Generation as Continuous Variable</i> (Standardized Regression Coefficients)								
		<i>(Generation Continuous)</i>						
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.315	-.172		.087	-.078	-.023	.133	.234
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.248		-.200	NS	-.075	.066	.180	.199
Social Networks Scale	.205		-.173	.067	-.078	.182	.093	.172
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.303		-.127	.066	-.042	NS	.238	.254

NOTE: NS=Not Significant where $p > .01$ on F-Test

Table Five
Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients
of the Determinants of Public Jewishness

	Jewish Family Background	Generation of American Birth	Chronological Age	Sex (1 = male)	N.Y.C. Jewish Residential School Attendance	Years of Jewish School Instruction	Hours of Jewish Instruction	R ²
<i>Generation as Dummy Variables (Unstandardized Regression Coefficients)</i>								
	<i>Second Third Fourth (Relative to First)</i>							
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.397	-.818	-.826	-.460	NS	-.161	-.642	.0002 .148
Synagogue Activities Scale	.351	-.141	-.134	.793	.003	-.358	-.507	.0002 .100
Organizational Activities Scale	.341	NS	.228	.469	.016	-.491	-.369	.058 .119
Israel Support Scale	.116	-.331	-.471	-.502	.003	-.031	-.128	.0001 .170
Political Attitudes Scale	-.098	.114	.208	.315	-.009	.201	-.062 .207	
<i>Generation as a Continuous Variable: (Standardized Regression Coefficients)</i>								
	<i>(Generation Continuous)</i>							
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.177	.119	NS	NS	-.041	-.151		.175 .136
Synagogue Activities Scale	.169	NS		.040	-.088	-.122		.169 .096
Organizational Activities Scale	.189	.055		.145	-.135	-.100		.144 .119
Israel Support Scale	.148	-.225		.062	NS	.080		.161 .166
Political Attitudes Scale	-.123	.102		-.198	.127	-.038 .117		.139

Note: NS=Not Significant where $p > .01$ on F-test

Certainly the Jewish content of the home has an important influence: individuals from more Jewish families are usually more publicly identified. (Identification in terms of secular political attitudes is an important exception.) Nevertheless, home background is no longer the single most important factor. Rather, the more publicly identified also have other underlying social characteristics as well. For instance, in three of the five scales (the Organizational Activities Scale and the Political Attitudes Scale are the exceptions) the effects of Jewish schooling are as important or more important than the effects of Jewish family background. This means that individuals have learned as much or more about public social norms through their experiences in Jewish schools as through their childhood homes.

With the exception of attitudes towards Israel, generation has had relatively modest effects on different forms of public Jewishness. This suggests that, despite the cultural changes within the American Jewish community over time, American Jews continue to be involved in religious and secular communal activities. I suspect, however, that the goals of public identification have changed.

Political attitudes form a distinctive expression of public identification in another respect. Generally speaking, those of later generations from less Jewish home backgrounds are more tolerant in their political and social outlook. In other words, this conception of Jewishness probably represents a form of identification for those individuals who are marginally Jewish in the first place.

Support for Israel is unique — and troubling — in important respects. Generation of American birth has the largest effect on support for Israel. Among Jews who are comparable in every other respect, those who are foreign-born are the strongest supporters of Israel. All other factors being equal, the intensity of support declines *progressively* and steadily from one American-born generation to another.⁷

7. The second generation, on the average, is .331 points below the first on the Israel Support Scale; the third and fourth are .471 and .502 points respectively, below the first.

However, all other factors are not always equal. Schooling and family background also have a significant — not inconsequential but nevertheless secondary — effect on support for Israel. In fact, Jewishness of family background and hours of Jewish instruction have roughly similar effects. This means that within comparable generations of American Jews, intensity of support for Israel is due both to the length of time individuals have spent in Jewish classrooms and to the Jewishness of their home environments. Weakness in one area may be offset by strength in another area. Within a *limited* sphere, Jewish schooling per se probably has a noticeable (and educationally consequential) impact on this particular conception of public Jewishness. Nevertheless, the effects of generation provide a sobering reminder about the basic state of support for Israel among American Jews — a progressively declining phenomenon.

V. The Role of Jewish Schooling

Jewish schooling affects identification. But the relative impact of schooling, compared to the effects of other factors in the socialization process, depends on the conception of identification in question. This finding, then, raises two additional issues about the Jewish schooling of American Jews.

First, does intensity matter, and, if so, how much schooling is needed? Are there critical thresholds beyond which point schooling begins to exert an independent effect on identification? Or is the impact of schooling a linear phenomenon where the more schooling one has, the more identified one becomes?

Second, how does schooling affect Jewishness? What is the interrelationship between schooling on the one hand, and family background and generation on the other, that leads some Jews to be more identified than others?

To find answers to these questions, further analysis of the data is required.

A. Intensity of Schooling

In my analysis thus far, I have assumed that each and every change in hours of Jewish instruction is related to a constant interval on the different measures of Jewish identification. In

technical terms, I have assumed that the measure of hours of Jewish instruction is a continuous, linear variable. For example, I have assumed that the increment from 200 to 700 hours of Jewish instruction and the increment from 2,200 to 2,700 hours of Jewish instruction have comparable effects on various identification measures. This assumption may be inaccurate. There may be a minimal amount of Jewish schooling required in order to have a lasting effect on Jewish identification. There may be a maximal amount of Jewish schooling, beyond which it has little or no effect. And the critical minimal threshold and maximal ceiling may depend on the particular conception of Jewish identification in question. In this section I shall consider the effects of different amounts of time spent in Jewish classrooms.

The analysis of the effects of varied hours of Jewish instruction is presented in Table Six. After controlling for Jewishness of family background, generation of American birth, chronological age, sex, and New York City residence, this table shows how much more identified are individuals who have spent different time in Jewish classrooms, compared to those with no Jewish schooling. Thus Table Six reports the *relative* changes in Personal and Public Jewishness from one level of Jewish instruction to another. To illustrate the overall effects of varying amounts of Jewish schooling, I have graphed the relative changes of each identification measure due to differences in hours of Jewish instruction in Figures One and Two.

The critical threshold for personal Jewishness is around 500 hours of instruction. I find in Table Six and Figure One that after about 500 hours in Jewish classrooms, Jewish schooling begins to have independent effects on the Index of Personal Jewishness. This is roughly 4.2 years of one-day supplemental schooling, or 1.5 years of afternoon Hebrew schooling or .7 years of day schooling. Moreover, beyond this point, the effects of hours of instruction are not always constant. Between roughly 4,000 and 6,000 hours of instruction, increased schooling leads to a decline in personal Jewishness. And after about 10,000 hours of instruction, the impact of Jewish schooling begins to taper off. This means that Jewish schooling has had a slightly greater influence on personal Jewishness than indicated by the general measure. This also means that after a certain point, more Jewish schooling becomes counter-productive.

Table Six
Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of Varied Hours of Jewish Instruction with Five
Background Variables Controlled¹ on Personal and Public Jewishness

(Dummy Variable Analysis of the Effects of Varied Hours Relative to the No Jewish Schooling Group)

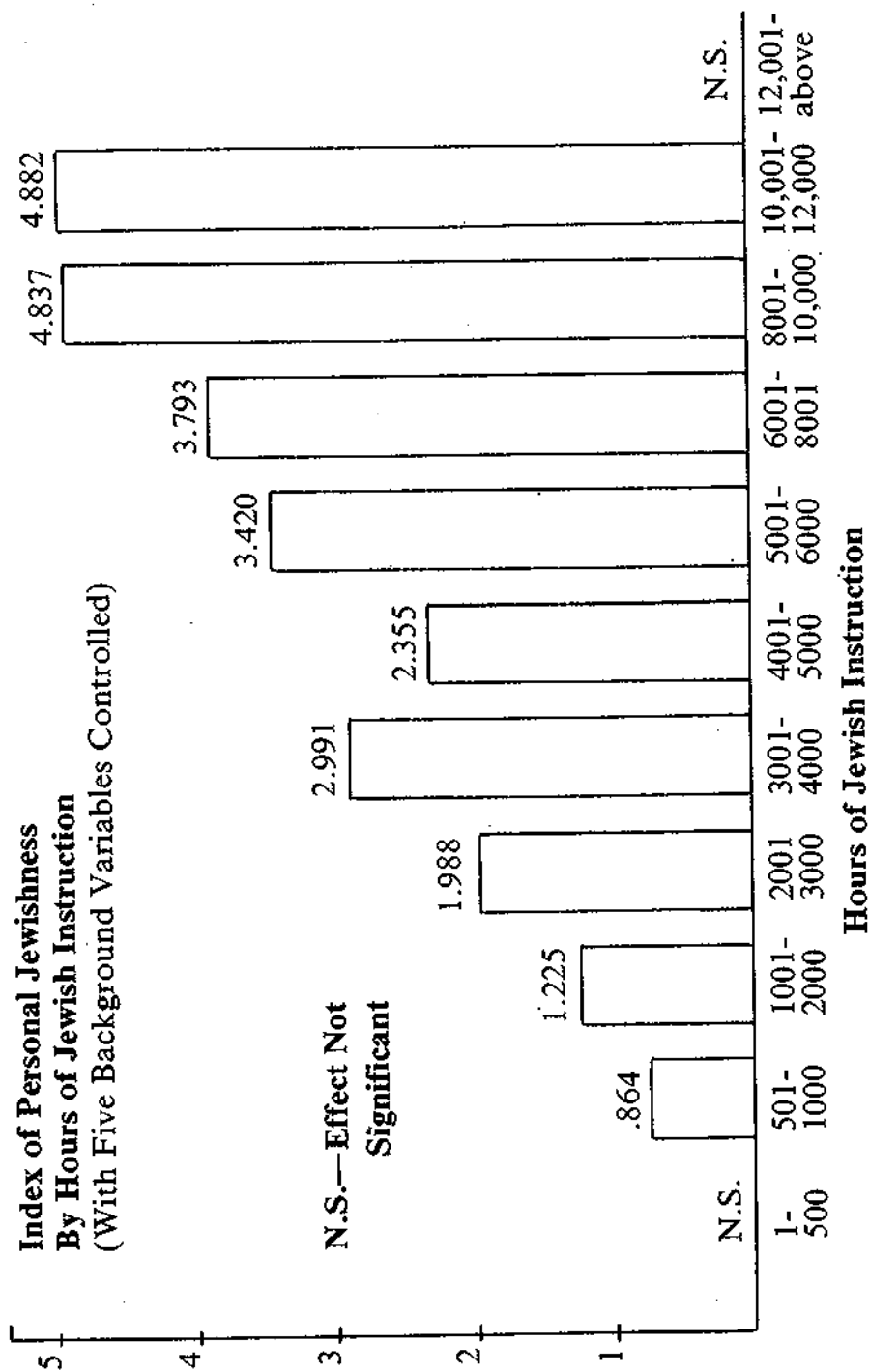
Identification Scales	1-500 Hours	501-1,000 Hours	1,001-2,000 Hours	2,001-3,000 Hours	3,001-4,000 Hours	4,001-5,000 Hours	5,001-6,000 Hours	6,001-8,000 Hours	8,001-10,000 Hours	10,001-12,000 Hours	Above 12,001 Hours	R ¹
Index of Personal Jewishness	(.221)	.864	1.225	1.988	2.991	2.355	3.420	3.793	4.837	4.882	(1.846)	.279
Index of Public Jewishness	1.309	(.157)	2.426	2.537	3.540	2.166	2.814	4.612	7.459	8.383	6.076	.167
Percent of Sample in Each Group	11.7	15.0	24.5	9.0	3.2	1.6	1.0	1.3	.6	.3	.1	

Notes: ¹Five background variables are (a) Jewishness of family background; (b) Generation of American birth; (c) Chronological age; (d) Sex; (e) New York City residence.

() Coefficient not significant: $p > .01$ on F-test.

Scale Points Above the No Jewish Schooling Group

Figure 1



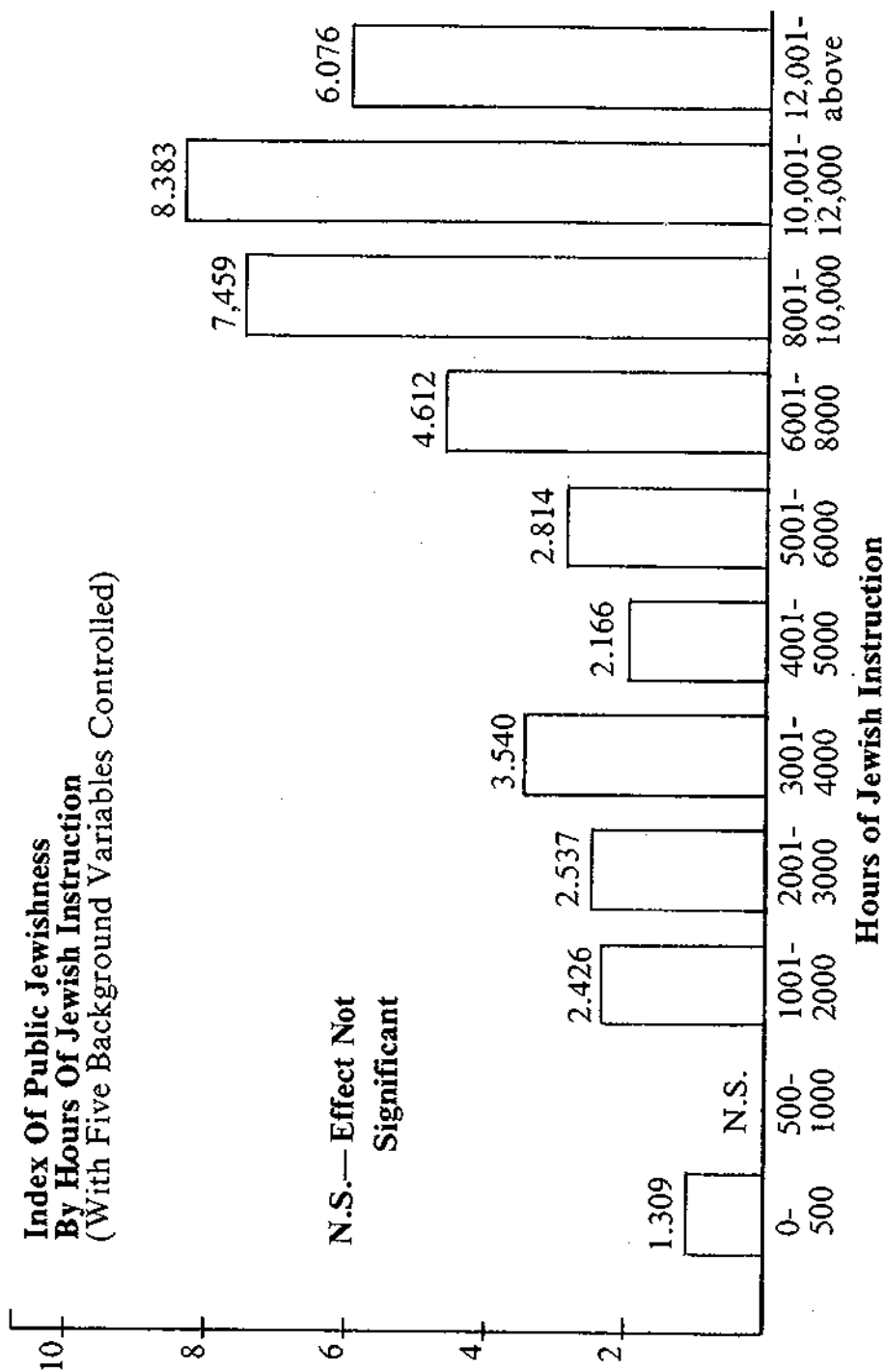
The critical threshold for public Jewishness is around 1,000 classroom hours. I find in Table Six and Figure Two that after about 1,000 hours in Jewish classrooms, Jewish schooling begins to have an independent effect on the Index of Public Jewishness. This means that those individuals who have spent less than 1,000 hours in Jewish classrooms are no more publicly identified than if they had never attended a Jewish school. One thousand hours are equivalent to about 8.5 years of one-day supplemental schooling, 3 years of afternoon Hebrew schooling or 1.5 years of day schooling. Moreover, from 1,000 to 4,000 classroom hours and after 6,000 classroom hours, public Jewishness increases. But between 4,000 and 6,000 classroom hours increased schooling is related to a decline in public Jewishness. The extent of this decline is relative. People with this much Jewish schooling are still more identified than if they had never attended a Jewish school. This means that beyond 1,000 classroom hours, better schooled Jews are more publicly involved in Jewish life. This also means that between 4,000 and 6,000 classroom hours, individuals find their school experiences counter-productive.

