

ideology was also a regressive force in providing services which were both particularistic and selective.

Summary

This paper explored the period of the Second Aliya and social welfare developments as an outcome of this aliya. The study is thus limited to a particular but very significant period in the development of Jewish settlement. It does not therefore take into account the contribution by philanthropic organizations outside the Yishuv, and their efforts after the establishment of the State of Israel. These must be given more than due recognition. But as for the period examined in this study, both progressive and negative influences in the social welfare network emerged from the Sec-

ond Aliya. Health services which evolved in the period of the Second Aliya were later to reach over 70 per cent of the population. It was also the pioneering philosophy of mutual aid which brought about the workers cooperative — *The Mashbir*. Features of social welfare and social security were included in the various associations and funds of the labor movement. It was these services that would become universally applicable with the creation of the State and subsequent national insurance programs. But as indicated, it was the ideology of the pioneering movement that curtailed comprehensive services and restrained the development of welfare programs which would have benefited the *Yishuv* as a whole.

What Parents Want From the Jewish Education of Their Children*

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"In every subgroup that we have examined, we have found that the parents consider that they and their home have a greater effect in helping their children as Jews than does the school. If they can be helped to see that home and school are both directed to the same desired ends, the resources of the home can be mustered and integrated with the resources of the school for the harmonious Jewish development of the child.

I went up to the Hebrew School over an issue of my daughter's missing one of her classes.

The teacher's attitude bothered me. "You want your child brought up in a Jewish home," she said to me, "and you want her to learn the rituals, don't you?" Well, I don't! And I resented her telling me what I wanted for my child. I was really rather unsympathetic to her point of view, and I was kind of pleased when my daughter decided that she had had enough and made up her mind to quit.

— From an interview with a father.

* * *

WHAT do parents want when they enroll their children in a Jewish educational institution? The present writer, serving as a research associate at Hebrew College, Brookline, Mass. in 1972-1973, conducted an investigation designed to find some answers to that question.

A total of 2,418 questionnaires were mailed separately to both the fathers and the mothers of all the children enrolled in the elementary departments of

eight Jewish schools in a New England community. The eight consisted of both day schools and afternoon schools, including those under Conservative, Orthodox and Reform sponsorship. A return of 34 per cent (369 fathers and 447 mothers) was received, providing a reasonable basis on which to draw some general conclusions.¹

This was not the first attempt to learn the goals which parents have for the Jewish education of their children, but the studies that had been done have been few and the results generally inconclusive. I have been able to discover just seven, ranging in scope from two classes in one school to a national sample.² One of them went no further than

¹ A follow-up of a sample of those who did not respond substantiates the representative nature of the 816 responses referred to above. In regard to the survey procedure, see the note at the end of this article.

² The seven studies were conducted by the following: Committee for the Self-Study of Jewish Education in Philadelphia; United Jewish Fund of Pittsburgh; Louis Nulman; Alexander M. Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engelman (with their data later reworked by Joshua A. Fishman; Irving H. Skolnick; George Pollak (for Camden, N.J. Self-Study); and Louise Adams, Judith Frankel, and Nancy Newbauer. Related studies, not reporting the views of parents as such, include those by Mervin F. Verbit (North Jersey), and Gerald C. Stone & Neil Newman. If readers know of any additional studies, the writer would appreciate being informed of them. (See note at the end of this article.)

* Thanks are due to the following: For their cooperation and assistance in planning and executing the research, President Eli Grad, Prof. Michael Libenson, Registrar Martin Rabinovitz, and Mrs. Jeffrey L. (Eileen Kesselman) Houben of Hebrew College, Brookline, Mass.; for counsel on research problems, Dr. Floyd J. Fowler, Jr. of University of Massachusetts (Boston) Survey Research Program; and for providing the computer processing of the data Mr. Albert Jacob and Actuarial Analysts, Inc., Verona, N. J.

to list some sample responses without attempting to draw any conclusions. Dushkin and Engelman, although they had responses from 2000 parents in eighteen cities, could conclude only "very generally that Jewish parents seem to stress *knowledge* in its various forms as the prime though vague desideratum . . . ; the other important aims are apparently assumed or are incidental."³

The basic problem faced by these investigators, as in all social science research, was the proper formulation of questions. Questions have to be designed so as to elicit all the information desired; responses should be evoked in such manner as to permit summation into a meaningful picture of the entire group of respondents.

