

**TOWARD A SYSTEM OF STATISTICAL  
INDICATORS ON JEWISH EDUCATION  
IN THE DIASPORA: FIRST DATA ON HOURS  
OF TOTAL AND JUDAIC INSTRUCTION  
IN JEWISH SCHOOLS, 1981/2-1982/3**

**Sergio DellaPergola**

**Introduction: The Project for Jewish Educational Statistics**

Perhaps more than other scholarly papers submitted at this conference, ours quite directly stems from the previous Conference on Research in Jewish Education, held at the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora in June 1980.<sup>1</sup> Introducing on that occasion the new Project for Jewish Educational Statistics, several speakers noted that up-to-date knowledge of the demographic, socioeconomic and Jewish identity characteristics of Diaspora Jewish communities should be among the basic tools utilized by leaders of contemporary Jewish institutions in their endeavors to plan and operate modern and efficient communal services. It was stressed then, however, that the current state of knowledge about the structure and trends of Jewish education in the Diaspora was both insufficient and often contradictory.

Some local communities have indeed developed certain kinds of statistical documentation.<sup>2</sup> And there have been occasional at-

1 See *Studies in Jewish Education*, Vol. 2, ed. Michael Rosenak (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984).

2 See, for example, the periodical Jewish school censuses undertaken by the American Association for Jewish Education (AAJE, later on: JESNA). For a review of local sources on Jewish educational statistics available by the late 1970s, see H.S. Himmelfarb and S. DellaPergola, *Enrollment in Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, Late 1970s*, Jewish Educa-

tempts to undertake global assessments of the Jewish educational system in the Diaspora.<sup>3</sup> However, despite these praiseworthy initiatives, information regarding most regions of the world remains thin, so that decision-making in Jewish education is based more upon intuition than upon actual facts. For those schooled in the research of the complex, multivariate processes affecting the contemporary transformations of Jewish society, Jewish education was more often mentioned for its potential or expected effects rather than being carefully analyzed on the basis of solid and systematic empirical evidence.

In order to increase substantially the scope, quality, detail, and comparability of data on Jewish education in the Diaspora, the Project for Jewish Educational Statistics was established within the Division for Jewish Demography and Statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> The Project was conceived as a data bank and focal point for statistical documentation and research on Jewish education in the Diaspora. Since 1980, the Project's activities have been directed toward the achievement of the following longer-term objectives:

1. to provide leaders and educational planners, as well as researchers in the field of Jewish education, with statistical information on the number and proportion of school-age Jews throughout the Diaspora, and to project in broad lines the possible effects of changing Jewish population trends on educational activities;
2. to ascertain and follow current trends on the extent, types and levels of Jewish education given in different Diaspora countries;

tional Statistics, Research Report 1 (Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, 1982).

- 3 See A. Eisenberg, *World Census of Jewish Education 5728-1968*, (New York: World Council on Jewish Education, 1968), and A. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in the Diaspora*, (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1971).
- 4 The Project is funded by the Joint Program for Jewish Education of the State of Israel, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Jewish Agency, and the World Zionist Organization.

3. to describe statistically the major features of the Jewish educational system, such as types of institutions, characteristics of teachers and patterns of enrollment, with special attention to similarities and dissimilarities between different Jewish communities;
4. to help evaluate the effects of Jewish education on the behavior and attitudes of Jews at later stages in their lifecycles.

In the framework of this quite extended and long-term program highest priority had to be given, necessarily, to establishing a systematic data-base, not available previously. Such an initial data-base was also intended for comparisons with data collected in successive years, thus ensuring a much needed time perspective in the study of structure and trends in Jewish education in the Diaspora.

The first census of Jewish schools in the Diaspora was undertaken during the school years of 1981/2 and 1982/3. It covered approximately 3,550 Jewish day and supplementary schools in 40 countries, including some 550,000 pupils and an estimated 40–45,000 teaching posts. Twenty-nine percent of the institutions investigated were day schools and kindergartens, with 43% of the total pupils and 49% of the teachers reported. The detailed results of the first census have been published,<sup>5</sup> and a second census is currently being planned.