I estimate that only 56.6 percent of all American Jews receive more than 500 hours of Jewish instruction, and only 41.6 percent receive more than 1,000 hours of Jewish instruction during childhood. This means that slightly less than half on one hand, and more than half on the other have not spent enough time in Jewish schools to reach the respective critical thresholds for Personal and Public Jewishness. I estimate that only 4.9 percent of all American Jews receive more than 4,000 hours of Jewish instruction during childhood. This means that less than 5 percent have spent sufficient time in Jewish schools to reach the possible plateau. All in all, Jewish schooling has affected only 40 to 55 percent of American Jewry, depending on the definition of Jewish identification in question.

B. The Interrelationship of Personal and Public Jewishness

Jewish schooling, hence background and generation, have varied effects on Personal and Public Jewishness. In fact, these three factors are basic components of an overall socialization process. Personal Jewishness also affects Public Jewishness; what one believes and does in one's personal life affects one's public activities. A model of Jewish socialization is presented in Figure Three.

Figure 2



Using path analysis techniques, I can then estimate the relative effects of each factor. By sociological standards, this is a fairly complete model; 32 percent of the variance in Public Jewishness is explained by the antecedent factors.

Jewish schooling fulfills a particular role in the socialization process: it most directly affects Public Jewishness. Family background has another kind of effect in socialization: it most directly affects Personal Jewishness. That is, compared to schooling, Jewish family background has about one-half the direct effect on Public Jewishness. Compared to schooling, family background has about two times greater direct effect on Personal Jewishness.

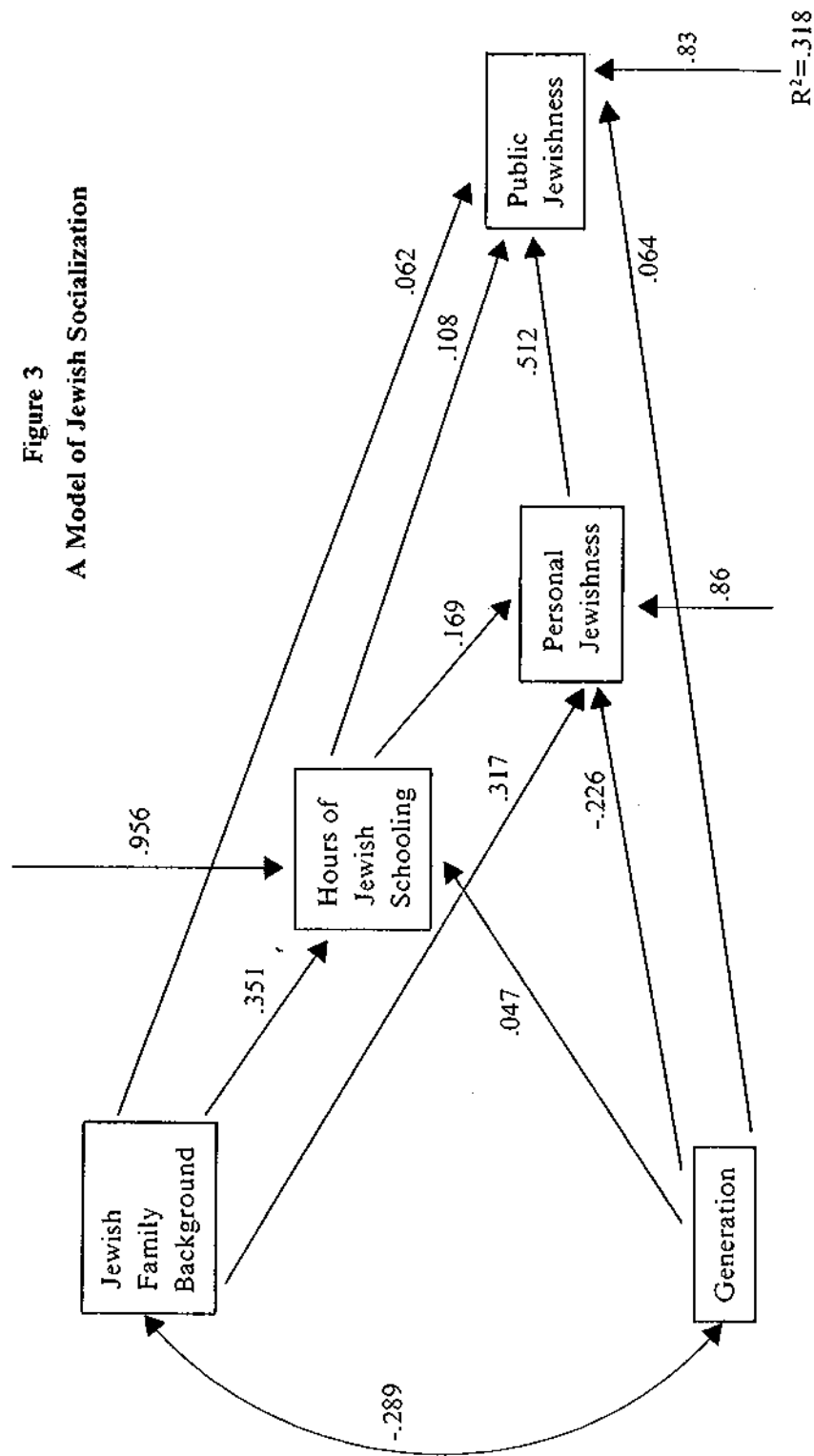
This means the effect of Jewish family background on Public Jewishness is *indirect* and operates through schooling and Personal Jewishness. Those who were raised in more identified homes as children are more publicly identified as adults because they have had more Jewish schooling and because they learned from their families to be more personally identified.

This model of Jewish socialization also implies that the effects of Jewish schooling on Public Jewishness are direct and relatively substantial, particularly when compared to the effects of schooling on Personal Jewishness. Family background plays a key role in Personal Jewishness; its role is more modest for Public Jewishness. Thus spending more time in Jewish schools serves to increase one's Public Jewishness more than one's Personal Jewishness. Schools are much better at training people how to identify publicly as Jews; families are much better at teaching how to behave personally.

VI. How Does Jewish Schooling Matter?

Jewish schooling affects Jewish identification to some extent. *But* the relative effects of school experiences, compared to the relative impact of other factors affecting socialization, depend on the form of identification in question. Jewish schooling has relatively greater impact on public Jewishness than Jewishness of family background, all other factors being equal. Jewishness of family background has a relatively greater impact on personal Jewishness than schooling, all other factors being equal. One suspects that public behaviors of being Jewishly identified — such as

Figure 3
A Model of Jewish Socialization



contributing to a Jewish organization or attending synagogue services — are more easily taught in the formal curricula of Jewish schools than personal practices, attitudes, and beliefs. It comes as little surprise that the home environment has the greatest effect on personal Jewishness, as feeling good about being Jewish or having Jewish friends, or practising Judaism in one's daily life are more private kinds of concerns, which one learns primarily from one's family.

Support for Israel is a special aspect of public Jewishness. Intensive Jewish schooling, *per se*, has a positive effect on support for Israel; people who have spent more time in Jewish schools, all factors being equal, are stronger supporters of Israel. Nevertheless, a critical factor — more important even than either schooling or family background — is generation of American birth. All other factors being equal, foreign-born Jews are much stronger supporters of Israel than either their children or their grandchildren. Yet all other factors do not remain constant. Realizing that among American Jews both Jewishness of family background and intensity of schooling are waning, overall group support for Israel is inexorably declining. Where one goes from here is difficult to say.

Finally, a certain minimum amount of Jewish schooling is necessary before school experiences begin to affect identification. I estimate this critical threshold at 1,000 hours for public Jewishness and 500 hours for personal Jewishness. That is, roughly 8.2 years of one-day Hebrew school, 3 years of afternoon Hebrew school, and 1.5 years of day school for public Jewishness, and half these numbers for personal Jewishness. Since schooling has its greatest impact on public Jewishness, 1,000 hours is perhaps the more crucial threshold. This suggests that, while day schools are a more efficient educational method — due to the concentration of time for Jewish instruction — intensive supplemental schools can also be effective. This also suggests that one must consider further research into the organization, structure, and functioning of Jewish schools, to understand fully what happens during the 1,000 hours.

THE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLING: A SYNOPSIS¹

Harold S. Himmelfarb

Previous studies comparing outcomes of different types of Jewish schools concentrated on short-range effects by sampling students currently enrolled in Jewish schools² and, therefore, could not assess the persistence of school effects into adulthood. Two studies³ of long-range effects focused on the alumni of all-day schools but did not compare their responses to the alumni of other types of Jewish schools. Therefore, it was impossible to assess the relative effectiveness of the day schools compared to available alternative types of Jewish schools. Moreover, both the long-range and short-range impact studies make no attempt to evaluate the relative effectiveness of schools compared to other agents of religious socialization. That is, they make no attempt to assess the extent to which religious adults are religious because of their Jewish schooling, their family background or some other influences. In contrast, this study assessed the independent

1. This is a synopsis of the author's study, *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education Upon Adult Religious Involvement*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1974). Some brief after-thoughts have been added to the end of this synopsis to update these earlier considerations.

2. For a review of these studies see Paul E. Weinberger, "The Effects of Jewish Education," *American Jewish Yearbook*, (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1971).

3. Irving I. Pinsky, *A Follow-Up Study of the Graduates of One of the Oldest Existing American Jewish Day Schools: The Rabbi Jacob Joseph School*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1961); George Pollack, *Graduates of Jewish Day Schools: A Follow-Up Study*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1961).

effects of such agents of religious socialization as: schools, parents, adolescent friends, spouse, youth groups, and summer camps, upon adult religious involvement. Also assessed was the relative influence of other background characteristics such as: secular education, income, age, sex, generation American, parental socio-economic status, social mobility, and military service.

Theoretical Background. Most studies of the effects of schools upon attitude and behavior have been conducted at the college level. Nevertheless, their findings can be applied to lower levels of schooling. The literature indicates three views about the impact of schools upon their students. The *temporary effects theory*, represented by the work of Phillip Jacob,⁴ argues that students who seem to change their attitudes and beliefs while in school are typically exhibiting temporary conformity rather than the beginnings of long-term effects. The *accentuation effects theory* — represented by the work of Kenneth Feldman and Theodore Newcomb⁵ — argues that the main effect of schools is to “accentuate” or amplify certain personality predispositions, many of which are presumably the products of prior socialization. Thus, religious schools are likely to make students from religious homes more religious, but have little impact on those from non-religious homes. The *social support theory* — represented by the work of Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi⁶ on Catholic school graduates — specifies the conditions under which temporary and accentuation effects occur. Basically, the social support theory maintains that the impact of schools is merely to accentuate personality predispositions rather than to change people. However, even accentuation effects are only temporary if not supported by post-school environments, in particular, support from one’s spouse. Few studies find that schools are able to influence students to change very much from the way in which they were

4. Phillip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

5. Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, *The Impact of College on Students*. Vol. I. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970).

6. Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

raised. However, most of the studies deal with schools which are not specifically designed to indoctrinate individuals in an intensive manner as is the case with some types of Jewish education. Therefore, this study had to explore the possibility of a fourth type of effect, *conversion effects*, in which individuals from non-religious homes who attended religious schools became religiously involved adults.

In short, a review of relevant literature suggests that the long range effectiveness of a socializing agent depends upon several factors: the prior socialization of its "clients," the extent of client exposure to the institution, and the amount of post-institutional support received. Accordingly, Jewish education should be most effective for those from religiously involved homes, who get the large amounts of Jewish schooling, and who marry a religiously involved spouse. The type of effects produced by the interaction of these factors is likely to be some sort of additive — yet not wholly linear — effect.

The Sample. A sample of Jewish adults having "distinctively Jewish" names were chosen from the Chicago, Illinois and North Suburban phone directories, and supplemented with a sample of alumni from two Chicago Jewish schools — a high school and a college. Only alumni residing in the Chicago area were included. The purpose of the alumni sample was to ensure enough cases with higher level Jewish education. The sample population was surveyed by means of a mail questionnaire. An adjusted total of 4,665 questionnaires was mailed and 1,418 were returned, yielding a return rate of 30.4 percent. All respondents who were unmarried, foreign born, offspring of an interfaith marriage, or not raised as Jews were eliminated from the sample. Therefore, the study was based on 1,009 cases. This was not a representative sample of the Chicago Jewish Community. In particular, it contained more young, educated and Orthodox persons than the population at-large. Nevertheless, results of other studies indicate that the relationships between variables, particularly between Jewish schooling and adult religious involvement, are probably in the same direction and within a similar range of magnitude as would appear in a more representative sample.

Measuring Religious Involvement: The Dependent Variables. This study reviewed the literature in the sociology of religion on multidimensional approaches to measuring religiosity. The review

showed that existing typologies suffered from problems of definition and classification. There is often a lack of clear focus on what is being measured, a lack of mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness between categories, a mixture of temporally unrelated phenomena, and an inclusion of phenomena at different levels of abstraction. However, there are many useful elements in existing typologies and these were synthesized to create a new typology.

Religious involvement can be oriented toward four objects: God (*Supernatural*), one's co-religionists (*communal*), the religious system (*cultural*), and one's fellows (*interpersonal*). Each orientation can be manifested in a behavioral and/or ideational (attitudes and beliefs) manner. Thus, the dimensions of religious involvement can be identified by the object to which they are oriented and by whether the involvement is behavioral or ideational.

Figure 1
Dimensions of Religious Involvement

Object of Orientation	Type of Orientation	
	Behavioral	Ideational
Supernatural:	devotional affiliational: associational	doctrinal- experiential
Communal:	fraternal parental	ideological
Cultural:	intellectual- aesthetic	affectional
Interpersonal:	ethical	moral

As portrayed in Figure 1, the available literature suggests the existence of nine dimensions and three subdimensions of religious involvement (or the possibility of 11 separate scales). However, a factor analysis of forty-one separate items measuring these dimensions yielded only six dimensions and three subdimensions (or eight separate scales): SUPERNATURAL ORIENTATIONS — (1) ritual observance (*devotional*); (2) doctrinal belief and experiencing God's presence (*doctrinal-experiential*); COMMUNAL ORIENTATIONS — (3) three types of affiliation with other Jews: (a) formal organizational participation (*associational*), (b) concentration of residence, friendships and courtships among Jews (*fraternal*), and (c) encouraging one's own children to be involved in Jewish life in a variety of ways (*parental*), (4) having attitudes in favor of Israel (*ideological*); CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS — (5) reading, studying and collecting books, artwork and music on Jewish topics (*intellectual-aesthetic*); INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATIONS — (6) *ethical* and *moral* behavior and attitudes which are peculiarly religious in character such as charitable contributions to Jewish causes. Thus, in terms of the hypothesized typology, the doctrinal and experiential dimensions were not found to be independent (i.e., they formed a single scale). Similarly, the ethical and moral dimensions were not independent. The items designed to measure an affectional attachment to the Jewish people loaded on many different scales and did not form an independent cluster.⁷ The scales measuring the six dimensions and the three subdimensions were combined into a single summary scale — *total religiosity*.⁸

Religious Socialization: The Independent Variables. In comparison to previous studies of religious socialization, this study examined an expanded number of theoretically important variables. Thus, relationships between numerous independent variables and the different types of religious involvement described above

7. Later attempts with other data sets have yielded an independent affectional factor.

8. See appendix for listing of items in scales. For complete details about how religious involvement was measured in this study and for a critical review of the literature in this area see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "Measuring Religious Involvement," *Social Forces* LIII (June, 1975), pp. 606-618.

were analyzed: A. *Agents of Socialization* — parents; spouse; religious schooling; peer influences of high school and college friends; participation in Jewish and non-sectarian organizations between the ages of 9–11, 12–14, 15–18 and 19–22; day and overnight camping experiences in Jewish and non-sectarian camps; and participation in the armed services. B. *Social Psychological Variables* — relationship with parents (support and control), and social mobility. C. *Demographic Characteristics* of the respondents — age, sex, generation-American, years of secular education, father's secular education, respondent's income and childhood family income.