Four of the seven investigators asked a general question like "Why do you send your child to a Jewish school?" In this way, they tried to avoid suggesting answers to the parents. The findings, however, show that this procedure produced very little information. Parents gave an average of one and a half to two "codable responses" to this question. (A codable response is one that can be put into some category, such as "knowledge of history", "personal adjustment", or "Jewish identity.")

Those researchers who used more specific questions in order to tap a broader spectrum of parental goals had to face a different kind of problem. They had to compile a list of goals which fairly represent — or adequately sample — the totality of what parents are seeking. The marked differences from questionnaire to questionnaire show the difficulty of formulating such a list.

In order to cope with these problems, I decided to restrict myself to one spe-

cific frame of reference. Then, by a careful analysis of what is involved in that frame of reference, I sought to span the range included within it.

The particular area that I chose to investigate had to do with the long-term educational goals sought by the parents. I excluded from my concern the family and community pressures motivating the parents to enroll their children and also such immediate or short-term purposes as social contacts, enjoyment of classroom activities, and Bar or Bat Mitzvah. I focused, rather, on the questions of the degree and nature of the Jewish socialization which parents expect the Jewish school to provide.

"Socialization" refers to "the problem of how to rear children so that they will become adequate adult members of the society to which they belong."⁴ "Jewish socialization," then, may be regarded as the process whereby Jewish children are prepared to "become adequate adult members" of the Jewish group; the Jewish school may be looked upon as one of the socializing agents used to achieve this purpose.

The Jewish school, insofar as it is a socializing agent, helps form the Jewish identity of its pupils. Hence, the first essential research goal was to learn what kind of Jewish identity the parents wanted developed within their children. Did they want it to center around religious observance, ethical sensitivity, group belonging or what? How much stress did they place on other aspects of Jewishness?

Only in the light of this desired identity could further inquiry be made into the specific role which the parents felt the school should have in the socialization process. What particular compo-

⁴ Edward Zigler and Irvin L. Child, "Socialization", in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, Eds., *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., vol 3, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Mass., 1969, p. 450.

nents of Jewish identity, for example, did they regard the school as particularly competent to develop?

A Profile of Jewish Identity

The present research is predicated on the idea that Jewishness can be analyzed into a number of facets or elements. The Jewish identity of an individual (or the Jewish identity desired for an individual) can, from this point of view, be expressed by what I term his "Jewish profile". This profile describes the strength (actual or hoped-for) of each element in turn. Thus, using a three-point scale (3=high, 2=medium, 1=low), a particular Jew can be described as rating 3 on Jewish observance, 1 on Jewish knowledge, 2 on Jewish group loyalty, and so on. In the same way, we can say that a certain mother desires that her daughter should be 3 on Jewish knowledge and 3 on Jewish community participation, even though only 1 on religious faith.

To the degree to which an appropriate model of this profile can be developed, the questions to be asked of parents can "fairly represent — or adequately sample — the totality of what parents are seeking."⁵

Before we turn to the problem of constructing such a model, however, let me show how the concepts of "socialization" and "Jewish profile" fit into our investigation, as seen in the father's comments quoted at the head of this article. The teacher there assumed that the father wanted to socialize his daughter so that she would be strong in knowledge of Jewish rituals. ("You want your child brought up in a Jewish home, and you want her to learn the rituals, don't you?") This particular respondent made it very clear that, whatever other elements of Jewish identity he wanted to develop in the girl, at-homeness with

rituals was not one of his priorities. If the teacher had known the total projected Jewish profile which the father had in mind for his daughter, she might not necessarily have agreed with his judgment, but communication between them would not have broken down as it did.