### **Quantitative Research on Jewish Education in the Diaspora:**

#### **Selected Issues**

Basic to a more specific consideration of selected issues in quantitative research on Jewish education in the Diaspora is the obvious

5 See N. Genuth, S. DellaPergola, A.A. Dubb, *First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, 1981/2–1982/3: International Summary*, Jewish Educational Statistics, Research Report 3, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1985), and A.A. Dubb and S. DellaPergola, *First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora, 1981/2–1982/3: United States of America*, Jewish Educational Statistics, Research Report 4, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, and New York: Jewish Educational Service of North America, Inc., 1986). See also the paper by A.A. Dubb in the present volume.

fact that the topic can be approached from somewhat different, complementary perspectives. Such approaches have tended to emphasize one or the other of the following alternatives:

1. fact finding and the description of structural features and differentials in the overall Jewish educational system, or theory building and the generation of new analytical questions;
2. purely theoretical research, or action-oriented or policy-oriented research;
3. localistic, institution- or community-focused research, or global and comparative research.

We believe that in the field of educational research none of these approaches can be completely isolated from the others. Theory needs the validation of facts; facts need the informing backbone of theory. If one of the aims of education in general, and of Jewish education in particular, is to improve certain aspects of society, educational research will usually not reflect a purely contemplative mode, but will tend to produce information that can be used practically by the individual and community. While there can be no substitute for the empirical observation of educational patterns at the local or "micro" level of the individual school and its pupils, teachers, auxiliary personnel, and lay leaders, the expanded background offered by comparative research can enhance a better understanding of the specifics of local situations and can provide the necessary global perspective on Jewish education.

In the context of the research options outlined here, both the possibilities and the limitations of census data collection and analysis should be taken into account. A census does not belong to the type of research devoted mainly to the validation of analytical hypotheses. As already mentioned, the first census of Jewish schools attempted to construct the basic infrastructure for a systematic and comparative appraisal of Jewish education in the contemporary Diaspora. No data collection, even of the census-type, can be free, however, from underlying theoretical assumptions.

In designing our census we isolated a number of basic features, which we perceived as describing the Jewish educational system well, or as being important junctures where intervention might modify the current situation of Jewish education. These considera-

tions informed our choices in establishing the basic census format, in particular the selection of variables included in the questionnaire.

The census focused upon the individual school, or educational institution, as its basic research unit. Information was not collected at the level of the individual pupil or teacher; aggregate profiles of pupils and teachers in each school were obtained instead. Nor did the census intend to provide the kind of qualitative assessment of the educational experience undergone by pupils in a given school, which can be obtained from an examination of the curricula, or from direct observation of the "atmosphere" prevailing in the school. The variables included for investigation were descriptive, standardized and measurable items. A profile of the quantity, and to some degree the quality, of Jewish education was expected to emerge from the combined examinations of a cluster of indicators which synthesized the overall characteristics of a given school. A summary of the numbers related to the schools in a given city, country or educational network would provide, moreover, an overall profile of Jewish education in the respective geographical or institutional contexts.

The basic approach underlying the census is graphically summarized by the scheme in Table 1. A substantial number of statistical indicators can be obtained from processing the census returns: these relate to the characteristics of institutions, educational facilities, pupils, teachers, and other basic educational parameters such as hours of instruction. One may also project an "Overall Evaluation Score" which will synthetically represent a school's features and characteristics. One should also consider key background variables for analytical purposes, to better organize and differentiate the overall structure of the Jewish educational system. In Table 1, these background variables are: geography, type of school (day, supplementary), ideological orientation of school (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Communal etc.), and level of instruction (from preschool through matriculation). A very large matrix is thus represented, the assumption being that an individual's exposure to the qualities and quantities of Jewish education, appropriate to each cell of the matrix, will generate various inputs and effects on his/her general or Jewish attitudes and behaviour later in life.