Data Analysis. The first stages of the data analysis involved data reduction, i.e. finding those variables which were the most important predictors of adult religious involvement. All of those variables that were not correlated by at least $\pm .20$ with one of the religious involvement scales were eliminated from further analysis. On this basis the following variables were eliminated: sex, childhood family income, father's education, social mobility, perceived parental support and/or control, months in the army, weeks spent in non-sectarian day and overnight camps, weeks spent in Jewish day camps, participation in general organizations during all ages of adolescence, and spouse's participation in Jewish organizations before marriage. Three measures of Jewish schooling were looked at: latest age of attendance, total years of attendance and total hours of Jewish studies in the schools attended. While all of the measures of Jewish schooling were fairly highly correlated with at least some of the religious involvement scales, the one most highly correlated overall (i.e., hours) was the only one used in the next steps of the analysis.

The next step involved finding the most important predictors of adult religious involvement. From the variables left, those that did not account for at least 2% of the total variance explained in at least one of the religious involvement scales were also eliminated from further analysis. This was accomplished by means of a stepwise multiple regression analysis the results of which appear in Table 1.

This part of the analysis yielded several interesting findings:

- 1) Peer influences, as measured by the activeness of one's closest friends in Jewish organizations, has its greatest impact during the college age years (19–22) rather than earlier in adoles-

Table 1
Amount of Variance (Change in R²) in Dimensions of Religious Involvement Accounted for by Independent Variables in Stepwise Multiple-Regression

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT										Total Religiosity
	Devotional	Doctrinal-Experiential	Associational	Fraternal	Parental	Ideological	Intellectual-Ethical	Ethical-Moral			
Hours of Jewish Schooling	.087 (2) ^a	.010 (5)	.006 (7)	.005 (9)	.013 (5)	.001 (12)	.253 (1)	.080 (4)	.023 (6)		
Parent's Ritual Observance	.040 (3)	.034 (3)	.018 (4)	.000 (14)	.049 (2)	.033 (2)	.002 (9)	.003 (7)	.062 (3)		
Parent's participation in Jewish Organizations	.001 (14)	.000 (15)	b	.000 (15)	.000 (14)	.000 (14)	b	.001 (11)	.000 (16)		
Spouse's Ritual Observance	.341 (1)	.152 (1)	.040 (2)	.052 (1)	.207 (1)	.101 (1)	.042 (3)	.125 (2)	.337 (1)		
Spouse's Participation in Jewish Organizations	.001 (11)	.002 (9)	.008 (6)	.003 (6)	.002 (11)	.004 (7)	.007 (5)	.001 (13)	.003 (9)		
Activities of closest friends in Jewish Organizations:											
High School Friends	.004 (10)	.002 (12)	.003 (11)	.003 (7)	.004 (10)	.000 (16)	.004 (8)	.000 (14)	.002 (12)		
College Friends	.001 (9)	.003 (5)	.002 (10)	.004 (8)	.003 (9)	.007 (6)	.004 (6)	.017 (5)	.007 (8)		
Respondent's Jewish Organizational Participation											
at ages 12-14	.002 (8)	.002 (8)	.007 (9)	.001 (13)	.001 (12)	.000 (13)	b	.001 (12)	.001 (13)		
at ages 15-18	.020 (4)	.001 (11)	.004 (8)	.000 (16)	.003 (7)	.003 (10)	.003 (7)	.000 (15)	.003 (11)		
at ages 19-22	.007 (5)	.023 (4)	.113 (1)	.014 (3)	.022 (3)	.019 (3)	.072 (2)	.006 (6)	.089 (2)		
Jewish overnight camping	.001 (13)	.003 (7)	.001 (13)	.001 (10)	.000 (15)	.000 (15)	.000 (13)	.003 (8)	.001 (15)		
Non-sectarian day and overnight camping	.000 (16)	.000 (16)	b	.004 (5)	.000 (16)	.003 (11)	.000 (14)	b	.001 (14)		
Respondent's secular education	.004 (7)	.061 (2)	.001 (12)	.036 (2)	.007 (6)	.003 (9)	.001 (11)	.003 (9)	.001 (7)		
Respondent's Income	.001 (15)	.002 (10)	.022 (3)	.012 (4)	.001 (13)	.010 (4)	.002 (10)	.127 (1)	.022 (4)		
Age	.003 (6)	.000 (13)	.011 (5)	.001 (11)	.003 (8)	.004 (3)	.001 (12)	.059 (3)	.003 (10)		
Generation American	.001 (12)	.000 (14)	.000 (14)	.002 (12)	.011 (4)	.010 (5)	.025 (4)	.001 (10)	.019 (5)		
Total R ² with all variables in the equation	.511 ^c	.294	.237	.139	.328	.200	.415	.426	.583		

^a Numbers in () indicate the order in which the variable was entered into the equation

^b Variable did not add enough to R² to be added to the equation

^c differences between total R² and sum of column above it due to rounding errors

cence. The same is true for Jewish organizational participation. However, peer influences become nonsignificant when the respondent's own organizational participation is held constant and was therefore dropped from further analysis.

2) Jewish overnight camping has a low relationship with adult religious involvement and becomes negligible when hours of Jewish schooling is held constant.

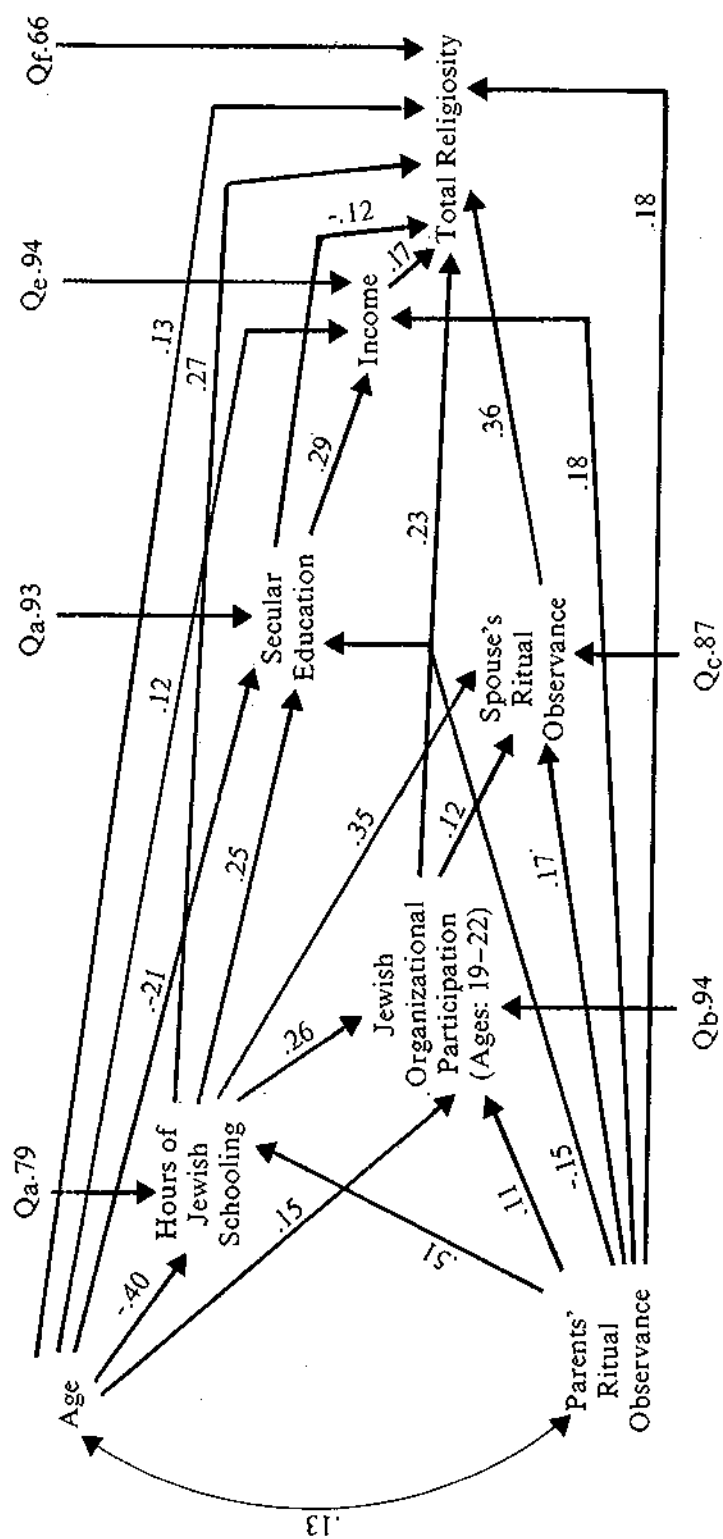
3) From the many independent variables measured, only eight variables were found to be predictor variables on the basis of the statistical criteria described above: age, parental religiosity, total hours of Jewish schooling, participation in Jewish organizations during the college age years (19–22), spouse's religiosity (ritual observance) before marriage, years of secular education and current family income.

The variables were then ordered to form an explanatory model (a path model) of the religious socialization process. This empirical model helps to explain how the independent variables affect each other, as well as their effects upon adult religiosity. Figure 2 illustrates this model. The path coefficients are standardized Beta coefficients and are interpreted as the magnitude of the direct effects of one variable upon another when everything before it is held constant. Some variables also have indirect effects by impacting other variables which in turn affect adult religious involvement. The magnitude of indirect effects can be calculated by multiplying one path by another and by adding the complete indirect paths together.

The model begins with age and parents' religiosity as measured by ritual observance as exogenous (given) variables. They both have substantial direct effects on amount of Jewish schooling received (.40 and .51 respectively), and together account for 37 per cent of the variance in hours of Jewish schooling; however, they have opposite effects. Parental religiosity is positively related to hours of Jewish schooling, but age is negatively related. The latter relationship is probably peculiar to this sample because of the over-representation of day school alumni.

Jewish schooling has a stronger direct effect on Jewish organizational participation during the college age years than does age or parents' religiosity. It also has a stronger direct effect upon the type of spouse one marries than do those variables or Jewish organizational participation. In fact, its direct effect is about

Figure 2
Path Diagram of Variables Leading to Adult Religious Involvement



three times as great as the effect of organizational participation and twice as strong as that of parental religiosity (.35, .12, and .17, respectively). This is theoretically important. Greeley and Rossi argued that the religiosity of parents determined the religiosity of spouse. However, we find that among Jews, religious schooling has a much greater direct influence than parents, on the type of spouse one chooses. By decomposing the correlations (a procedure which Greeley and Rossi could not perform) the discrepancy between the two studies can be partially resolved. The total effects of parents' religiosity on choice of spouse (.36) is mostly indirect (.21), primarily through Jewish schooling; whereas the total effect of Jewish schooling on choice of spouse (.46) is mostly direct (.35). Thus, in this model of the socialization process, the role of religious schooling is not simply to support parental religiosity, but also to channel students into subsequent environments which will support its own teaching.

The amount of secular education a person receives does not depend upon organizational participation or spouse's religiosity, but is influenced by parental religiosity, age, and hours of Jewish schooling. These three variables account for only thirteen per cent of the variance in secular education, a finding indicating that the socialization process has mixed outcomes for religious parents. Religiously observant parents are more likely to provide their children with intensive Jewish education, intensive Jewish education is likely to have a positive effect on the amount of secular education they will receive, and the amount of secular education has a negative effect on adult religiosity, particularly on the doctrinal-experiential and the fraternal dimensions. The positive total effects of Jewish schooling on secular education are direct effects (i.e., $R = \text{Beta}$). This seems to indicate that intensive Jewish schools select those who are most intellectually inclined, and who are the most likely to continue both their Jewish and their secular education.

While Jewish schooling has some direct effect upon secular education, it has no direct effect upon income; spouse's religiosity, or organizational participation. In this model only parental religiosity, age, and secular education have direct effects upon income. Parental religiosity has a negative effect upon income (Beta and $R = -.18$), and age and secular education are positively related to income ($\text{Beta} = .12$ and $.29$, respectively). These three

variables account for eleven per cent of the variance in income.

The above discussion has tried to explain how the predictor variables are related to each other (i.e., how those coming earlier affect those coming later). Now it is important to look at how the predictor variables affect adult religious involvement. Figure 2 concentrates on the impact of the predictor variables on total religiosity. Table 2, however, also shows their direct effects on all of the adult religious involvement scales. It also shows the per cent of variance explained in each scale (R^2) by the combination of predictor variables.⁹

Briefly there are a number of noteworthy findings in this regard:

Collectively, there are great differences in how well the predictor variables explain different types of religious involvement. While the model explains fifty-six per cent of the variance in the summary measure of total religiosity, it explains only eleven per cent of the variance in fraternal religious involvement. Thus, the model predicts some types of religious involvement better than others.

Individually, the predictor variables rank differently in predictive power on different dimensions of religious involvement. Among those variables that are not agents of religious socialization, age and income have a considerable positive impact on only one dimension of religious involvement — the ethical-moral dimension. Secular education has a moderate negative effect upon the doctrinal-experiential and the fraternal dimensions of religious involvement.

Among the agents of religious socialization (parents, Jewish schools, youth organizations, and spouse), spouse is the best predictor of five of the eight religious involvement dimensions: devotional, doctrinal-experiential, fraternal, parental, and ideological. Jewish schooling is the best predictor of the intellectual-aesthetic and the ethical-moral dimensions of religious involvement. Participation in Jewish organizations between ages nineteen

9. For a more detailed description of the decomposition of effects into direct, indirect and total effects (r); for the R^2 on the predictor variables; and for a more detailed discussion of findings; see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "Agents of Religious Socialization Among American Jews," *The Sociological Quarterly*, XX (Autumn, 1979), pp. 477-494.

Table 2
Direct Effects (Beta) of Predictor Variables on Adult
Religious Involvement and Total Amount of Variance explained (R²)

Religious Involvement	Age	Predictor Variables						R ²
		Parents' Ritual Observance	Hours of Jewish Schooling	Jewish Organizational Participation	Spouse's Ritual Observance	Secular Education	Income	
Devotional	-.09	.23	.20	.16	.37	-.06	... ^a	.50
Doctrinal-Experimental	... ^a	.13	.13	.15	.27	-.27	... ^a	.28
Associational	.15	.09	.12	.24	.16	... ^c	.17	.21
Fraternal	... ^a	... ^a	... ^a	.12	.22	-.22	.12	.11
Parental	.11	.12	.21	.13	.29	-.09	... ^a	.31
Ideological	.13	.13	.10	.13	.21	... ^a	.10	.16
Intellectual-								
Aesthetic	... ^a	.13	.29	.23	.21	... ^a	... ^a	.38
Ethical-Moral	.33	... ^a	.31	.13	.20	... ^a	.40	.41
Total								
Religiosity	.13	.18	.27	.23	.36	-.12	.17	.56

^aThe beta was statistically non-significant (i.e., $b < 2$ (sd)) and, therefore, was omitted from the multiple regression equation.

and twenty-two is the best predictor of associational religious involvement.

Interestingly, parental religiosity is not the best predictor of any of the religious involvement measures. It affects devotional involvement most strongly. The effects of parental religiosity upon general adult religiosity are substantial, but they occur mainly indirectly through other agents of religious socialization, primarily through religious schooling. For example, the indirect path from parents to school to total religiosity (.14) is more than twice as great as the indirect path from parents to spouse to total religiosity (.06).

Compared to previous research, in this study religious schooling plays a surprisingly important role in the religious socialization process, having substantial direct and indirect effects. Religious schooling plays a central role in channeling individuals from religious families-of-origin into other religious environments, such as Jewish youth groups and religious marriages.