The use of the Jewish profile is helpful, not only as a description of each parent's Jewish educational goals but also as a means of developing a collective measure for an entire group of parents. Since the strength of each element as desired by each parent can be expressed in numerical terms, these numbers can be combined statistically into a *composite Jewish profile*, descriptive of the total group.

Composite profiles could also be used for comparisons of different types of parental groups (Orthodox vs. Reform, Day School vs. Afternoon School, etc.). Further statistical treatment could produce measures of consensus among parents on each of the constituent elements in the profile as well. Turning back to the father whom we have just been discussing, we could learn in this way whether he is representative of his fellow parents, whether he is an exception to a general consensus among them, or whether there is just no consensus at all.

We are now in a position to consider the elements which make up Jewish identity — the components of the Jewish profile.

Elements Comprising the "Jewish Profile"

A number of social scientists have attempted to determine the elements which comprise religious and ethnic identity.⁶ Based upon their studies, as

⁶ An excellent summary of the research, with its application to the nature of Jewish identity, is to be found in Bernard Lazerwitz, "Religious Iden-

³ *Jewish Education in the United States: volume 1*, American Association for Jewish Education (1959), p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 3

well as on my own investigations into the nature of Jewishness and of Jewish education, I arrived at nine elements of Jewishness.

These stem from the facts that Jews are a social-historical group, that this group has a distinctive culture and way of life, and that the Jewish cultural heritage is rooted in religion.

The fact that the Jews are a social-historical group provides the first three elements in our schema. To be a Jew involves having a *sense of belonging to the Jewish People* (1). Since Jewish peoplehood is evidenced, even though not always accurately reflected, in the microcosm of the local Jewish community, the sense of belonging can be expressed functionally through *participation in the Jewish community* (2). Furthermore, the Jewish People is made up of Jewish individuals. The feeling that one is a part of a group tends to increase the bonds of relationship with other members of that group. Hence, one way of identification as a Jew is through association with other Jews — the preference for *Jewish friends* (3).⁷

Jewish culture and way of life call for knowledge about them, an attitude toward them, and a conformity to them. So, a *background of Jewish knowledge* (4) constitutes one element and a *high regard for the value of the Jewish heritage* (5) is another. Conformity to Jewish culture is analyzed in religious terms: *faith in God* (6), *observance of Jewish religious prac-*

tices and Its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model," *Social Forces*, 52 (December 1973), pp. 204-220. Lazerwitz arrives at eight "dimensions" as common to both ethnic and religious identification.

⁷ The preference for association with fellow Jews here in America may be seen by many as in conflict with the democratic ideal of complete brotherhood. Yet, "even those [Jews] who say Jews should not associate with each other tend to associate with fellow Jews." (See Marshall Sklare, "Problems of the Contemporary Jew," *The Torch* (Winter 1967-68, p. 6.)

tices (7), and *living in accordance with Jewish ethical standards* (8).

The ninth element is connected with both knowledge and observance, but — in the context of Jewish schooling — it takes on its own importance. Previous investigation had shown that many who do not necessarily care whether their children observe Jewish ritual do want them to feel at home and competent when in a setting of Jewish religious observance. Therefore, we specified *knowing how to take part in Jewish religious practices* (9) as a separate element. Our results support the wisdom of the decision to do so.

One element, or cluster of elements, logically fits into this arrangement and yet was omitted. Under Jewish culture, we did not include what might be called "secular culture." This refers to a variety of activities and interests, including such things as reading Jewish books, listening to Jewish music, using the Yiddish language, and eating Jewish foods. While these facets are important in the Jewish identity of many Jews, it was finally decided to omit reference to them at this time. No term could be found which would clearly convey to the parents this aspect of Jewish living. Besides, much of what is included is not related to the Jewish school situation. Further research, however, should investigate this element as well.