TABLE 1

*Assessing the Jewish Educational System in the Diaspora:  
Summary Scheme of Selected Statistical Indicators and Background Variables*

	<i>Background Variables</i>			
	<i>Total Diaspora</i>	<i>Broken down by Geograph- ic Divisions (Major Region, Country, City)</i>	<i>Broken down by Type of School (Day; Sup- plemen- tary)</i>	<i>Broken down by Ideological Orientation (Orthodox; Conser- vative; Reform; . . . other)</i>
<i>Institutions</i>				
Total number				
% with own premises				
.				
.				
.				
<i>Pupils</i>				
Total number				
% enrolled out of total age-group				
% in co-educational classes				
.				
.				
.				
<i>Teachers</i>				
Total number				
Years of seniority (average)				
% Professionally trained				
Pupils/teacher ratio				
.				
.				
.				
<i>Hours of Instruction</i>				
Total studies (average)				
Judaic and Hebrew studies (average)				
.				
.				
.				
<i>Overall Evaluation Score</i>				

The system of statistical indicators on Jewish education in the Diaspora implicit in Table 1 is now available for interested leaders, educators, and researchers. It provides the building blocks for a systematic description of Jewish education in the Diaspora. It also provides a large set of variables that can be used for further in-depth and cause-effect oriented analyses of Jewish societal processes in the Diaspora.

Particular attention must be focused upon three possible directions:

1. the characterization of Jewish education at a rather disaggregated geographical level, as one element in the explanation of local differences in a variety of socio-demographic and identificational processes;
2. the characterization of individual Jewish schools as a predictor of more general experiences of success or non-success in achieving educational goals;
3. the characterization of the educational experience of the single individual. Here the analyst is concerned with the possibility of achieving a full record-linkage between individual data collected through conventional surveys and the institutional data collected through the census of Jewish schools. One single piece of information — the name of the Jewish school attended by a given survey respondent — would entail a very large cluster of variables describing the full profile of that school, the advantages for understanding the relationship between Jewish education, and other characteristics of a person are clear.

Thus, we have entered a promising new stage in the study of Jewish education in the Diaspora. It is hoped that interested individuals and agencies will take full advantage of it.

## **Hours of Instruction in Jewish Schools**

### *Background and Definitions*

We now turn to testing some of the substantive information collected through the census. The topic chosen here for illustrative purposes is hours of instruction in Jewish schools. The implicit

assumption that the number of hours of Jewish schooling may be an important explanatory variable affecting a variety of other individual behaviors and attitudes has been discussed in a number of research works. H. Himmelfarb and G. Bock have suggested somewhat different versions of the "threshold" hypothesis, namely, the notion that a minimum of hours of lifetime exposure to Jewish education is required if significant effects are to appear in Jewish identity later in life.<sup>6</sup> Further research on the identificational effects of Jewish schooling is not abundant. Some net effects of Jewish schooling on Jewishness in adulthood, after controlling for the effects of other, perhaps more informal socialization agents such as the family, the neighbourhood, the network of age-peers and friends, the socio-occupational group etc., emerge clearly. Quantitative research on the topic, however, has been impaired by the dearth of indicators of the amount and intensity of Jewish education received.

While it is clear that no single sphere of social interaction can be isolated totally from another, the interesting and quite unique property of the school environment in general, and of hours of schooling in particular, is that they constitute clearly defined points of access in the total complex of the individual's social world. More than other formal institutional situations or informal environments, they constitute junctures from which attitudinal and behavioral changes can be induced and measured. In the discussion that follows, we shall limit ourselves to describing the major differentials in hours of Jewish schooling in the Diaspora, without necessarily implying any effects of such exposure on other aspects of identity and experience among the Jewish school population.

The number of hours of instruction has a dual significance within the framework of Jewish education in the Diaspora. On the one hand, it represents an important indicator of the intensity of education received, especially if *hours of Judaic studies* are counted and compared. On the other hand, *total hours of schooling* provide a measure of exposure to a social environment which, regardless of educational content, is Jewish. Both types of information were

6 See G.E. Bock, "The Functions of Jewish Schooling in America," in *Studies in Jewish Education*, M. Rosenak ed., Vol. 2, pp. 233-234; and H.S. Himmelfarb, "The Impact of Religious Schooling: A Synopsis," pp. 255-288.



collected through the 1981/2–1982/3 census — presumably for the first time ever on a large comparative scale.

One may expect, in general, that hours of total and Judaic instruction in Jewish schools will be greatly affected by two factors:

1. the general structure of educational curriculum prevailing in day schools in each country, i.e. the number of school days per week, school hours per day, and the allocation of time to different subjects of study;
2. the relative importance in each country of day versus supplementary Jewish education; day schools presumably offering many more total hours of instruction than supplementary schools.