The Interacting Influences of Parents, Schools and Spouse. One of the more interesting aspects of the Greeley and Rossi study is the interaction effects they detected between parental religiosity, religious schooling, and spouse's religiosity. For example, one of their more important findings was that Catholic schooling has an impact only at the highest level of parents' religiosity. At that level, they say, it is "quite impressive." For example, the relationship between Catholic schooling and ritual observance was an average .26 (gamma). However, when parental religiosity was controlled, the relationship was much lower (Parents' religiosity: Low = .10, Lower middle = .09, Higher middle = .11). Only among those whose parents were highly religious does Catholic schooling have a substantial impact (.34). In fact, it has a greater than average impact, indicating an accentuation effect. Greeley and Rossi found similar effects for doctrinal belief, organizational participation, and ethical attitudes.¹⁰

A similar analysis was performed on this sample of Jews which yielded several interesting findings in comparison to the Greeley and Rossi data.

10. Greeley and Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans*, Table 4.3, p. 86.

First, the same kind of interaction between parental religiosity and religious schooling that Greeley and Rossi found for Catholics exists for Jews on the devotional, doctrinal-experiential, associational, and fraternal scales. However, on parental, ideological, intellectual-aesthetic, ethical-moral, and total religiosity, Jewish schooling has at least a low impact where parental religiosity is only moderate. The impact of schooling on religious involvement when parents are low in religiosity is statistically nonsignificant on all but three religious involvement measures: devotional, parental, and intellectual-aesthetic. However, even the impact on one of those measures (parental) is slight.

Second, Jewish schools seem to have a more substantial impact than Catholic schools. In most cases, Jewish schooling begins to have an effect on children from moderately religious homes, whereas Catholic schooling does not have any effect, except on those from highly religious homes. On two of the four measures on which the two types of schools can be compared (devotional and ethical-moral), a high level of Jewish schooling has a considerably greater effect than a high level of Catholic schooling. For example, the average relationship between Jewish schooling and devotional religious involvement is .51 (gamma). For those whose parents were low in religiosity, it is .28, medium .30, and high .72. This is more than twice as high as the relationship between Catholic schooling and ritual observance.¹¹

Third, in accord with most studies on the effects of schools, the general effect of religious schooling is an accentuating effect. Among students coming to school predisposed to religious values, religious school accentuates those values; but where students are not predisposed to religious values, schooling has little impact. There are, however, two major exceptions to this general finding. On devotional and intellectual-aesthetic religious involvement Jewish schools seem to have a "conversion" effect on a small, but not negligible, number of people. That is, on those types of religious involvements there is a low association between hours of Jewish schooling and religiosity, even for those from homes low in religiosity. These conversion effects are the exception rather than the rule, but they are important because they

11. Of course, the two studies are not directly comparable due to different samples and different measures.

show that schools can be powerful socializing agents under some circumstances.¹²

If schools have mostly accentuating effects, must those effects be supported by post-school environments in order to be maintained? Greeley and Rossi found that:

(Catholic) ...schools have no effect when a respondent with religious parents marries an unreligious spouse.

A religious spouse apparently can compensate for a less religious family, but not vice versa.¹³

A similar cross-tabulation to the Catholic school study was performed on this sample of adult Jews for comparison sake. In both groups an irreligious spouse tends to diminish the relationship between parental religiosity and adult ritual observance, and between schooling and adult ritual observance. However, in the Jewish sample, spouse does not completely diminish the other relationships. Indeed, when *both* parents and spouse are low in religiosity, there is a difference of fifteen percentage points in the proportion scoring high in ritual (devotional) observance between those who had above the median amount of hours of Jewish schooling and those who had fewer hours (26% and 11% respectively). Among Catholics the difference was only one percentage point. Of course, the greatest effects are produced when parents, schooling and spouse are all highly religious; then eighty-eight per cent of the Jewish sample and fifty-nine per cent of the Catholic sample appear in the highest category of ritual observance. These findings show a small, but stable *conversion effect* of Jewish schooling. Such conversion effects are evident to a substantial degree on the devotional and intellectual-aesthetic religious involvement scales and more moderately on the parental, ethical-moral, and total religiosity scales.¹⁴

12. For actual tables and more details about this analysis see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "The Interaction Effects of Parents, Spouse, and Schooling: Comparing the Impact of Jewish and Catholic Schools," *The Sociological Quarterly*, XVIII (Autumn, 1977), pp. 464-477.

13. Greeley and Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans*, p. 102.

14. Himmelfarb, "The Interaction Effects of Parents, Spouse and Schooling."

Types of Jewish Schools and Adult Religious Involvement. So far it has been shown that hours of Jewish education have a substantial impact upon adult religious involvement. But do increased levels of all types of Jewish education produce greater religious involvement?

A difficult problem in analyzing the effects of different types of Jewish education is categorizing respondents by type of Jewish school attended. Many individuals have attended more than one type of school (over forty per cent of this sample). The respondents were grouped into six school categories ordered by the average number of hours spent on Jewish studies: (1) no Jewish schooling; (2) Sunday schools only; (3) mixed non-day schooling (i.e., some combination of Sunday school, afternoon school, private tutor, and teacher's institute or college of Jewish studies); (4) afternoon school only; (5) some day school (including yeshiva); and (6) day school only (including yeshiva). Since individuals who attend Jewish schools differ not only in the hours of Jewish studies received, but also in the number of years, respondents were categorized further by the total number of years of Jewish schooling received. Table 3 shows the mean hours of Jewish schooling received by respondents in the various school categories.¹⁵ As one looks across the rows or down the columns, the hours of Jewish schooling increase. Thus, it was expected that within the same range of school years religious involvement would increase down the school types; and within school types, religious involvement would increase with number of years of Jewish schooling. Those who had no Jewish schooling can be viewed as a control group.

15. The hour estimate was derived empirically. Respondents were asked about the number of hours per week devoted to Jewish studies in the one school they attended for the longest period of time. Thus, the following averages for each school type was calculated: private teacher — 4 hours; Sunday school — 3 hours; afternoon Hebrew school — 8 hours; day school — 17 hours; yeshiva — 20 hours; teachers institute or college of Jewish studies — 6 hours; other — 6 hours. The total number of hours for each respondent was calculated by multiplying the average number of weekly hours per school type by the number of years and by 40 weeks. The range of total hours was 0 to 13,760.

Table 3
Mean Hours of Jewish Schooling by Type
of School and Years Attended

Type of School	Years Attended			
	0	1-6	7-12	13+
None	0
Sunday Only	...	334	1,060	... ^a
Mixed ^b	...	925	2,128	4,143
Afternoon Only	...	1,111	2,780	... ^a
Some Day School ^c	...	2,218	4,890	8,704
Day School Only	...	2,446	7,944	11,024

^aThese schools do not go beyond high school.

^bThis category contains persons with a combination of school types, but no one with any day schooling or yeshiva training.

^cThis category contains persons who had some day school or yeshiva and some other type of Jewish schooling.

Table 4 shows the analysis of covariance table for the total religiosity scale by type and years of Jewish schooling. The actual mean for each cell is adjusted for the effects of other background variables (parents' and spouse's ritual observance, participation in Jewish organizations, generation-American and income). The F test of significance shows a very high level of statistical significance. The grand mean for the entire sample is zero. Thus, scores above the zero are above the mean and vice versa. The statistical differences between adjusted means in each cell were tested as were the linear trends of rows and columns. These results were reported elsewhere.¹⁶ A similar analysis was performed for each type of religious involvement, and those results can be found in detail in the original study.¹⁷ For present purposes, a summary of findings is presented.

Both Sunday schooling and afternoon schooling have almost no effect on any dimension of adult religious involvement. In fact, on several dimensions of religious involvement, higher levels of Sunday school seem to produce less religious involvement (but not significantly less statistically). The major exceptions to this finding are that seven to twelve years of Sunday school produces significantly greater associational involvement than no Jewish schooling, and seven to twelve years of afternoon school produces significantly greater ethical-moral involvement than no Jewish schooling. However, even in the latter case, afternoon schooling produces less than average religiosity.

For both Sunday schools and afternoon schools, the adjusted mean in most cells is higher than the actual mean. This indicates that school influences on religiosity are more positive than other influences that have a combined negative effect on those who attended these types of schools. However, this positive effect is minimal. Apparently, afternoon schools and Sunday schools are not equipped to compensate for the negative effects of parents or

16. Harold S. Himmelfarb, "The Non-Linear Impact of Schooling: Comparing Different Types and Amounts of Jewish Education," *Sociology of Education*, L (April, 1977), pp. 114-129.

17. See note 1.

Table 4
Adjusted Mean^a Total Religiosity
by Type of Jewish Schooling and Years Attended

Type of School	Years Attended			
	0	1-6	7-12	13+
None	-.082
Sunday Only	...	-.246	-.038	^b ...
Mixed	...	-.175	.039	.556
Afternoon Only	...	-.137	-.156	^b ...
Some Day School204	.179	.290
Day School Only639	.530	.446
F=12.834 (p<.001) ^c				

^aThe means are adjusted for the following covariates: Parents' Ritual Observance (b=.08), spouse's ritual observance before marriage (b=.22), participation in Jewish organizations between ages 19-22 (b=.14), generation American (b=.12), and income (b=.04).

^bThese schools do not go beyond high school.

^cAlthough this analysis is presented as a two-way analysis of covariance, available computer programs necessitated computation as a one-way analysis of covariance. Therefore, only one F value is reported.

spouses that are uninvolved¹⁸ with Jewish life or other secularizing influences.

Day schooling has a substantial impact on several measures of religious involvement: devotional, intellectual-aesthetic, and ethical-moral. Comparing the adjusted and unadjusted means, the data indicate that day school alumni score higher than those who attended other types of schools on ideological involvement. However, it seems that these effects are produced by agents of socialization other than the day schools. A separate analysis showed that when items about support for Israel by immigrating to Israel are used to measure ideological involvement, day schools do have a substantial impact, but on other aspects of support (i.e., sentiments, political and financial support) day schools do not increase the level beyond the combination of other background variables.

Where day schools seem to be effective in producing adult religiosity, the effects are not significantly different from no Jewish schooling, until there have been seven to twelve years of day school.¹⁹ However, more than twelve years of day schooling does not produce greater religious involvement than seven to twelve years.

Analysis of those with mixed schooling indicates that supplementary schooling has no effect until it has lasted more than twelve years.²⁰ However, there is no significant difference in religiosity between those who had more than twelve years of Jewish education in supplementary schools and those who had more than twelve years of Jewish education in all-day schools. Thus, there is an interaction between years of Jewish education and type of school attended.

There are several factors characteristic of the different types of schooling that might help explain these findings, such as differences in curriculum, faculty, and student bodies. However, one factor seems compelling since it is common to both type of school and years attended, i.e., hours of Jewish studies. If we look at the

18. As measured by observance of rituals.

19. The mean for that category in this sample was 10.1 years.

20. The mean for the 13+ years of mixed schooling was 15.6 years.

average number of hours spent on Jewish studies for each combination of type and years of schooling (see Table 3), and consider the effects partly displayed in Table 4, and partly summarized above, it seems that hours of Jewish schooling has both threshold and plateau effects. Jewish schools have no positive effect on adult religiosity until there are at least approximately 2,000 hours of schooling; they produce their greatest effects at around 4,000 hours. Additional hours of Jewish schooling beyond 4,000 do not produce further increments in religiosity. This can be seen even more graphically in a prior publication²¹ which diagrams the relationship between hours of Jewish schooling and total religiosity, plotting the actual means and the adjusted means.

These graphs suggest that Jewish schooling does not have any statistically significant impact²² on adult religiosity until there are approximately 3,000 hours of Jewish schooling. There is a steady increase in religiosity between 3,000 and 4,000 hours at which point a plateau is reached. Beyond 4,000 hours increased schooling does not increase religiosity unless reinforced by other agents of socialization, particularly spouse. If such reinforcement occurs, there is another significant increase in religiosity when schooling reaches approximately 10,000 hours, but that is the ceiling, and there is no further increase in religiosity with additional hours of schooling.²³

Conclusions. These data show that Jewish schooling plays an important role in the religious socialization process. It has important direct and indirect effects and seems to be the main avenue by which religious parents socialize their children to adult religiosity.

To discover that schools are effective in doing something is a rare finding in educational research, but this study has gone much further than that. It has shown what kinds of effects (i.e.,

21. See note 16.

22. That is, the level of religiosity is not significantly different ($P .01$) from the level obtained by those with no Jewish schooling.

23. The plateau and ceiling effects apparent here might be due to the scales that were used. That is, if more items were used that distinguished "very" religious from "extremely" religious persons, perhaps hours of Jewish schooling would predict adult religiosity in a more linear fashion.

kinds of religious involvement) are produced by various types of schools. Jewish schooling tends to accentuate the effects of family; but on a few measures of religiosity, schooling manages to "convert" a few people. Conversion effects are indeed rare in the educational literature. The study has also been able to show what types of schools are most effective and what effective schools have in common; i.e., many hours of Jewish studies. The effect of hours, however, is not completely linear.

There is a threshold below which, and a plateau beyond which, hours of Jewish schooling have no effect, unless supported by other influences on adult religiosity. There are also ceilings on the combined effects of schooling and other influences.

These findings present a harsh indictment of the Jewish educational system in the United States. Supplementary Jewish education has almost no long-range positive effect on Jewish religious involvement unless it is continued for more than twelve years. Thus, the type of Jewish education received by over eighty per cent of all American Jews who have had some type of Jewish education seems to have no independent effect.

Educational reformers are likely to ask for curriculum reform. While curriculum reform is undoubtedly necessary, my guess is that such reform will probably not be sufficient unless joined by an increase in student exposure to the curriculum. Stated very simply, most supplementary Jewish schools do not seem to provide enough hours of schooling to have any substantial long-range effect upon their students, and unless they do, curriculum reform by itself will probably be insufficient to increase adult religious involvement (i.e., Jewish identification) substantially beyond a level that would be produced by other agents of religious socialization.

If Jewish schools want to produce more religiously involved adults, it seems reasonable to conclude from these data that supplementary Jewish schools should expand their programs from an average of six hours per week for four years to an average of ten hours a week for eight years, or eight hours a week for ten years, etc., assuming a forty week school year. The schools should discourage early confirmation, graduation, or whatever else institutionally legitimates the completion of formal Jewish learning at a level of non-accomplishment and religious involvement.

The Jewish community as a whole ought to do whatever it can to encourage longer years of study among Jewish children by such efforts as: increasing support to schools with intensive programs, particularly day schools, by providing stipends to Jewish students who continue their studies beyond Bar Mitzvah and confirmation; and by phasing out support for Sunday schools.²⁴

Another recommendation seems warranted by these data. Since the college years were shown to be an important time for the formation of adult religious commitments, it seems reasonable to recommend that the Jewish community ought to extend priorities to programs dealing with this age group.

Clearly, however, educational reforms are likely to be most effective coupled with support from families. Therefore, programs ought to be adopted that will attempt to increase the involvement of parents as well as students.

Afterthoughts

It is now slightly more than ten years since the data for this study were collected. During this period there have been numerous changes in research on American education generally, and Jewish education specifically. There have also been some substantive changes in Jewish schools which have some bearing on the policy implications of the study.

First, it might be useful to note that the study took place at a time when research on both the short-range and long-range

24. These recommendations for contemporary Jewish schools are based upon analysis of data on individuals who last attended a Jewish school from 10 to 50 years prior to the study. It is possible that Jewish schools today are very different from the schools attended by these adults, and perhaps, more effective. However, this possibility seems unlikely for two reasons. First, age is not strongly related to religiosity in these data, and the direction of its influence tends to be positive when other factors related to religiosity are held constant. That is, older individuals tended to be more involved than younger ones when other factors were held constant. Second, the most influential aspect of Jewish schooling is hours of Jewish studies (compared to years, or type, of Jewish schooling). The changes in Jewish schools over the years have been toward fewer hours of Jewish studies. Thus, there is good reason to believe that contemporary Jewish schools might be even *less* effective than their counterparts of years ago.

impact of schooling on cognitive outcomes and on attitude and personality changes had persuaded many scholars that schools have very little impact on their students. Any impact found, furthermore, was attributed primarily to the informal environment of the school (determined by the social composition of the student body), rather than to the characteristics of the formal organization. Thus, to find that some schools do have significant impact on their students under certain conditions was indeed a deviant but encouraging finding. The emphasis upon the quantity of schooling as a key variable affecting student change was even more encouraging because it is a school variable that can be manipulated by school officials (at least in systems of compulsory schooling).