While the list is subject to refinement, as results of additional research accumulate, it provides at least a tentative foundation on the basis of which research on parental goals could be initiated.⁸

⁸ *The Survey of Jewish Education in Greater New York, 1951-52*, conducted by Dr. Israel S. Chipkin and edited by Louis L. Ruffman (Jewish Education Committee, New York), p. 12, lists seven "aims" which schools were asked to rank in order of importance. Although the survey did not deal with the aims of *parents*, the fact that the aims formulated by Chipkin so closely parallel my own

Socialization Goals

In the light of the above considerations, there appeared in the questionnaire the following question designed to elicit from the parents their hopes of what their children's Jewish profile should ultimately be:

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU THAT, WHEN YOUR CHILDREN GROW UP, THEY SHALL . . .

- a) Know how to take part in Jewish religious practices?
- b) Observe Jewish religious practices?
- c) Feel themselves part of the Jewish People?
- d) Have a background of Jewish knowledge?
- e) Have a high regard for the value of the Jewish heritage?
- f) Have faith in God?
- g) Have Jewish friends?
- h) Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards?
- i) Take part in the Jewish community? (Anything else?)

Responses were to be given on a four-point scale: extremely (3), greatly (2), somewhat (1), not at all (0).⁹

(which were arrived at independently without knowledge of his list) adds support to the validity of my analysis.

These aims (followed, in parentheses, by the numbers of my own elements, above, which they parallel are as follows: Ethical behavior with one's fellow men (8); Favorable attitudes towards Jewishness (5); Knowledge of subject matter (4); Observance of Jewish practices (7); Participation in Jewish communal life (2); Personality development (no direct parallel); Self-identification with things Jewish (1). My elements 3 (friends), 6 (faith) and 9 (religious skills) are not paralleled in the New York study.

⁹ Consideration had been given, in planning the questionnaire, to the inclusion of a series of

As can be seen from Table One, the most important socialization goals in the minds of the parents are the feeling of being part of the Jewish People and the possession of a high regard for the value of the Jewish heritage, with the former slightly edging out the latter. Over four-fifths of the parents regard it as *extremely important* that their children should have a sense of identification with the Jewish People, and almost all the remaining parents consider it to be *greatly important*. Almost as many feel the same way about having their children develop a positive attitude to Judaism.

More than half of the parents regard it as extremely important that their children shall have a background of Jewish knowledge and live in accordance with ethical standards. It is worthy of note, however, that about 100 of the 624 parents who strongly desire that their children *think well* about their Jewish heritage are less concerned that the children should *know* what that heritage is. Even more striking is the decrease in proportion of those who are deeply concerned that their children should *do* anything (within the areas included in the question) with their Jewishness.

Of all the nine elements, there is *least consensus* about the desire that the children should have faith in God. Although practically half of the respon-

items relating to each of the elements. For example, instead of "Know how to take part in Jewish religious practices," separate questions could have been asked about ability to follow the synagogue service, to read the prayer book, to conduct a seder, etc. For practical research reasons, however, such items were not used. It is true that their absence makes it more likely that the parents differed among themselves as to the precise meaning of their responses; yet, at this stage of research, it was felt that it was enough to learn the importance of the nine elements to the parents *as they themselves understood them*. The consistency of the results seems to indicate that there was at least a general agreement among the respondents as to the meaning of the terms.

TABLE ONE
 "HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU THAT, WHEN YOUR CHILDREN GROW UP, THEY SHALL..."
 N = 816

ELEMENTS (In Descending Order of Medians)	A	B	C	D	E
	MEDIAN	Extremely (=3)	Greatly (=2)	Somewhat (=1)	Not at all (=0)
Feel themselves part of the Jewish People?	2.9	81%	18%	1%	0.1%
Have a high regard for the value of the Jewish heritage?	2.9	77	20	2	0.1
Have a background of Jewish knowledge?	2.7	65	32	3	0
Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards?	2.6	59	32	9	1
Have faith in God?	2.4	49	28	18	6
Know how to take part in Jewish religious practices?	2.1	32	48	19	1
Take part in the Jewish community?	2.0	30	43	25	2
Have Jewish friends?	1.9	24	44	28	4
Observe Jewish religious practices?	1.8	22	43	32	3

Column A:—Median Scores of Parents for Each Element.