Indeed, these basic characteristics of Jewish educational systems in the Diaspora appear to be important determinants of variations in hours of instruction between schools.

Before turning to the data themselves it should be stressed that the basic unit of measurement — one hour in school — may have somewhat different meanings depending upon whether:

1. it refers to time periods of sixty minutes, or to actual teaching periods, which are usually shorter;
2. it includes (where applicable) *tefillah* time — which in some schools may be part of the curriculum and in others may not be — or other extracurricular activities, intermission time, etc.

Different interpretations of the questionnaire may therefore have introduced a degree of lack of uniformity into the data. However, there is no way to check and correct these possible inconsistencies.

#### *Total Hours of Instruction*<sup>7</sup>

Table 2 relates to total hours of instruction in Jewish schools, by type of school (day, supplementary), grouped grade levels, and

<sup>7</sup> The following sections: “Total Hours of Instruction” and “Hours of Judaic Instruction” are based, with minor changes, on Chapter 9 in: Genuth, DellaPergola and Dubb, *First Census*.

TABLE 2

*Average Weekly Hours of Total Instruction (Per Pupil) in Jewish Schools, by Type of School, Grade Level/Age, and Country, 1981/2-1982/3*

Country	<i>Kinder- garten Ages 3-5</i>	<i>Grades 1-3 Ages 6-8</i>	<i>Grades 4-6 Ages 9-11</i>	<i>Grades 7-9 Ages 12-14</i>	<i>Grades 10-12 Ages 15-17</i>
	<i>Total Schools</i>				
Total	17.2	14.9	13.0	13.9	21.5
United States	15.4	11.2	9.6	9.3	14.8
thereof: New York	21.1	15.8	12.1	15.4	27.6
Other	13.6	9.9	8.8	7.5	10.0
Canada	18.6	22.8	21.0	23.8	36.3
France	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
United Kingdom	18.4	14.8	14.9	19.8	29.9
Other Western Europe	17.1	18.6	19.6	21.5	20.2
Argentina	19.1	31.3	31.6	37.4	42.6
Brazil	22.9	31.6	34.1	35.4	37.4
Other Latin America	22.0	33.1	36.4	42.5	41.4
South Africa	20.3	22.6	26.4	29.9	30.4
Australia	28.8	23.9	23.4	28.0	31.0
	<i>Day Schools (b)</i>				
Total	23.6	32.2	33.6	37.1	40.0
United States	25.6	35.1	36.4	40.8	44.2
thereof: New York	29.2	36.3	37.8	42.3	45.1
Other	23.9	34.5	35.7	39.6	43.0
Canada	21.6	32.2	32.3	35.3	43.5
France	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
United Kingdom	20.5	28.6	33.2	35.4	36.2
Other Western Europe	18.1	20.5	22.4	26.1	26.3
Argentina	19.8	33.1	33.5	40.0	46.2
Brazil	23.1	31.7	34.3	35.6	37.4
Other Latin America	22.0	32.3	36.1	42.5	41.4
South Africa	20.4	25.4	28.9	30.3	30.4
Australia	30.7	33.0	33.1	33.6	33.7

Table 2 (Cont'd)

	<i>Kindergarten</i> <i>Ages</i> 3-5	<i>Grades</i> 1-3 <i>Ages</i> 6-8	<i>Grades</i> 4-6 <i>Ages</i> 9-11	<i>Grades</i> 7-9 <i>Ages</i> 12-14	<i>Grades</i> 10-12 <i>Ages</i> 15-17
<i>Supplementary Schools</i>					
Total	7.0	3.7	4.9	3.8	3.2
United States	6.7	3.2	4.7	3.7	3.0
thereof: New York	7.4	3.3	4.8	3.9	3.0
Other	6.5	3.2	4.7	3.6	2.9
Canada	5.3	4.2	5.2	4.2	2.5
France	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
United Kingdom	8.1	3.7	4.4	3.9	2.9
Other Western Europe	7.3	4.4	3.6	4.0	3.7
Argentina	15.6	15.0	14.8	16.5	17.6
Brazil	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Other Latin America	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
South Africa	(a)	7.0	5.3	4.1	3.3
Australia	9.0	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.9

(a) Not available, or too few cases reported.