Around the time that this study was being completed and thereafter, numerous studies began to appear which argued that schools do have substantial long-range effects, primarily as a consequence of the length of time individuals stay in school. Thus, quantity of schooling, usually measured in years, seems to correlate positively with political information and involvement, "modern" attitudes and behavior, general knowledge and awareness of current events, and — most importantly (for our purposes) — religious behavior and attitudes.²⁵ Within the last five years there has also been an increasing and impressive amount of research on the influence of time (measured in hours and minutes) on learning achievement. Most of the evidence indicates that there is a significant positive correlation, but that the variable of time operates in very complex ways. For example, the amount of time needed for learning to take place depends upon the student, the subject, the setting, the number of interruptions and many other factors. Therefore, it is very understandable that increases in time do not always produce increases in learning in a completely linear fashion.²⁶

25. For references to studies that do and do not show substantial school effects see Himmelfarb article cited in note 16.

26. Nancy L. Karweit, "Time in School," in Alan C. Kerchoff and Ronald G. Corwin, Eds., *Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization*, Vol. 2. (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1981), pp. 77-110.
Carolyn Denham and Ann Lieberman, Eds., *Time To Learn* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980).

The study reported above was the first study to assess the impact of more than one type of Jewish school while controlling for the impact of other variables which might have contributed to adult Jewish identification. Since then, several studies on this topic have appeared. One finding among this research seems to be universal: In general there is a positive correlation between years spent in Jewish schools and adult Jewish identification, even after controlling for parental religiosity and other background characteristics.²⁷

Another finding which appears in all studies is that, in general, day schools tend to be more effective than supplementary schools,²⁸ but there is no consensus about which dimensions of Jewish identification are most affected by day schooling.²⁹ It is also not clear whether there is a difference between similar amounts and forms of Jewish schooling received at different ages. For example, is there a difference between four years of elementary level day schooling compared to four years of secondary level day schooling?

27. Bernard Lazerwitz, "Religious Identification and Its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model," *Social Forces* LII (December 1973), pp. 204-220; Bernard Lazerwitz, "An Approach to the Components and Consequences of Jewish Identification," *Contemporary Jewry*, IV (Spring/Summer 1978) pp. 3-8; Arnold Dashefsky and Howard Shapiro, *Ethnic Identification Among American Jews* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974); Geoffrey E. Bock, *The Jewish Schooling of American Jews: A Study of Non-Cognitive Educational Effects*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1976).

28. Bock, *Ibid.*; Barry Chazan, *Jewish Schooling and Jewish Identification in Melbourne* (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, 1980); Sol Ribner *A Study of the Effects of Intensive Jewish Secondary Education on Adult Jewish Lifestyles* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1978). Ribner is less reliable than the others in this regard because he combines day school alumni and supplementary high school alumni into one category of "intensive Jewish education."

29. While my study showed impact upon what might be considered more private types of religious involvement, Bock and Chazan found that day schools have a greater impact on types of religious involvement that are more public in nature. It is interesting that Lazerwitz (in *Contemporary Jewry*, 1978) analyzed the same national Jewish population study data that Bock studied and found higher correlations between Jewish education and what might be considered private dimensions of Jewish identification than between Jewish education and more public dimensions.

The finding that a minimum level of Jewish schooling is necessary before it has an impact and that the effectiveness of increased schooling reaches a plateau is corroborated by Geoffrey Bock and hinted at by Barry Chazan. In fact, the similarity between my study and Bock's in the pattern of threshold and plateau effects is truly remarkable. One big difference between our studies, however, is the level of minimum threshold — 1,000 hours in Bock's study and 3,000 hours in mine. There are many methodological differences that can account for these discrepancies. One important difference is that Bock could not control spouse's religiosity, whereas I was able to.³⁰ My guess from studying the patterns of the graphs in both studies is that the true minimum threshold is probably closer to 2,000 hours. Of course, true thresholds can be different for individuals with different home backgrounds and different in-school experiences. Even if we accept the 1,000 hour estimate, most Jewish children attending afternoon or Sunday schools actually receive less than that. There is little doubt then that Jewish supplementary schools in the United States need to expand the amount of time required of students in order to produce *minimal* lasting results.

A second point of importance on which the two studies differ is with regard to the interaction effects of parents and Jewish schooling. Bock did not find any interaction effects. That is, unlike my findings, his did not show that the relative impact of Jewish schools is affected differentially by different levels of parental religiosity. Again different methods of analysis might account for the discrepancies between the two studies.³¹ The

30. There is a significant theoretical question raised by Ribner as to whether spouse's religiosity ought to be controlled in assessing the impact of Jewish schools. According to my data, the type of spouse one marries is also a product of Jewish schooling, not just a confounding factor in the analysis. That is why it is important to study both the direct and indirect effects of schooling as was done in the path model presented above.

31. Bock explores possible interaction effects with multiple regression analysis. I used cross-tabular analysis. Spady's study of school effects found interaction effects from cross-tabular analyses where few were found in regression analyses. William G. Spady, "The Impact of School Resources on Students," in F. Kerlinger, Ed., *Review of Research in Education* (Ipsasca, IL: Peacock, 1973), pp. 135-177.

weight of the evidence at this point seems to me to favor the finding of interaction effects. Besides my study and the Greeley and Rossi study mentioned above, Steven Cohen's study³² of Jewish college students also found that Jewish schooling had substantial effects only on those from highly religious home backgrounds. This is an important point in terms of educational policy, because the minimum number of hours necessary for Jewish schools to have an impact might in fact be much higher than the average estimate (i.e., 1,000–3,000 hours) for students from home backgrounds that are low in Jewish identification.

Since these findings have been available for more than half a decade, one can legitimately ask whether they have affected Jewish educational policy at all. It is difficult ever to assess what factor or combination of factors affects policy decisions, particularly when decisions are not necessarily institutional, but personal. That is, Sunday schools might be closing because the institutional decision makers decided that they were ineffective, or, more likely, because parents have decided they prefer to enroll their children in more intensive programs. As might be expected, there has been significant resistance to acceptance of the study's findings in Jewish educational circles — particularly in circles with large supplementary school systems and in circles which have dedicated much effort to improving the quality of supplementary forms of Jewish education. Nevertheless, there has been a small, but decided movement away from Sunday schools, a continuing growth of day schools, and a particularly noteworthy expansion of non-Orthodox day schools. There has also been an effort to increase the number of years of required Jewish schooling for Bar and Bat Mitzvah training by one year.

In some instances, the findings of this study aided efforts to intensify Jewish education that were already under way. In some instances, they encouraged actions where previously there had been only thoughts in this direction. In other instances, the findings affected only individual families. The likelihood is that trends toward more intensive Jewish education have been motivated to a much greater extent by the declining quality of the public schools and the rising concern over the future Jewish

32. Steven M. Cohen, "The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice," *Jewish Social Studies* XXXVI (July–October 1974), p. 316.

identification of younger generations. Whatever the causes, during the last ten years, for the first time, a substantial population of children from non-observant families has been receiving intensive Jewish education. The impact of the schools upon these youngsters in contrast to their more traditional counterparts needs to be studied further.

Future research on the impact of Jewish schools should also take note of changes that are occurring in the way school effects are being studied generally.

There has been a determined effort in recent years to look at the processes of schooling. Researchers have become convinced that it is not sufficient merely to look at the types of schools students have gone to (e.g., segregated or desegregated), but that it is also important to know something about the internal characteristics of the schools, their activities, the background of students, teachers and staff, and the interaction of these persons with each other. For example, just because black children and white children are placed in the same school does not necessarily indicate that they have an opportunity or incentive to interact together, or to interact under non-competitive and otherwise non-threatening circumstances. Similarly, not all children who attend day schools (or supplementary schools) are exposed to the same type of Jewish studies or have the same type of encounters with faculty, staff and other students. These are all aspects of schooling in addition to time which are manipulatable, and *might* affect long range outcomes. Chazan's comparison of yeshiva and day school students in Australia is a beginning attempt to understand the details of Jewish school processes in an impact study.

The most fruitful way to assess the impact of school processes is to follow students over time. By doing so we can gather details about students, the schools they attend and extra-school influences with much greater precision than is possible ten to twenty years after they have left school. Moreover, researchers are now finding that such longitudinal studies often show that school variables have a greater impact than they seemed to have from studies taken at only one point in time (cross sectional studies).³³

33. See Michael Rutter, *et. al. Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

There is no doubt that Jewish educational research is not nearly as advanced as educational research generally, but Jewish educational research can and must take advantage of advancements made elsewhere in the field. Jewish education cannot rely on the possibility of a slow and steady evolvement of knowledge from research on Jewish schools alone, in a manner similar to the development of knowledge in education generally. It also cannot afford to repeat the same mistakes.

Appendix to Scales

Measures of Religious Involvement (Dependent Variables)

Most of the variables listed below appear as Likert items on the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with statements in the following areas.

The scores on each item for a scale were standardized, weighted by their factor scores, and then summed.

The items and their corresponding weights appear below:

a) *Devotional* (see below)

b) *Doctrinal-Experiential*

- .16154 - Belief in a God who created the universe.
- .16904 - Belief in a God who guides the universe.
- .16980 - Belief that the Torah was given by God.
- .16854 - Belief in the Divinity of Rabbinical Law.
- .14186 - Belief that Jews are a Chosen People.
- .12366 - Has seen God perform miracles.
- .14996 - Trusts God to guard and protect from harm.
- .14197 - At times, has had a sense that God was near.

c) *Associational*

- .51469 - Proportion of meetings attended last year at the one Jewish organization in which respondent was most active.
- .51469 - Whether respondent was an officer in a Jewish organization last year.

d) *Fraternal*

- .57303 - Proportion of present neighborhood that is Jewish.
- .57303 - Proportion of neighbors who visit home that are Jewish.

e) *Parental*

- .15175 - Encourage children to learn about Judaism.
- .20116 - Encourage children to attend synagogue frequently.
- .20456 - Encourage children to participate in Jewish organizations.
- .18471 - Encourage children to associate primarily with Jewish friends.
- .20775 - Encourage children to date Jews only.
- .19969 - Encourage children to marry within the faith.
- .18553 - Encourage children to attend a Jewish school for at least 8 years.

f) *Ideological*

- .27379 - Give money to Israel.
- .28703 - Raise money for Israel.
- .26976 - Seek to influence U.S. foreign policy in favor of Israel.
- .23589 - Belong to Zionist organizations.
- .22068 - Give Israeli financial needs priority over local Jewish causes.

g) *Intellectual-Aesthetic*

- .28797 - Frequency of reading a short story or novel on a Jewish topic or about a Jewish person.
- .32563 - Proportion of paintings, decorations, and other objects in home which are Jewish in character.
- .33747 - Proportion of books in home which are Jewish in character.
- .32612 - Proportion of records in home which are Jewish in character.

h) *Ethical-Moral*

- .39351 - Agrees that a person should give some money to poor no matter what his own financial situation is.
- .49008 - Amount of money given to charity last year.
- .48569 - Percentage of last year's charity given to Jewish causes.

i) *Total Religiosity*

- .21349 - Parental.
- .20632 - Devotional.
- .19510 - Intellectual-Aesthetic.
- .17623 - Ethical-Moral.
- .17253 - Ideological.
- .17032 - Doctrinal-Experiential.
- .16099 - Associational.
- .11923 - Fraternal.

The following measures of ritual observance were Guttman scales. Respondents were asked whether certain observances are usually practiced in their homes now (Devotional), were usually practiced by their parents during the respondent's childhood (Parents' Ritual Observance) or were practiced by one's spouse before marriage to the respondent (Spouse's Ritual Observance). The scales were scored in the following manner: For practicing the least difficult ritual a score of one was given. For practicing the next more difficult ritual a score of one was added to the previous score and so on through the most difficult item.

Devotional

Least difficult — light Chanukah candles

- attend synagogue on High Holidays
- abstain from bread on Passover
- fast on Yom Kippur
- use two sets of dishes for milk and meat products

Most difficult — abstain from recreational activities on Sabbath

- .91 — coefficient of reproducibility
- .72 — coefficient of scalability

*Independent Variables**Parents' Ritual Observance*

Least difficult — Attended synagogue on High Holidays

- Fasted on Yom Kippur
- Used two sets of dishes for milk and meat products
- No meat eaten in non-Kosher restaurants

— Abstained from movies or other recreational activities on the Sabbath

Most difficult — No lights turned on and off on the Sabbath

.94 — coefficient of reproducibility

.78 — coefficient of scalability

Spouse's Ritual Observance (before marriage)

Least difficult — Raised as a Jew

— Fasted on Yom Kippur

— No meat eaten in non-Kosher restaurants

— Abstained from movies or other recreational activities on the Sabbath

Most difficult — No lights turned on and off on the Sabbath

.95 — coefficient of reproducibility

.78 — coefficient of scalability

Participation in Jewish Youth Organizations (Ages: 9–11, 12–14, 15–18, 19–22)

1 — Not a member of any such club or organization at the time

2 — Very inactive

3 — Mostly inactive

4 — Somewhat active

5 — Very active

Activeness of Closest Friends in Jewish Organizations when Respondent was (1) High School age and (2) College Age

1 — Not a member of a Jewish organization at that time

2 — Very inactive

3 — Somewhat inactive

4 — Somewhat active

5 — Very active

Jewish Camps

Total number of weeks attended

a) Jewish day camp

b) Jewish overnight camp

Total Jewish Camping (a+b)

Age

Present age in years

Sex

1—Male

2—Female

Generation American

1—Respondent is foreign born, but arrived in U.S. by 12 years of age

2—Respondent is born in America, but parents were foreign born

3—Respondent is American born and only one parent was foreign born

4—Respondent is American born and both parents are American born, but grandparents were foreign born

5—Respondent is American born, both parents are American born, but some grandparents were foreign born

6—Respondent, both parents and all grandparents were born in U.S.

Income

1. Under \$4,000

2. \$4,000 — \$5,999

3. \$6,000 — \$7,999

4. \$8,000 — \$9,999

5. \$10,000 — \$11,999

6. \$12,000 — \$13,999

7. \$14,000 — \$15,999

8. \$16,000 — \$17,999

9. \$18,000 — \$19,999

10. \$20,000 — \$24,999

11. \$25,000 — \$29,999

12. \$30,000 — \$34,999

Secular Education

0—Less than 8 grades

1—Finished elementary school

2—Some high school

3—Graduated high school

- 4—Some college
- 5—Graduated college
- 6—Some graduate work
- 7—Master's degree or equivalent
- 8—Professional degree (e.g., M.D., L.L.B., D.D.S., etc.)
- 9—Ph.D.

WHY PARENTS SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO NON-ORTHODOX JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

A Study of Motivations and Goals

Stuart Kelman

Approximately five years ago, I found myself in a rather strange position at the non-Orthodox Jewish day school that my children attend. Suddenly, my status and role shifted — and I was no longer a “professional” Jewish educator, but, of all things, a “parent.” It was awkward and discomforting to say the least. Particular memories and inconsistencies surfaced in my mind:

- our traditional equation of *moreh* and *av*, but with the gradual relinquishing of the task of educating to the professionals;
- memories of my days as the director of a Jewish camp where one politely “requested” that parents leave the camp grounds lest the sanctity of the environment be violated;
- or the vision and sterility of “parent night” at school.