(Medians can range from 0 [all agreeing on "Not at all"] to 3 [unanimity on "Extremely" important], serving as summaries of the degree of importance attached to each element by all the parents.)

Columns B-E:—Percentages of Parents Who Assigned Various Degrees of Importance to Each Element.

(Totals from left to right should add up to 100%, although rounding errors may lead to totals of 99 or 101.)

dents regarded it as extremely important, another quarter of the parents regarded it, at best, as somewhat important (including six per cent of the total who considered it to be *not at all* important). This is generally true, with certain notable exceptions, of every school and of both mothers and fathers.¹⁰ Hence, most schools in our sample are dealing with parents who hold widely divergent views as to the place of religious belief in Jewishness.

One final observation can be made at this point. Our friend whom we quoted at the beginning of the article as not wanting his daughter to learn rituals has substantial company who share his attitude. Over a third of the parents are not especially concerned whether or not

their children observe Jewish religious practices. Even to learn *how* to participate in religious observances is not of great moment to twenty percent of the parents.

Spontaneous Responses

About one out of every eight respondents (62 mothers and 46 fathers) took advantage of the invitation to add, at the end of the question, "anything else." Of these, close to one third (22 mothers and 12 fathers) expressed the desire that, when their children grew up, they would not intermarry.¹¹ This is the subject which evoked by far the largest

¹¹ Opposition to intermarriage is not at all related to preference for Jewish friends; this group of parents has the same distribution of attitudes to "Have Jewish friends" as do all the other parents.

¹⁰ For the exceptions, see footnote 13.

number of responses. About half as many parents (18) referred to support for and identification with the State of Israel, 13 mentioned personality development, 12 spoke of ethical living, 12 referred to the need to fulfill Jewish obligations ("live a Jewish life," "remain traditional," "not deny their Jewishness," etc.) and 10 expressed a desire for a positive attitude toward being Jewish ("proud to be a Jew," etc.).

In regard to specific instruction, ten parents made reference to the Hebrew language. The only other subjects included were history, customs, and Jewish literature, by one respondent each.

Differences Among Types of Schools

In Table Two, we see the differences that exist among the parents of children

in the various types of schools surveyed in our study. For the parents in the Orthodox day school, a further breakdown is made, showing the differences between those 90 parents who call themselves "Orthodox" and the 75 others who do not so label themselves.

Turning first to the numbers in parentheses, we see the order of importance of the nine elements for each parental group. What impresses us most is the close agreement among all the schools regarding most of the elements. Thus, every one of them ranks "Sense of belonging to the Jewish People" as most important, followed by "A high regard for the value of the Jewish heritage." We do see certain differences among types of schools as well as between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox parents in the Orthodox day school.

TABLE TWO
 COMPARISON OF PARENTAL GOALS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Elements	Orthodox Day School			Conser- vative Day School	Orthodox After- noon	Conser- vative After- noon	Reform After- noon
	Entire School	(Orthodox Parents)	(Non- Orth. Parents)				
Belonging to Jewish People	2.9 (1)	3.0 (1)	2.9 (1)	3.0 (1)	2.9 (1)	2.9 (1)	2.8 (1)
High regard for heritage	2.9 (2)	2.9 (2.5)	2.9 (2)	2.9 (2)	2.9 (2)	2.8 (2)	2.7 (2)
Background of Jewish knowledge	2.9 (3)	2.9 (4)	2.8 (3)	2.9 (3)	2.8 (3)	2.7 (3)	2.4 (4)
Jewish ethical standards	2.8 (4)	2.9 (2.5)	2.6 (5)	2.8 (4)	2.6 (4)	2.6 (4)	2.4 (3)
Faith in God	2.8 (5)	2.9 (5)	2.6 (4)	1.5 (9)	2.5 (5)	2.3 (5)	2.4 (5)
Knowhow in religious practices	2.6 (6)	2.8 (6)	2.2 (6)	2.0 (6)	2.1 (6)	2.0 (6)	1.8 (7)
Take part in Jewish community	2.4 (8)	2.7 (8)	2.0 (7)	2.1 (5)	1.9 (8)	1.9 (7)	1.9 (6)
Have Jewish friends	2.2 (9)	2.3 (9)	2.0 (9)	1.6 (8)	2.0 (7)	1.9 (8)	1.6 (8)
Observe religious practices	2.6 (7)	2.8 (7)	2.0 (8)	1.7 (7)	1.8 (9)	1.7 (9)	1.5 (9)
Number of Parents =	165	(90)	(75)	58	35	506	52