(b) Including kindergartens not attached to a day or supplementary school.

Source: *First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora*.

country. First we shall examine the data for each type of school separately. In day schools, (see Table 2), the weekly average of total hours of instruction for the whole Diaspora varies from 23.6 at the preschool level, to 32.2 at grades 1 through 3 (on the average), 33.6 at grades 4-6, 37.1 at grades 7-9, and 40.0 at grades 10-12. This gradual increase in work-load with the move-up to higher grades is common to most countries and regions in the Diaspora, although the typical length of the school day in each country may be quite different. Countries with a longer school day include the United States, Canada, Argentina, and the smaller communities in Latin America. Elsewhere, in the United Kingdom, the smaller communities in Western Europe, Brazil, South Africa

and Australia, the work-load is somewhat less. Data on total hours of instruction are not available for France.

The ranges between minimum and maximum hours in Jewish day schools according to grade level vary as follows: at the preschool level, between 18.1 hours in the smaller communities in Western Europe and 30.7 in Australia; in grades 1–3, between 20.5 hours in Western Europe and 36.3 in the New York area; in grades 4–6, between 22.4 in Western Europe and 37.8 in New York; in grades 7–9, between 26.1 in Western Europe and 42.5 in the smaller communities of Latin America; and in grades 10–12, between 26.3 in Western Europe and 46.2 in Argentina. The regional patterns of variation, therefore, appear to be quite consistent. Moreover, within the United States, Jewish day schools consistently operate on a more intensive school week in the New York area than in the rest of the country.

The average number of total hours of instruction in supplementary schools (Table 2) is expectedly much lower than in day schools. Indeed, while day schools provide both Judaic and general studies, the basic aim of supplementary schools is Judaic instruction only. For the total Diaspora, the weekly averages are highest at the supplementary preschool level (7 hours). The average at ages 6–8 declines to 3.7 hours, it rises to 4.9 hours at ages 9–11, and declines again to 3.8 hours at ages 12–14, and 3.2 hours at ages 15–17. The basic profile of hours of schooling in supplementary schools is therefore highest at the preschool level, followed by a decline at ages 6–8, some increase at ages 9–11, i.e. approaching the age of *Bar/Bat Mitzvah*, and by more substantial decline at higher ages. There are, though, a few exceptions. The most pronounced is found in Argentina, where the chiefly week-day afternoon character of supplementary schools is connected with much higher averages of weekly hours of instruction. In Argentina, the latter range between a minimum of 14.8 hours at ages 9–11 (grades 4–6) and a maximum of 17.6 at ages 15–17 (grades 10–12). Other exceptions to typical weekly work-loads in supplementary schools are the smaller communities of Western Europe, South Africa, and probably also France, where from grade 1 on, hours of instruction steadily decline, and in Australia, where they progressively increase.

Very uneven levels and profiles of hours of schooling thus charac-

terize Jewish day and supplementary schools, which adds to the different distributions of the two types of institutions by country.<sup>8</sup> As a consequence, there is a wide variation in the average number of total hours of Jewish schooling for all pupils regardless of type of school (see the upper part of Table 2). The overall distribution by grade level features a J or U shape, with an average of 17.2 hours at preschool level, 14.9 in grades 1–3, 13 in grades 4–6, 13.9 in grades 7–9, and 21.2 in grades 10–12.

Variations between countries in total exposure to Jewish schooling are significant. At each grade level, the lowest averages are found in the United States outside the New York area, consistent with the predominance of supplementary schools there. Maximum hours of schooling appear in Australia at the preschool level, in the smaller communities of Latin America in grades 1 through 9, and in Argentina in grades 10–2. In grades 7–9, the widest range between maximum and minimum averages of total hours of Jewish schooling is obtained: 42.5 hours in the smaller Latin American communities versus 7.5 in the United States outside New York, or a ratio of nearly 6 to 1.