These feelings, memories, images, and texts were not congruent — and this clash of internal and external reality led me to focus attention on parents in Jewish education. The choice of the setting, namely the non-Orthodox Jewish day school (which is not to be construed as a perjorative term but merely a descriptive one) is a relatively new phenomenon in North America. It has been the focus of but little research.¹ Further, it has yet to develop a clearly articulated identity. For example, the imprecise usage and lack of definition of the often quoted term “integration” to describe a prominent characteristic of these schools suggests the

1. Notable exceptions include: David E. Kapel. “Parental Views of a Jewish Day School,” *Jewish Education*, XLI, 3 (Spring, 1972), pp. 28–38. P. Massing. “The American Jewish Day School” (Los Angeles, December, 1974), unpublished manuscript. Arnold A. Lasker. “Parents as Partners: Report of a Research Project,” *Impact*, XXXV (Winter, 1976–77), pp. 1–2.

need for greater specificity. Not only the institutional setting (the non-Orthodox Jewish day school) but also the geographical setting was central in the conduct of this research. September 1977, marked the beginning of the school year in which the issue of busing in order to achieve equality of educational opportunity emerged in full bloom in Los Angeles. Busing, per se, had not yet been court-ordered, but there was, as can be imagined, a tremendous amount of non-documented speculation² and increased enrollment in the local day schools. Jews, in particular, became at least a covert factor in the macro issue of "white flight" from the public schools. Finally, parents themselves seemed to be *the* neglected element in Jewish education; this, in spite of research which suggests that values are transmitted best under conditions which provide reinforcement, and that academic achievement is certainly linked to home environment.³ "Why do parents send their children to these schools?" was the central question in this study of motives and goals.

A questionnaire was created to describe systematically the characteristics of this population of parents who enrolled at least one child in one of the seven non-Orthodox Jewish day schools in greater Los Angeles in September, 1977. Because this was essentially a descriptive study, there was a heavier reliance upon percentages than other measures of analysis. Only parents who had a child in grades one through twelve were surveyed, since parents with a child in nursery or kindergarten had not yet evidenced a sustained commitment toward Jewish education. Of the 577 families who received the anonymous questionnaire, 308 responded. The modest return rate of fifty-five per cent seemed to reflect, among other things, the parents' more subtle reaction to

2. R. Chandler. "Church Schools are Reluctant to Offer Refuge from Integration," *Los Angeles Times* (May 1, 1977).

3. H. Well. "Finances and the Jewish Day School. An Analysis of the Relationship of Teacher, Instructional, and Per-Pupil Costs to Scholastic Achievement," Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1975.

Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi. *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966).

Harold S. Himmelfarb. *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education Upon Adult Religious Involvement*, Ph.D dissertation, (University of Chicago, 1974).

the Buckley Amendment to the Family and Privacy Act of 1974. Non-respondents were evenly distributed in all the schools.

Who were the parents? For the most part, they were born in the eastern and midwestern states, but grew up in other places and were transplanted to Los Angeles. Most consider themselves to be part of the middle and upper income strata. At least two-thirds of the fathers were professionals while only twenty-one per cent of the mothers put themselves into that category. Over fifty per cent of the mothers said they were housewives. Fifty per cent of the families had two children; thirty-five per cent had three or more. Only fourteen per cent claimed to be single parents. In terms of secular education, eighty-nine per cent of the fathers and seventy-eight per cent of the mothers had at least a bachelors degree. In terms of Jewish education most fathers had completed Talmud Torah or confirmation while the mothers had finished confirmation or Sunday school. Surprisingly, sixty-eight per cent were synagogue members, with roughly two-thirds identifying as Conservative and one-third as Reform.

In sum, there seemed to be remarkable homogeneity within the categories. Parents had been transplanted, and they certainly were rejecting their own minimal mode of Jewish study in favor of the participation of their child in a maximal form of Jewish education.

Why do the parents send their children to these non-Orthodox Jewish day schools?

Motives were defined as "those causes that lead individuals to select some goals rather than others as premises for their decisions."⁴ This allows for goals to change or be achieved but original motives to remain constant. A continuum of possible responses was generated from actual responses of a sample group of parents and administrators and from previous research.⁵ On this continuum were displayed reasons which, on the one end,

4. Herbert A. Simon, "On the Concept of Organizational Goal," *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*, edited by Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 159.

5. Louise Adams, Judith Frankel and Nancy Newbauer, "Parental Attitudes Toward the Jewish All-Day School," *Jewish Education*, XLII, 1 (Winter, 1972), pp. 26-30; Kapel, "Parental Views of a Jewish Day School"; Massing, "The

reflected a total commitment to "Jewish" values and Jewish education. For example, parents said they sent their child because they wanted him to "obtain Jewish knowledge which leads to Jewish practice," or because "only here will he get a quality Jewish education." Toward the other end of the continuum lay the concerns for the specifically "secular" aspects of education; for example, "small classes, good elementary department, individualized instruction, better teachers, etc." At the far end of the continuum lay reasons that professed "escape from the public school and/or busing." These parents claimed that they were sending their child "to avoid contact with blacks and Chicanos" or had a "desire for isolation and insulation." Responses which suggested an "integration of the Judaic and the Secular," i.e., a parental link or a balance between the two, were located in the center of this continuum. "We want our child to attend so that he can gain an integrated *gestalt* of the Jewish and American experience" or "so that he can live as a Jew in an American society" were typical.

The issue of honesty of parent response was controlled by constructing three tests of parent motivation. The first (and placed first on the questionnaire to avoid bias) was simply the open-ended question: When you first considered sending your child to this non-Orthodox Jewish day school, what fact was most important in your mind? The second was a forced-choice test where parents marked one of five stated reasons each mirroring a point on the Judaic-Secular continuum. In both of these tests, the majority of parents selected "secular" reasons as being their primary motive for sending their child to this school. Only between nine and eleven per cent of parents were doing so in order to "escape the public school and/or because of busing." In the "Jewish" and "integration" categories, responses were reversed depending upon which test was employed. On the open-ended test, thirty-two per cent of the parents chose "Jewish" reasons, and twenty per cent chose "integration" ones; while on the forced-choice test twenty-four per cent of the parents chose "Jewish" reasons and thirty-one per cent chose "integration" ones.

American Jewish Day School"; Louis Nulman, *The Parent of the Jewish Day School* (Scranton: Parent Study Press, 1956).

From these two tests it seems reasonable to conclude that the primary motive for sending a child to these non-Orthodox Jewish day schools is because of the "secular" reasons. This finding is similar to that of Greeley and Rossi⁶ in their research of parents who sent children to Catholic schools, and to Kapel⁷ in Jewish schools. It is, however, at variance with some studies of parents of children in Orthodox schools where the dominant motive seems to have been the desire to perpetuate Jewish practice and values.⁸

In the third test for parent motivation, parents were asked to mark on a five-point scale how important/unimportant each of ten reasons was for enrolling a child. The unique feature of this third measure lay in its demand for response in terms of intensity of importance. The test consisted of five pairs of statements, each pair corresponding to five points on the Judaic/secular continuum. It was in this test that the strength of the specifically Jewish component in the total education was apparent, suggesting that the Jewish features of the school were a major contributing factor in the choice to send a child to this type of school. For example, fifty-one percent of the respondents claimed that it was very important for their children to learn to observe the practices of Judaism in their fullest expression.

When family background factors were cross-tabulated with parent motives, some interesting facts emerged. Parents who had completed graduate programs, for example, selected "Jewish" and "secular" equally as their prime motives, while those who had finished an undergraduate program only more often chose "secular" reasons; those who had completed intensive Jewish education programs chose "Jewish" to a greater degree than did parents who had less intensive backgrounds in formal Jewish education; and parents' religious affiliation was inversely related to motivations on the Judaic/secular continuum. That is, more parents who claimed that they sent their children for "secular"

6. Greeley and Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans*, 1966.

7. Kapel, "Parental Views of a Jewish Day School," 1972.

8. Nulman, *The Parent of the Jewish Day School*, 1956. D. Goloevsky, *Ingroup and Outgroup Attitudes of Young People in a Jewish Day School Compared With an Equivalent Sample of Pupils in Public Schools*, Ph.D. dissertation (New York University, 1954).

reasons claimed membership in Reform congregations. Neither income nor synagogue membership made a difference in parent choices of motives, although, interestingly, parents seemed to look to the school as an avenue for social mobility, especially in those schools with a more wealthy parent base. This may be one rare instance where parents viewed attendance at a Jewish school as a way to move up the social ladder.

When looking at parent motivations as stated by parents in the individual schools, we found that those schools affiliated with the Reform movement have a concentration of parents who chose "secular" and "escape from the public school and/or busing" motives, while those schools affiliated with the Conservative movement have more parents who sent their children primarily for "Jewish" reasons. Parents of children in the community school had motives which lay in between.

Were parents hiding under the guise of "quality of secular education" in order to avoid busing? Apparently, this was not the case. Parental responses among the tests were basically congruent and consistent. Furthermore, most of the parents surveyed had made the commitment to send their child to a non-Orthodox Jewish day school long before the issue of busing became heated. It seems fair to conclude that equality of educational opportunity remains a value to which parents still subscribe, but the value of social justice simply seems to have been superseded by that of individual rights. To quote one parent: "I think that racial integration in the public school is of great importance and I would be happy to have my child in a good school that was racially integrated if it were available in *our* neighborhood and if the school would meet *my* standards for a good education."

Was there congruence between the stated goals of these schools and those verbalized by parents?

Simon defines goals as value premises that serve as inputs to decisions.⁹ In setting of goals, a basic ambiguity exists. On the one hand, goals may be shaped by the particular problems or tasks which the school wishes to emphasize. The school itself sets policies in order to achieve those goals and persons are hired on the basis that they are competent to carry out the necessary tasks.

9. Simon, "On the Concept of Organizational Goal," 1969, p. 159.

On the other hand, goals set by the school provide orientation, set guidelines, and are the source of legitimacy and existence, standards, and measuring rods. Particular structures, then, create particular conditions, problems, and dilemmas.¹⁰

In our case, when asked whether their school had an identifiable goal eighty per cent (n=277) of parents unhesitatingly stated that it did. But when then asked to specify what the goal might be, the responses were less than clear. One-third of the respondents articulated a school goal in terms of quality, while another third saw the goal of the school to provide an integrated education. Only eighteen per cent (n=207) of the parents responding chose to identify the goal of the school in specifically Jewish terms.

By contrast, most principals spoke of "integration of the Judaic and the secular" as the primary goal of the school. Each of the public goals statements issued by the schools and echoed by the principals was mirrored by how the parents at each school chose to identify these goals. For example, parents of children at one school, which prided itself on having a teaching team consisting of a Judaic and a secular teacher, reported that the "Integration of the Judaic and the secular" was the goal of the school.

Thus, most parents perceive that a goal exists, one with a vague claim for quality in education and a concomitant lack of specificity as to the content of that quality. With one exception, the principals did not mention quality of education as a primary goal, probably because they saw this as necessary but not sufficient to their program. In choosing to go beyond quality, the danger of goal discrepancy became more acute. One principal remarked: "Parents agree by sending and do not agree by not sending." While parents could not identify the goals with precision, they subscribed to some vague notion of an institutional goal and demonstrated their acceptance of it by enrolling a child. The minority of parents who viewed the non-Orthodox Jewish day school as an "escape from the public school and/or busing" was the only group whose motives and goals were in total disagreement with those of the school, and who might in fact be sending their children for reasons which are in conflict with the goals of the school as expressed by the principals.

10. Richard H. Hall, ed. *The Formal Organization* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), p. 8; Etzioni. *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organization*, 1969.

Setting aside the theoretical categorizations of individual, intraorganizational and interorganizational conflict of goals,¹¹ these schools are seen to exist as community institutions reflecting both the collective and the specific ideologies of the parents and the school. Parents, by and large, send their children to schools which reflect these particular beliefs. Indeed, the schools may have been created as reflections of community ideology. Where conflict exists, it may result in modification, abandonment, or strengthening of goals.¹² Yet the concern that the school might be "taken over" by those opposed to busing ought not to preclude involvement by parents in the decision-making and learning processes. Indeed, the prevention of conflict through the education and socialization of parents ought to be a necessary first step to ensure organizational equilibrium.

What do parents believe their primary role in these schools to be?

Schwartz defines roles as "a collection of prescribed, proscribed, and permitted behaviors associated with a social position or status."¹³ More than half of the parents said they had power to influence educational, financial, and overall decisions. This rather large and consistent response seemed to indicate a sense of individual efficacy to control the educational fate of their children. Yet seventy-one per cent (n=250) of the parents were remarkably vague when describing the roles they thought they should perform in the school. Most, for example, used non-specific words such as "support," "assist," or "involved."

The literature, on the other hand, reveals that parents, as clients in the school organizational system, can be viewed in three broad classes: 1) as "passive instruments" capable of performing work and accepting directions, but not initiating action or exerting influence in any significant way; 2) as members who bring to their organization attitudes, values, or goals; and 3) as members

11. See, for example, James G. March and H. A. Simon, *Organizations*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964).

12. David Sills, *The Volunteers* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957).

13. Audrey J. Schwartz, *The Schools and Socialization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975).

who are decision-makers and problem-solvers.¹⁴ All that the principals wanted from the parents was "support." Even the principal who said that the school was "parent-run" wanted the parents to "bring in the ideas and we'll listen. The parents have only an advisory role," he continued. "We discuss together but it's like the doctor — you go to him because he knows the answer."

Confusion abounds. Even if parents were granted greater power, no one is sure what they might do or whether principals would let them do it.

In sum, the motives and goals of the parents of children in these non-Orthodox Jewish day schools did not differ markedly from the stated goals of the schools. While the "secular" motives prevailed, the specifically Jewish component in the total education of the children was also important.

Underlying this study of motives and goals was the fundamental assumption of a value consensus theory of social order. The findings of this survey of parent motivations suggest that the school should no longer view the parent group as having motives in conflict with the goals of the school. The self-imposed isolation of the parents, along with their exclusion by the administrators from curricular involvement, ought to be rejected in favor of a school in which parents are perceived as a primary educative force that performs roles and tasks which flow from this commitment.

For the parent, assuming the responsibility for the task of education increases the likelihood of greater academic achievement and mutual reinforcement of shared values, since family differences can account for educational success of a child in school.¹⁵ For the school, sharing the task of education with parents assumes that educational effectiveness will be attained and can be measured in settings other than the classroom. Informal educational locations, the home, and the community become tests of application of classroom effectiveness.

14. March and Simon, *Organization*, 1964, pp. 6-7.

15. Harold S. Himmelfarb. "Jewish Education for Naught: Educating the Culturally Deprived Jewish Child," *Analysis*, Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research for the Synagogue Council of America, II (September, 1975).

Since 1977, much has happened. In May, 1980, Judge Paul Egly ruled that busing — albeit altered and more limited than in 1977 — be one of the solutions to the problem of equality of educational opportunity in Los Angeles as of September, 1980. Furthermore, enrollment in the non-Orthodox Jewish day schools has doubled (although the total number of schools has increased by only one).

Getting parents to share in the educational process where the central focus is the family and the parent unit, rather than the child, may provide that uniqueness for the philosophical underpinnings of the non-Orthodox Jewish day school.¹⁶ Parents are no longer to be considered the “natural enemy” of the educator,¹⁷ and we are to return to a *masoret* which causes *horeh* and *moreh* to function as one. Diffusion of power, control, and responsibility demand changes and perhaps a blurring of roles even to the extent of the usual functional division of labor.¹⁸ Los Angeles, in particular, which is not entwined with historical precedents, may be a locale with a potential for a small step in the direction of renewed formulations of Jewish education.

16. Irving Fried, “Family Education — A Critical Issue in the Hebrew Day School,” *The Jewish Parent*, XXVI, 4 (June, 1974), pp. 8–10, 34.

17. Dwight Roper, “Parents as the Natural Enemy of the School System,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, LIX, 4 (December 1977), pp. 239–242.

18. Kapel, “Parental Views of a Jewish Day School”, 1972. Jerry Devenham and Michael Parsons, “The Future of Schools and Families: Three Scenarios and a Recommendation,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, LIX, 7 (March 1978), pp. 443–446.

A CORRELATION STUDY OF JEWISH EDUCATION AND *HASHKAFAH* AMONG COLLEGE-AGE JEWISH STUDENTS

Yitzchak Meir Goodman

This essay will serve as a synopsis of my doctoral research,¹ as reported at the Conference on Research in Jewish Education at the Hebrew University in June, 1980, with some additional detail and elaboration. The research was conducted among over 500 college-age students, the majority of whom had received Hebrew Day School education in Orthodox institutions. The primary goal of the study was to establish the possible correlation of students' Jewish education with their religious attitudes, although some other selected socio-economic and family background factors were also considered.