The first figure given is the *median*, as explained in Table One. The figure in parentheses is rank which gives the order of importance (as shown by the relative sizes of medians) of each element vis-a-vis the other elements for each school type. Although medians are shown here with only one decimal place, comparisons are based on the use of additional decimal places where necessary.

These will become clearer as we examine the medians.

Orthodox Day School

A comparison of medians for each element shows that the Orthodox day school is consistently just about at the top. Among the afternoon schools, there is a descent from the Orthodox, through the Conservative, to the Reform. The Conservative day school has a pattern different from the others, ranging from the highest of all (for "People") to the lowest of all (for "Faith").

When we separate the Orthodox from the non-Orthodox parents within the Orthodox day school, we find the former always above the latter. Yet, the non-Orthodox are not found to be on the same level as those with whom they are ideologically akin,¹² the parents in the Conservative afternoon schools; they are more in the higher range of the Orthodox afternoon school (and even above it).

Over a third of the 90 Orthodox parents in the Orthodox day school marked every one of the nine elements "extremely important"; even among the non-Orthodox parents in that school, 10 of the 75 did the same. By contrast, of the 651 parents in all the other schools only 33 (not a single one from the Reform school) gave the same across-the-board answer to this question. This pattern of response may represent an affirmation that everything about being Jewish, whatever it is, is extremely important, or it may be that the questionnaire did not provide a sufficient opportunity for differentiating the degrees of importance on the upper level. Whatever the reason, those who send their children to an Orthodox day school, especially those who con-

¹² Eighty percent of these non-Orthodox identify themselves as "Conservative".

sider themselves Orthodox, appear to be the most intensely interested that their children should grow up as committed Jews.

The sharpest distinction between the Orthodox parents and all the others is in the area of *ritual observance*. Only here do we find the desire that the children "observe Jewish religious practices" to be almost on a level with the desire that they should "know how" to observe. (This is true even if we eliminate from consideration those who answered "extremely" to everything.) The parents in the other schools, all of whom rated observance very low, still would like their children to have some familiarity with Jewish observance if the need ever were to arise to use their training. Apparently, the Orthodox take a different position — that there is no virtue to the possession of religious skills unless they are put into practice.

Of even greater significance to the Orthodox (as to most other parents) than religious observance is *religious faith*. Five out of every six of them regard "faith in God" as extremely important. (For observance, it is only 3 out of 4.)¹³

The non-Orthodox parents in this day school stand out most from the afternoon parents by their desire for the development of *faith*. As a group, they do not score as low on *observance* as do the parents in the Conservative afternoon schools, but that is due largely (although not entirely) to the impact of those who marked all the elements with the same top score of "3".

¹³ These Orthodox parents are the principal exception to the generalization that there is "least consensus about the desire that the children should have faith in God." Here, there is substantial consensus. Among the parents in the Orthodox afternoon school (particularly the mothers), the non-Orthodox in this day school, and the mothers in the Reform afternoon school, the consensus is moderate, with one or two other elements exceeding it in diversity of opinion.

Conservative Day School

It has already been pointed out that the parents of the Conservative day school are most selective of all the groups in their attitudes toward the various elements. Some they want very intensely; about others they are quite apathetic.