### *Hours of Judaic Instruction*

A similar analysis can be conducted with regard to hours of Judaic instruction (see Table 3). Judaic studies absorb a very different share of total curriculum time in the day school systems of different countries in the Diaspora. At each grade level, the highest averages appear for the New York area, up to a maximum of 22.4 hours in grades 10–12. In New York, *Haredi* and Orthodox day schools and *yeshivot* form the predominant type of Jewish education. Average hours of Judaic studies are high in other regions of the United States, too, although somewhat less than in New York. The weekly Judaic work-load gradually increases with grade level in the United States, as well as in the United Kingdom, South Africa and, up to grade 9, in Australia. Hours of Judaic studies in day schools tend to be quite stable at different grade levels in Argentina and tend

8 See Genuth, DellaPergola and Dubb, *First Census*, Chapter 3, and Dubb's paper in the present volume.

TABLE 3

*Average Weekly Hours of Judaic Instruction (per Pupil) in Jewish Schools, by Type of School, Grade Level/Age, and Country, 1981/2-1982/3*

Country	Kinder- garten Ages 3-5	Grades 1-3 Ages 6-8	Grades 4-6 Ages 9-11	Grades 7-9 Ages 12-14	Grades 10-12 Ages 15-17
	<i>Total Schools</i>				
Total	7.6	7.1	7.0	6.6	8.2
United States	7.2	6.3	6.4	5.9	7.8
thereof: New York	10.2	8.4	7.6	8.6	13.2
Other	6.3	5.7	6.1	5.2	6.0
Canada	10.1	11.0	10.3	10.0	10.6
France	13.3	7.7	8.2	8.6	8.6
United Kingdom	8.0	5.6	5.9	6.6	8.9
Other Western Europe	5.9	6.5	6.4	5.8	5.7
Argentina	13.4	12.9	13.0	13.0	13.3
Brazil	4.9	9.9	9.3	8.0	4.8
Other Latin America	8.1	10.2	10.0	8.1	7.6
South Africa	2.5	5.6	6.0	7.7	8.4
Australia	6.4	6.7	7.0	8.5	7.5
	<i>Day Schools (a)</i>				
Total	10.2	12.6	12.7	13.3	13.3
United States	12.8	16.0	16.6	19.6	21.6
thereof: New York	15.1	17.1	17.8	20.8	22.4
Other	11.7	15.4	16.0	18.7	20.9
Canada	12.5	14.4	14.0	14.5	12.3
France	14.5	10.5	10.5	11.1	9.5
United Kingdom	8.9	8.9	9.3	9.9	10.5
Other Western Europe	5.7	6.8	6.8	6.2	6.5
Argentina	12.9	12.7	12.8	12.6	12.8
Brazil	5.0	10.1	9.5	8.1	4.8
Other Latin America	8.1	9.4	9.6	8.1	7.6
South Africa	2.5	5.4	6.2	7.8	8.4
Australia	6.5	8.2	8.8	9.6	7.9

Table 3 (Cont'd)

	<i>Kindergarten</i> <i>Ages</i> 3-5	<i>Grades</i> 1-3 <i>Ages</i> 6-8	<i>Grades</i> 4-6 <i>Ages</i> 9-11	<i>Grades</i> 7-9 <i>Ages</i> 12-14	<i>Grades</i> 10-12 <i>Ages</i> 15-17
<i>Supplementary Schools</i>					
Total	4.5	3.5	4.7	3.7	3.2
United States	4.1	3.1	4.6	3.6	2.9
thereof: New York	5.0	3.3	4.8	3.8	3.0
Other	3.9	3.1	4.6	3.5	2.9
Canada	4.2	4.2	5.2	4.1	2.5
France	4.4	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.6
United Kingdom	4.9	3.3	4.0	3.8	2.8
Other Western Europe	7.3	4.4	3.6	4.0	3.7
Argentina	15.2	15.0	14.8	15.9	16.6
Brazil	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Other Latin America	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
South Africa	(b)	(b)	4.6	4.1	3.3
Australia	5.6	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.0

(a) Including kindergartens not attached to a day or supplementary school.

(b) Not available, or too few cases reported.