The Day School movement developed quite rapidly in the United States in the post-World War II period, at first in the Orthodox communities, and eventually in the Conservative and Reform movements as well. Records indicate this growth to have been from about 69 schools in 1945 to 344 in 1971,² and currently well over 500. Obviously, the lay leaders and philanthropists who build them and the educators who staff them, consider these schools valuable and effective in transmitting Judaism to Jewish boys and girls. However, there were no studies to demonstrate their effectiveness, and some writers even presume that such

1. Isaac M. Goodman. *Jewish Education and Religious Attitudes: A Correlation Study of College-Age Jewish Students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1978).

2. Hillel Hochberg, "Trends and Developments in Jewish Education," *American Jewish Yearbook*, LXXIII, 1972, p. 202.

schools have no real value at all in making students more religious.³ The historian of the American Day School Movement, Alvin Schiff, claims that indications are that long-range effects are salutary, but admits that "this is only an assumption, since little research has been done in this area."⁴ Thus, research literature supported the need for such a study.

Previous Research

Almost all research on Day School students focuses on psychological aspects of their adjustment, anxiety, and personality. Two exceptions are the studies conducted by Pinsky⁵ and Pollak.⁶ The former did his research on the graduates of the Jacob Joseph School in New York City, by means of a mailed questionnaire. Only 340 responded of the 760 who were contacted. Pinsky's finding that the graduates of this Yeshiva retain, by a large majority, the Orthodox practices that the school teaches, e.g. the observance of Shabbat, kashrut, etc., must be significantly qualified. This is due, of course, to the fact that a majority of those contacted (420 graduates) did not bother to respond to the questionnaire, and it may be logically presumed that less-observant alumni were more likely to ignore the request for information. Further limitations of his study are that 1) his questionnaire did not attempt to probe fundamental religious attitudes comprehensively, and 2) his data reflected, at best, results for the graduates of one school only.

Pollak also mailed questionnaires to Day Schools graduates, to investigate their religious practices, and their interest and participation

3. Stanley Elam. "What do Parochial Schools Accomplish?" *Phi Delta Kapan*, XLV, 3 (Dec.; 1963), pp. 121-22.

4. Alvin I. Schiff. "An Appreciation of the Jewish Day School in America," *Jewish Education*, XXXVII, 1-2 (Winter, 1967), p. 74.

5. Irving Pinsky. *The Graduates of Rabbi Jacob Joseph School — A Follow-up Study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1961).

6. George Pollak. *Graduates of the Jewish Day Schools: A Follow-up Study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Western Reserve University, 1961).

in Jewish studies and affairs. He received 166 responses for analysis, which represented a thirty-five percent response. Of these, only 70 had attended a Yeshiva High School. Like Pinsky, he did not attempt a serious measurement of fundamental Orthodox attitudes, nor did he separate the elementary school graduates for contrastive analysis with the Yeshiva High School graduates.

One study which took Orthodox religious attitudes into account was done by Menachem Brayer,⁷ whose primary goal was the study of the achievement of Hebrew High School students. His attitude inquiry was a brief aside to the basic dissertation, the instrument used was not comprehensive, nor was it tested for reliability and validity.

It was thus quite clear that a thorough investigation of religious attitudes of Yeshiva Day School and High School graduates had not yet taken place.

There were, however, studies which undertook to measure "religious attitudes" as understood by their authors. Indeed, how does one define the term "religious attitude"? Gordon Allport defines the term "attitude" as follows: "...a mental and neural state of readiness ...exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's responses to all objects and situations with which he is related."⁸

The interest in this study was in the readiness of young Jews to translate their study of Judaism into their daily lives, as a directive influence. This is best brought out by the Hebrew term *hashkafah*, which is similar to the idea of a religious *weltanschauung*. To a religious Jew, *hashkafah* is reflected not only in general attitude and verbal opinions and expressions, but in daily life as it is lived, and by how ethical and moral dilemmas are faced and solved. Only when students have not only acquired various religious practices and acts, but have internalized them and their full meaning and significance as essential and non-negotiable parts of their daily lives, can they be said to have developed a

7. Menachem Brayer. *The Measurement of Achievement in Hebrew Language in the Hebrew High School of New York with Reference to Attitudes Towards Judaism*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1958).

8. Gordon W. Allport. "Historical Background of Modern Social Psychology," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, edited by Gardner Lindzey, (Reading, 1969), p. 63.

strong *hashkafah*. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the major group upon which this study was focused was the Day School graduate primarily of Orthodox institutions, religious attitude had to be understood from the Orthodox point of view to have any meaning in studying such students. The review of the literature on religious attitudes among Jews had to consider whether any reliable and valid questionnaire existed that could accomplish the task, as outlined by the considerations enumerated above.

It was found upon investigation that no such instrument was available. All existing attitude studies measured, in effect, various levels of Jewish identification: i.e., likes and dislikes, acceptance or rejection of the synagogue, Hebrew School, the idea of God, etc. Nobody had undertaken the measurement of Orthodox *hashkafah* in its broad sense. For this reason, amazing results were reported by some researchers who studied American Jewish youngsters. Thus, Birnbaum found no significant difference in "religious attitudes" between graduates of Orthodox Day Schools and of Reform Sunday Schools, among the college students he tested!⁹ Such an astonishing result is actually comprehensible when we note that his measuring instrument was the Geismar Scale of Jewish Identification,¹⁰ and Franzblau's questionnaire.¹¹ The latter was concerned exclusively with sophisticated theological concepts of God, a fault pointed out by other researchers.¹² Geismar's scale, as indicated by the title, only measures identification, a far less substantial concept than "religious attitude." His item on kashrut, e.g. is worded thus: "The dietary laws should be respected by all Jews." Even the ham-eating Jew can

9. H. Birnbaum. *A Study of Religious Attitudes, Beliefs and Observances of Jewish Pupils with Varying Religious Educational Experiences*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Maryland, 1963).

10. Ludwig Geismar. "A Scale for the Measurement of Ethnic Identification," *Jewish Social Studies*, XVI, 1 (Jan., 1954), pp. 33-60.

11. Abraham N. Franzblau. *Religious Belief and Character among Jewish Adolescents*. Doctoral dissertation, (New York: Columbia University, 1934).

12. Aaron Soviv. "Self-Acceptance of Jewishness by Young Jewish People," *Jewish Education*, XXVI, 1 (Summer, 1955), pp. 22-31.

"respect" kashrut (e.g. for his grandparents), but this is not a true test of real *hashkafah*, as understood by an Orthodox Jew. How different might Birnbaum's findings have been had the students been asked whether they "consistently observed" the Jewish religious dietary laws!

Many other studies of this general type exist, but are obviously almost meaningless for the purpose of studying Day School graduates. The teachers and administrators of Yeshivot expect far more from their students than "respect" for kashrut (or, to cite another typical example from a similar study, "confidence that American Jewry will manage to survive"). Acceptance of such statements by a Day School graduate will tell very little about the extent to which he has accepted and internalized the instruction of his teachers.

Therefore, the creation of an instrument for the comprehensive measurement of Orthodox *hashkafah* had to be undertaken. With such an instrument, Day School graduates on different levels could be studied and compared with others who had no Day School experiences, in order to correlate *hashkafah* with Jewish education.

Furthermore, other decisions were reached in consultation with the dissertation committee regarding procedure for the research. For example, it was decided to direct the study to college-age students so that it would serve in some measure as a follow-up study for those who had ended their Jewish education prior to or simultaneously with entry to college. Other variables to be included in the study would be: the education and Orthodox religious observance level of the parents; their birthplace; family's socio-economic level; and the sex and age of the respondents. The hypotheses were that Jewish education is related to *hashkafah*; religious observance is related to *hashkafah*; other background factors are related to *hashkafah*.

The Research Instrument

The *hashkafah* questionnaire was formulated under the guidance of ten distinguished experts, chosen on the basis of these criteria: a) a Rabbinic degree from an American Orthodox seminary; b) a graduate degree in any other field of study (M.A. or Ph.D.); c)

personally Orthodox in private life. The judges were (alphabetically) Meyer Feldblum, Irving Greenberg, Mayer Herzkovics, Norman Lamm, Aharon Lichtenstein, Israel Miller, Emanuel Rackman, Leonard Rosenfeld, Isaac Suna, and Moses Tendler. Eight of these Rabbis had Ph.D. degrees at the time.

After revisions and consultations spanning several years, a sixty-item questionnaire resulted containing 23 Orthodox statements, 17 Liberal-Jewish statements (i.e. acceptable to Conservative and/or Reform Jews), 12 Christian statements (i.e. showing Christian influence in thinking, but not directly and overtly Christian), and 8 atheistic statements. Response to the items was by the use of a q-sort sheet (see Appendix) in which the numbers of the statements had to be recorded in bell-shaped columns from strongest agreement to strongest disagreement. The final scoring sheet thus represented a miniature picture of a respondent's *weltanschauung* — in terms of religious thinking — and was thus far more meaningful than the standard manner of responding to items by noting strongly agree, agree, etc., for each one. In addition to the use of these judges, other techniques for validation were employed, e.g. questioning non-Orthodox students in their Rabbinic seminaries, and consulting Christian professors at Protestant and Catholic seminaries regarding the "Christian" statements.

A reliability test of the q-sort was conducted with 15 respondents using the test-retest method in a two-week interval. This yielded a reliability coefficient of .855, which is most satisfactory in statistical research. Additionally, a religious observance index was devised in consultation with five Orthodox Rabbis of synagogues. Finally, a detailed biographical questionnaire was developed to gain full information on the background of the respondents and their parents.

Administration and Procedure

The complete questionnaire was administered to 564 respondents, mostly in 1968. Since their participation was solicited either at a Jewish summer camp, a Jewish campus club, or at a Jewish school, all respondents can be said to have identified Jewishly in some positive way. A random sampling method was used, but modified to assure that a majority of the respondents would be of Day School background, yet of diverse types (modern to

"extreme" Orthodox). Due to respondent errors, 49 questionnaires had to be discarded, leaving 515 suitable for computer analysis.

Examination of the statistical data shows the following relevant facts about the participants: 1) the male-female ratio was 58% to 42%; 2) over 80% of the respondents were American-born; 3) about 2/3 were Day School graduates, a majority of whom had completed a Yeshiva High School education; 4) 80% of them were attending college, and most of the remainder were in Orthodox seminaries, devoting themselves completely to Jewish or Rabbinic studies; 5) their families were fairly evenly divided among the five levels of socio-economic status as classified by Hollingshead,¹³ except for a small six percent on the lowest level; 6) both in Jewish education and in Orthodox religious observance, the average student level was higher than the average level of the parents among these 515 respondents.

The respondents were divided into eight groups according to the intensity of their Jewish education, with ratings based on consultations with three experts in Jewish education. Religious observance was scored from a low of zero to a high of nine in one-step intervals. For the determination of statistical significance, both the analysis of variance and the correlation matrix were used. The former, which produces what is called an F-score, is a statistical method of measuring whether groups divided by any criterion chosen by the researcher differ one from the other in a way that is statistically significant. In the correlation matrix, which gives an r-score, the researcher prepares the different groups' data in pre-arranged order which attempts to predict the results based on the hypothesis which the study is investigating. For example, if 10,000 people were divided into 10 groups of 1000 each based on their greater or lesser use of tobacco for a correlation study of smoking and lung cancer, and a researcher were to feed the information into a computer using no system of pre-arranging his groups, he could only get an F-score. If he calls the low-smoking group number "1", and proceeds in precise order, with the highest smoking group as number "10", he can get an r-score, which he then checks to see if it is statistically significant.

13. August Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich. *Social Class and Mental Illness*, (New York, 1958), pp. 398-407.

Since some researchers prefer the F-score, and others feel that for a correlation study an r-score is best, both scores were computed. Also, the five percent level of significance was adopted for this study, i.e. if the differences found among the groups might have resulted by pure chance less than 1 in 20 times, the groups are considered significantly different, and chance is presumed not to have been operating. This five percent level is the one most often adopted in statistical research.

In the *hashkafah* 60-item q-sort, the maximum Orthodox score was 76, while the lowest possible one was 154. There was clear evidence from several indicators that scores in the 80's reflected fairly strong Orthodox attitudes, although there was a wide difference between an 81 and an 89 score. There was also evidence that scores in the 90's reflected some Orthodox tendency or residue of influence, while scores of 100 and above showed total divergence from Orthodox thinking.

Findings

As indicated in Table 1, the major goal of this study, to find the relationship between Jewish education and *hashkafah*, was achieved. The F-score and the r-score are significant at the one percent level, and indicate a moderately strong relationship, supporting the primary hypothesis. Further analysis was undertaken by making multiple comparisons (t-scores) between different levels of Jewish education as related to *hashkafah*. Table 2 shows significant differences between several groups, e.g. students with minimum levels of Jewish education compared with graduates of afternoon Hebrew Schools; graduates of Elementary Day Schools compared with those who attended afternoon schools even on their highest levels, etc. This table thus offers further support to the hypothesis that increased Jewish education (typically in Day Schools) correlates with a stronger *hashkafah*.

The hypothesis that Orthodox religious practice and observance are related to religious attitudes was also borne out by the data as presented in Tables 6M and 6F, wherein males and females were scored separately. In both cases, the F-scores and r-scores were quite high, showing a strong relationship to *hashkafah*. This was logically expected, presuming the validity of the

q-sort as a measure of one's religiosity in both theory and practice. The only other worthwhile relationships to *hashkafah* found in the study were the religious observance levels of the mother and father. The final four variables in the following table, while registering statistical significance, are too small to be considered truly significant in any practical way:

	F-score	r-score
Personal religious observance — females	119.917	.8400
Personal religious observance — males	75.779	.7333
Jewish educational level attained	54.859	.6335
Mother's religious observance level	33.030	.5195
Father's religious observance level	32.070	.5143
Father's Jewish educational level	7.330	.2764
Different types of post-high school education of Yeshiva High School graduates	3.700	.1620
Parents' birthplace	9.598	.1861
Mother's Jewish educational level	3.951	.1162

Among some of the important limitations of the study are:

- 1) It was conducted primarily among New Yorkers whose Jewish educational level may be higher than that of students elsewhere in the United States;
- 2) The students supplied all data about their parents, with no way to confirm the accuracy of their ratings and evaluations;
- 3) It had to be presumed that respondents were honest about themselves, with no opportunity for outside confirmation, based on anonymity;
- 4) Of necessity, the q-sort left out basic areas of life relevant to a total religious attitude, e.g. items about general ethics and morality. These were deleted since they are acceptable to all Jews equally, whether Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. Hence, acceptance of them could not be scored appropriately;
- 5) Finally, this study provides no information regarding students who choose not to be identified in any Jewish setting at all. It was presumed that no worthwhile information could be obtained by comparing Day School graduates with college students who have

no desire to identify Jewishly in some religious, social, or Zionist context.

Discussions and Conclusions

A) Having measured a moderately strong relationship between an increased Jewish education and stronger *hashkafah*, the question remains whether this is a cause-and-effect relationship. In this area, only opinions, rather than scientific statements, are possible. The probability is that a purely scientific cause-and-effect study of relationship between Jewish education and Orthodox *hashkafah* will never be carried out. Such a goal had been envisioned by the American Association for Jewish Education and was later abandoned as impractical.

Statistical studies will probably remain the only means of studying this question. It would appear reasonable to argue that the measured relationship found here — particularly in view of the greater religiosity of students than their parents (implying that parental influence is not the key factor) — is to some significant degree one of cause-and-effect, even if not proven or measurable by laboratory methods. Nobody has ever seriously claimed that schools which teach a particular skill, e.g. medicine or law, do not contribute significantly to students' mastery of these subjects. Yet, because a committed Orthodox way of life and thinking reflects an act of personal commitment and choice rather than mastery of information, it has been claimed that these decisions cannot be imparted through the educational process. Nevertheless, the Yeshiva curriculum, whether elementary level or above, includes material and guidance to direct students not only to discover and acquire information, but also to put into practice the tenets and teaching of the Jewish religion. Is it not reasonable, considering the statistical evidence now uncovered of a significant relationship, to at least place the burden of proof upon those who deny *any* cause-and-effect? Is it not realistic to propose that the Orthodox Jewish world — which built and sustained at great sacrifice Jewish centers of learning wherever Jews congregated for the past two thousand years in the firm belief that it was through these spiritual centers that their people would survive the Diaspora — was actually correct in its appraisal?