Source: *First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora*.

to decline with grade level in Canada, France, Brazil, and the smaller Jewish communities of Western Europe and Latin America. As a consequence, the ranking of countries by hours of Judaic studies varies considerably at different grade levels. Outside the United States, the most hours of Judaic studies appear in France (preschool), Canada (grades 1 through 9), and Argentina (grades 10-12); the least in South Africa (preschool through grade 6), the smaller communities of Western Europe (grades 7-9), and Brazil (grades 10-12).

Summing up these data for day schools, average hours of Judaic studies in the Diaspora are fairly stable, from 10.2 hours at pre-

school level to 12.6–13.3 hours throughout grades 1 to 12. The corresponding averages for supplementary schools range between a maximum of 4.7 hours at ages 9–11 (grades 4–6) and a minimum of 3.2 at ages 15–17 (grades 10–12), the equivalent of about one-half to one-fourth of the hours of Judaic studies in day schools.

At most grade levels, hours of Judaic studies in supplementary schools expectedly correspond (with only minor differences) to the total hours of instruction in these institutions (see above). The only exception concerns kindergartens, where there are fewer hours of Judaic studies than total hours in school. The range of variation between countries in hours of instruction is far less significant than in the case of day schools, with the exception of Argentina. Argentina is in fact a very peculiar case, being the only country in which at each grade level pupils in supplementary schools receive more hours of Judaic instruction than pupils in day schools. Of the other countries, it is in France that supplementary school pupils receive the highest number of hours of Judaic instruction. United States averages, especially outside New York, are consistently below the values for most of the other countries.

The combined averages for day and supplementary schools together (upper portion of Table 3) provide an interesting, though somewhat composite, indicator of the intensity of Judaic studies throughout the Diaspora expressed by hours of instruction. The overall average for all pupils enrolled in a Jewish school in the Diaspora ranges between 7 and 8 weekly hours of Judaic studies, but there is substantial variation around this central value. Argentina has the highest averages, followed by Canada and, at the lower levels, the smaller communities of Latin America and Brazil. Above the overall Diaspora average we also find the New York area (especially at the higher grade levels), and France. Australia has just-above-average values, while the United Kingdom, the smaller communities in Western Europe, South Africa, and the United States outside New York display less than average numbers of hours of Judaic instruction.

The most intriguing find of this analysis probably relates to the United States figures: in fact, the United States appears to have one of the most intensive Jewish educational systems in terms of the high averages of total and Judaic hours of instruction in day



schools; but also the least intensive one, in terms of the low number of total and Judaic instruction hours in supplementary schools which, in the United States, represent the predominant mode of Jewish education. Among the other major regions, Latin America displays the most hours of total and Judaic schooling, which is related to the predominance of day schools, and to the characteristics of supplementary schools there.

As already noted, the significance of these data is tied to the possible effects of quantity of Jewish schooling, with regard to the socialization of children into a Jewish environment, and of the cognitive and non-cognitive input derived from Judaic studies. An examination of such effects is outside the scope of this paper. Clearly, however, the multiplying effect of weekly hours of instruction should be kept in mind when interpreting data on years of enrollment, curricular contents, and exposure to teachers in Jewish schools.

#### *Hours of Judaic Instruction by Ideological Orientation of School*

Countrywide averages, like those examined in the preceding discussion, do not provide a satisfactory description of the patterns of Jewish education. Among the factors of differentiation within national or local educational systems, the ideological orientation of the schools calls for more detailed investigation. It can be expected that in both day and supplementary schools the quantity of Judaic studies tends to be greater in ultra and modern Orthodox schools than in schools affiliated with the Conservative or Reform movements, or non-denominational schools (communal, Yiddishist, etc.). This assumption is checked in Table 4 with reference to a simplified geographical division of the Diaspora into four major regions.

Our assumption holds true when considering day schools. Orthodox-oriented schools, which include the large majority of the total Diaspora day school population (68%), indeed feature more intensive Judaic studies curricula in each of the four regions considered here. It should be noted, however, that the difference in the hours of Jewish schooling between major geographical regions are by far greater than those found within each region, according to the ideological orientation of schools. This reflects the different general

TABLE 4

*Average Weekly Hours of Judaic Studies (per Pupil) in Jewish Schools, by Type and Ideological Orientation of School, Grade Level/Age, and Region, 1981/2-1982/3*

<i>Region, Type and Ideological Orientation of School</i>	<i>Grades 1-3 Ages 6-8</i>	<i>Grades 4-6 Ages 9-11</i>	<i>Grades 7-9 Ages 12-14</i>	<i>Grades 10-12 Ages 15-17</i>
<i>North America</i>				
<i>Day School</i>				
Orthodox	17.3	18.2	20.8	22.8
Other	13.2	12.9	14.2	18.1
<i>Supplementary</i>				
Orthodox	4.5	5.3	4.8	3.3
Conservative	3.8	5.4	4.2	3.2
Reform	2.6	3.8	3.0	2.3
Other	3.5	4.9	4.6	5.1
<i>Latin America</i>				
<i>Day School</i>				
Orthodox (a)	13.0	13.0	11.8	11.7
Other	10.9	10.7	8.9	7.7
<i>Supplementary</i>				
Orthodox	10.9	10.5	13.7	(b)
Other	15.9	15.9	15.0	14.6
<i>Western Europe</i>				
<i>Day School</i>				
Orthodox (a)	8.7	8.9	9.3	9.4
Other	5.6	5.5	6.3	7.3
<i>Supplementary</i>				
Orthodox	4.8	5.1	5.0	5.0
Other	3.0	3.5	3.2	2.6
<i>South Africa, Australia</i>				
<i>Day School</i>				
Orthodox	6.8	7.4	8.5	8.2
Other	5.9	6.2	(b)	(b)
<i>Supplementary</i>				
Orthodox	4.6	4.1	3.8	3.5
Other	3.1	3.2	3.4	(b)

(a) Including a wide range of religious and traditional orientations.

(b) Not available or too few cases reported.

Source: *First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora*.

educational systems dominant in each country and region. Thus, Orthodox schools in North America (United States and Canada) display, by far, the greatest average weekly hours of Judaic studies at each grade level; but other day schools in North America feature more Judaic studies hours than Orthodox schools in the other major regions.

The picture in supplementary schools is defined less sharply. Educational institutions of this type exist within the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements, which account for 14%, 33%, and 45% respectively of the total supplementary school enrollment; a small number (8%) identified with other orientations. Outside the United States, however, 61% of the supplementary school enrollment is found in Orthodox institutions. Orthodox supplementary schools feature higher average hours of Judaic studies in Western Europe, and in South Africa and Australia. This is true in North America for pupils of ages 6–8 and 12–14, but not for pupils aged 9–11 and 15–17, among which Conservative and other schools provide more hours of Judaic studies. On the other hand, Reform supplementary schools in North America consistently feature the fewest number of Judaic studies hours. Among supplementary schools in Latin America (especially in Argentina), Orthodox institutions offer significantly fewer hours of Judaic studies than other institutions. With the prominent exception of Latin America, hours of Judaic studies in supplementary schools appear to be relatively uniform throughout the different regions and ideological orientations outlined in Table 4.

### **Conclusion**

We have presented in this paper a few general remarks on the scope and potentialities of the first census of Jewish schools in the Diaspora (1981/2–1982/3). First, data on hours of total and Judaic instruction in Jewish schools were introduced and briefly analyzed.

The basic typology of Jewish education in the Diaspora between day and supplementary schools has been outlined clearly on the basis of information regarding hours of schooling. Variation in the school workload in different countries also reflects the ideological orientation of schools and, even more significantly, the general structure of educational curricula in each place.

In addition to the descriptive character of the data presented here, the new data resources now available, and further data collection in progress<sup>9</sup> as part of the Project for Jewish Educational Statistics, constitute a substantial transformation of the scope and depth of quantitative research on Jewish education. One can hope that such new data resources will be fully exploited and integrated with other sources. Aggregative data like those presented in this paper can be linked with other, more individual, sources of information. Better quantitative foundations will thus be provided for the analysis of the broader implications of observed trends, and for the policy decisions in Jewish education. If this is accomplished, we shall take a significant leap forward from the prehistory of the guesstimate, and from the proto-history of the limited, unrepresentative, localistic case-study, into the true history of research on Jewish education in the Diaspora.

9 A survey of teachers in Jewish schools was carried out in 1983/4 and 1984/5 in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and South Africa. Further data were independently collected in Argentina and will be incorporated in the analysis.