Correct or not, from a scientific point of view, the fact remains that all these conjectures remain, as stated earlier, private opinions only. In scientific terms, this study provides only a correlation of Orthodox Jewish study and *hashkafah*, and those who examine it must be left to draw their own conclusions and act upon them as they see fit.

B) The students at the James Striar School of Yeshiva University, as shown in Table 1, scored a mean *hashkafah* level of 82.480, comparable to Yeshiva High School graduates who remain afterwards in Rabbinical Seminary. Yet, most of these students had minimal levels of Jewish educational experience before their admission to this program. The high scores they attained would seem to indicate that great personal commitment and motivation can assist students to develop high *hashkafah* levels after relatively short exposure to formal Jewish education. This seems to indicate the potentially great value in developing and sponsoring more Jewish schools with preparatory departments designed especially for late-comers who leave the public schools after several years of education with a newly discovered interest in Judaism.

C) With the exception of the seventeen seminarians not attending secular college classes (whose mean *hashkafah* score was 79.882), the highest mean scores attained by the most Orthodox groups (both in education and practice) were in the low 80's. In view of the scoring technique used in this study, these scores did not result by respondents indicating "agree" rather than "strongly agree," but by their choosing non-traditional or Christian statements as PREFERABLE to Orthodox ones. A random sampling of their scoring sheets showed a preponderance of Christian statements as being found preferable to certain Orthodox ones. In view of the advanced educational standing of these respondents, combined with high scores in personal Orthodox observance, this result appears to indicate weakness in understanding some of the fundamental Jewish opinions, particularly as pertains to distinguishing Judaism from certain Christian opinions. This finding supports the cry of Duker¹⁴ and other educators for

14. Abraham G. Duker. "A Survivalist View." in *Acculturation and Integration*, Judd Teller, editor (New York, 1965), pp. 158-61.

curricular materials in Jewish schools prepared specifically to counter Christian dogma and influence.

D) By using the sixty-item *hashkafah* q-sort, many worthwhile projects might be undertaken in Jewish research, e.g. a) comparisons of different Yeshiva High Schools; b) studying participants in social-educational programs such as NCSY, etc., to determine the measure of success of these programs; c) studying camps which sponsor Judaism programs, with tests administered before and after; d) comparing students of different Orthodox seminaries in their *hashkafah*; etc.

E) The most significant contribution of this study has been the discovery and measurement of a moderately strong relationship between increased Orthodox Jewish education and stronger Orthodox religious attitude (by the use of a newly created instrument for the purpose, which was tested scientifically and rated as valid and reliable). This finding strengthens the argument of those who sponsor, encourage and fund the growth and development of Jewish Day Schools as the best means of insuring the continued survival of the Jewish people in the United States, in a traditional and meaningful Jewish way of life.

Appendix

The Q-sort

(Recorded here as they were presented to respondents, the order done by random selection. The code letters at the end of each statement are for Orthodox, Liberal, Secular, or Christian — O, L, S, C.)

1. The greatest hope for the future of American Jewry lies in the growth of Reform Jewry. (L)
2. The only value of religion is that it offers some sort of comfort to the poor, common masses. (S)
3. The belief in reward or punishment after death is unacceptable. (S)
4. Hebrew should not be the preferred language for prayer for American Jews. (L)

5. Prayer at home is preferable to prayer in a synagogue where men and women sit together. (O)
6. In contrast to Judaism and some other faiths, Christianity may be defined as a "universal" religion. (C)
7. In the Torah ("Old Testament"), God is depicted primarily as a God of stern and strict justice. (C)
8. By his very nature, man is born in a state of sin. (C)
9. A proper synagogue is one in which the sexes are separated by a partition. (O)
10. A person should strive to "turn the other cheek" in dealing with his opponents. (C)
11. The principal purpose of the Messiah is to forgive all our sins. (C)
12. Head-covering for males should not be required at synagogue services. (L)
13. A positive step forward in modernizing Judaism are changes in synagogue arrangements, such as having the cantor face the congregation. (L)
14. The idea that man has a soul which lives on after his death should be rejected. (S)
15. Every Jew should study the Torah daily, on some level, as a basic obligation. (O)
16. It is possible that at some early period, a Jewish folk-custom existed of using blood in Passover matzoh or wine. (C)
17. No person can be righteous enough to earn salvation by the good deeds he does. (C)
18. Religious faith is only the expression of deep psychological needs. (S)
19. God revealed Himself at Sinai to the Jews, to give them an eternal Torah, which included both written and oral teaching.
20. The Biblical story of Noah and his ark is an account of an actual occurrence. (O)
21. All religions arose from ancient superstitions. (S)
22. Jews should observe the Sabbath according to the rulings of our codes of Jewish law. (O)
23. The Rabbinate should elect a Rabbi as the supreme religious authority, whose decisions would be binding on all Jews everywhere. (C)
24. To this very day the Jews are, as the Torah states, God's "chosen People." (O)

25. Striking a match on the Sabbath is a serious violation of Jewish law. (O)
26. It is about time that the traditional Jewish prayers were drastically reduced. (L)
27. Attendance at religious services of another faith in its house of worship, even as an observer, is improper. (O)
28. While Jesus cannot be recognized by the Jews as the Messiah, he should be considered one of the great teachers of Israel. (L)
29. A non-believing Jew can live as good and ethical a life as a religious Jew. (S)
30. "Love thine enemy" marks an ethical advance over the earlier principle of "love thy neighbor." (C)
31. If a student must profane the Sabbath to keep up with his education, he should give up his studies. (O)
32. The three daily prayers are an essential practice of Judaism for males. (O)
33. When a Rabbi cannot prevent a mixed marriage, it is better that he, rather than a Christian minister, perform the wedding ceremony. (L)
34. Man invented God and religious ritual to fulfill his own needs. (S)
35. One can be a good Jew without observing the kosher laws. (L)
36. Orthodox Jews have made a great contribution to the American Jewish community, by developing their Day Schools. (O)
37. Jews should avoid and denounce any theological dialogue with the Christian community. (O)
38. In the last fifty years, Conservative Judaism has done more for American Jews than Orthodox Judaism. (L)
39. The Five Books of Moses are the revealed words of God. (O)
40. The Jewish people will ultimately be redeemed by the Messiah. (O)
41. A religious person must always strive to convert people of other faiths to his religion. (C)
42. The dietary laws (kashrut) should be observed by all Jews, at home and away from home. (O)
43. The Codes of Jewish Law, which organized and codified the Talmudic interpretations of the Torah, are the basic authorities in Judaism. (O)
44. Every religion, by self-definition, must claim that there is no salvation to followers of other faiths. (C)

45. All laws of the Torah are valid, including those which we do not understand at all. (O)
46. The Land of Israel is holy and sacred, as expressed in the Torah. (O)
47. Mourners should not be discouraged from buying expensive coffins and fine clothing for the dead, if they feel it is correct and proper. (L)
48. Prayers for the restoration of animal sacrifices in the Temple should be discontinued. (L)
49. Observance of the second day of Jewish festivals may be discarded in modern times. (L)
50. Organ music, because of its beauty, should be a part of the Sabbath services. (L)
51. Two or three days of "shiva" should be quite sufficient nowadays for mourners. (L)
52. Unlike the accepted practice of circumcision, the "pidyon ha-ben" (the redemption of the first-born) has lost its meaning in modern times. (L)
53. The modern custom of mourners wearing a black ribbon is preferable to the rending of garments. (L)
54. The laws of ritual immersion (mikva) for women have great value for our generation. (O)
55. The text of the Torah, as given through Moses, was carefully guarded throughout the ages from tampering and editing. (O)
56. Man's physical body is the enemy and antagonist of his spiritual soul. (C)
57. The concept of reward and punishment, in an existence after death, is a cardinal principle in Judaism. (O)
58. Prophets who denounced animal sacrifices in the Temple represented an advance over the Torah of Moses. (L)
59. Ritual slaughter of animals, as a religious activity of the Jewish people, should not be tampered with by civil legislation. (O)
60. Man, like the animal, is a natural product of evolution; thus the distinction between body and soul is an imaginary conception. (S)

Research Project 6I3

Instructions for SCORING SHEET

The 60 cards you have received express a wide range of opinions on religion, philosophy, ethics, etc. You will probably agree with some and disagree with others. Each statement has been assigned a number arbitrarily, to make it easy for you to indicate your opinion about it on the scoring sheet. Please follow the recommended procedure step-by-step for the fastest and best results:

1. Arrange the cards in three piles: on the right-hand side (pile A) place the cards expressing opinions with which you agree; on the left-hand side (pile C) place the cards expressing opinions with which you disagree; in the middle (pile B) place the cards about which you are uncertain. The amount of cards in each pile is PURELY A MATTER OF OPINION.
2. From pile A (agreement), select the *ONE* card with which you MOST STRONGLY agree, record the number on the scoring sheet, column no. 1, and turn the card face down. Select the next THREE with which you most strongly agree, record the numbers in column no. 2, and turn face down. (NOTE — The order of recording numbers WITHIN A COLUMN makes NO DIFFERENCE.) Follow this selection procedure using column no. 3 (limited to 7 statements), column no. 4 (limited to 12 statements), etc., until all the cards with which you agree have been recorded by number. You MAY finish with this pile ANYWHERE along the line, even in MIDDLE of a column.
3. When this happens, start with pile C (disagreement), selecting the *ONE* statement with which you MOST STRONGLY disagree, record the number in column no. 9, and turn face down. Continue by the same process to column no. 8 (limit of 3 statements), column no. 7 (limit of 7 statements), etc., until pile C is exhausted. Again, you may finish with this pile anywhere along the line, or in middle of a column.
4. Now, try to reach decisions about the items in pile B, and record the numbers to the right if you tend to agree, and to the left if you tend to disagree. The strength of your feeling about an item should determine how far over to the left or right you record the number. Those about which you are ABSOLUTELY UNCERTAIN, will line up in middle of the other two groups, probably at, or next to, column no. 5. Fill in the

remaining blank spaces with the numbers of the remaining items. DO NOT BE DISTURBED if you must record them in a column partially taken up by items with which you had agreed or disagreed. Your scoring sheet will nevertheless represent a record of your opinions in gradual progression from one feeling to the other.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PATIENCE
AND CO-OPERATION.

(Unless specifically requested to do otherwise, please ignore the spaces below.)

Table 2
T Values for Multiple Comparisons of Groups Found in Table 1

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	<u>3.15</u>						
2		.90	<u>3.607</u>				
3			<u>2.286</u>				
4				1.972	<u>2.872</u>		
5					1.784	<u>2.519</u>	
6						.597	1.442
7							1.789

KEY

1% level: _____

2% or 5% level: _ _ _

Table 6M
Religious Observance Correlated with *Hashkafah* - Males Only

Group	Items Observed	N	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1	up to 2	10	130.100	5.734
2	from 3 to 5	18	144.277	10.733
3	from 6 to 8	37	104.000	12.785
4	from 9 to 11	28	95.107	15.316
5	from 12 to 14	40	85.975	9.242
6	from 15 to 16	44	81.795	5.106
7	17	37	80.351	3.960
8	all 18	87	80.781	8.910

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F
A-Between diff. rel. obsv. levels	49009.344	7	7001.334	75.779
Within	27070.610	293	92.391	
Total	76079.954	300	253.599	

Correlation coefficient:-.7333

Table 1
Eight Levels of Jewish Education Correlated
to Students' *Hashkafah*

Group	N	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
1. (CC30-0, 1, and 2 combined): minimum Jewish educational levels	30	119.966	16.926
2. (CC30-3): afternoon Heb. Sch. grads.; day school for 3 to 4 yrs.; or equivalent	39	106.897	16.688
3. (CC30-5; CC7 - 1 or 2): Heb. high school grads., (non-Yeshiva)	21	102.857	16.054
4. (CC30-5; CC7 - 3 or 4): elementary day school grads., with no further Jewish Education	24	92.000	14.958
5. (CC30-7): Yeshiva High School grads., with no further Jewish Education	124	86.669	11.395
6. (CC30-from 0 to 4; CC28 - 1): non-day school students in Yeshiva Univ. JSS Program	25	82.480	5.499
7. (CC30-8): continuous Jewish Education to two years past high school	155	83.374	10.054
8. (CC30-9): continuous Jewish Education over two years past high school (in Rabbinical Seminary)	39	80.358	5.859

Source	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	F
A - Between diff. educa. levels	54826.064	7	7832.294	54.857
Within	64106.085	449	142.775	
Total	118932.149	456	260.816	

Correlation coefficient: -.6335

THE CONTRIBUTORS

ISA ARON serves as the coordinator of museum education at the Hebrew Union College Skirball Museum, and is a faculty member of the Rhea Hirsch School of Education at Hebrew Union College. She holds a Ph.D. in Philosophy of Education from the University of Chicago.

GEOFFREY E. BOCK has been a Research Associate at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and holds a doctorate from Harvard University.

BARRY CHAZAN is the Director of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BURTON COHEN, Assistant Professor of Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, also serves as National Director for the Ramah Camps and Programs. Dr. Cohen has been active in Jewish education on local school boards and national commissions.

STEVE COPELAND is a lecturer at the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Dr. Copeland, who received his doctorate from Harvard University Graduate School of Education, was previously affiliated with the Solomon Schechter Day School, Newton, Mass. and National Young Judea.

SHELDON A. DORPH is Director of the Jewish Academy of Los Angeles and Principal of Los Angeles Hebrew High School. Rabbi Dorph holds a doctoral degree from Columbia University.

YITZCHAK MEIR GOODMAN is a teacher at the Frisch Yeshiva High School and serves on the staff of Young Israel of Far Rockaway, New York. Dr. Goodman received smicha and a D.Ed. from Yeshiva University. He was awarded the second prize for his song in the 1979 American Chasidic Song Festival.

HAROLD S. HIMMELFARB is Professor of Sociology at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. He has contributed to the Project on Jewish Education Statistics at the Institute for Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

STUART KELMAN is Assistant Professor of Jewish Education at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Los Angeles. He received rabbinical ordination from the Jewish Theological Seminary and a Ph.D. in Sociology of Education from the University of Southern California. He is currently serving as Chairperson of CAJE.

RONALD KRONISH serves as the Director of In-Service Training and Evaluation of the Institute for Jewish and Zionist Education in Jerusalem. Dr. Kronish received his doctorate from the Harvard University Graduate School of Education and rabbinic ordination from the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.

EDUARDO RAUCH is co-director of the Melton Research Center for Jewish Education at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. He holds a Doctorate in Education from Harvard University. Dr. Rauch was previously Assistant Professor at the University of Chile and on the staff of the Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Jewish Agency in Israel.

MICHAEL ROSENAK is former Director of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and teaches Philosophy of Jewish Education at the Centre and School of Education.

DAVID SCHOEM is a lecturer at the University of Michigan, where he directs the Pilot Program innovative academic-residential unit. Dr. Schoem, who holds a Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley, was the recipient of the Dushkin Prize from the Hebrew University for the outstanding doctoral dissertation in Jewish Education, 1970-1980.

ODED SCHREMER teaches Jewish education at Bar Ilan University, and is affiliated with the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora and the Ministry of Education. Dr. Schremer holds a doctorate from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BENNETT I. SOLOMON, the Principal of the Eli and Bessie Cohen Hillel Academy of Swampscott, Mass., received his doctoral degree from the Harvard University Graduate School of Education. Dr. Solomon previously served in positions at the Solomon Schechter Day School in Newton, Mass., and at Camp Ramah in Pennsylvania and Canada.

RONALD G. WOLFSON is Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles, where he serves as Director of Education Programs, the Center for Innovative Jewish Education, and the Summer Institute for Jewish Educators. He received a Ph.D. in Education from Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

MICHAEL ZELDIN is Assistant Professor of Jewish Education at the Rhea Hirsch School of Education of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Los Angeles. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education.