What they want most intensely, aside from the sense of belonging to the Jewish people, is that the children should have an intellectual appreciation of Jewishness — "a *high regard* for the value of the Jewish heritage" and a "background of Jewish *knowledge*." It is the only school in which there were practically as many parents who rated the latter element as extremely important as there were those who gave that top rating to the former. The Orthodox parents of the Orthodox day school constitute the only other group which approximates them in this regard.¹⁴

The elements concerning which they are apathetic have to do with religion. Thus, fully half of the parents in this school feel that *faith* is only somewhat (or even not at all) important for their children. The only aspect of tradition which seems to interest them is *Jewish ethics*.¹⁵

Reform Afternoon School

The Reform afternoon school parents are, as has been shown, lowest on almost every one of the elements. The only exception is "faith in God," where they rank slightly above the Conservative afternoon school parents.¹⁶ Their interest

¹⁴ See discussion of the relationship between *knowledge* and *high regard* following table one.

¹⁵ Note that, although the school is under Conservative auspices, only about a half of the parents consider themselves Conservative. The others are divided among Orthodox, Reform, Reconstructionist, Secular, and "Other".

¹⁶ This interest in faith may be a reflection of the Reform emphasis as expressed, for example, in "The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism,"

in religious faith, however, does not carry over to religious practice. Only one parent among them regarded *observance* as extremely important; over half considered it to be of little or no importance.

The greatest difference between this school and the others is on the matter of *knowledge*; it is the only school in which *fewer than half* of the parents considered it as extremely important that their children should "have a background of Jewish knowledge."

Orthodox Afternoon School

The afternoon school which is here labeled "Orthodox" calls itself a "Community School." Sponsored by an Orthodox congregation, only about one third of its parents consider themselves Orthodox, and a similar number classify themselves as Conservative.

The *ranking* of the elements by the parents here is very much like that of the Conservative afternoon school parents, although the scores tend to be higher.¹⁷

Conservative Afternoon Schools

Comparisons between the Conservative afternoon schools and the other types of schools have been dealt with above. All that remains is to compare the four schools in this category with each other.

On six of the elements there is essential agreement among all four. Differences from school to school exist only in regard to *friends*, *observance*, and *faith*. We have seen (p. 9 f.) that there is a

adopted in Columbus in 1937 (the last such official declaration by the Reform movement): "The heart of Judaism and its chief contribution to religion is the doctrine of the One, living God. . ."

¹⁷ Great caution should be used in drawing conclusions from the data of the Orthodox and Reform afternoon schools, as well as of the Conservative day school, because of the small number of respondents in each of these groups.

wide disparity among parents regarding *faith*; it is not surprising that there should be divergence from school to school as well. Observance does not vary as much, but it tends to go along with faith (even though it trails behind it) among the Conservative even as it does among the Orthodox. As a result, we can rank the four schools in terms of "religiosity" (including both faith and observance). The highest has a median of 2.7 for faith and 1.9 for observance; the lowest has medians of 1.9 and 1.6 respectively. The other two schools are graduated in between.

Mothers and Fathers

Mothers and fathers, within a particular type of school, tend to *rank* the nine elements in very much the same way, showing a similar order of priorities. As to their *rating* of the elements, expressive of the intensity of their desires, mothers are higher than (or at least as high as) fathers in the Conservative afternoon schools; fathers are higher than (or as high as) mothers among the Orthodox in the Orthodox day school. In the Conservative day school, where those elements which are wanted rank very high while those which are not wanted rank very low, the mothers are higher than the fathers on the former items and lower on the latter items. Apparently, they are even more discriminating than their spouses. (Within the other groups, there is no consistent pattern.)

The general conclusion from all our data is that sex of parent is less important than the school to which the child goes and the parent's own religious "denomination."

Significance of the Findings

The findings that have been reported here can be treated, with proper circumspection, as an indication of the direction in which the parents we have

tested want to see their children grow. Whether similar results would be found in other schools in other areas can be known only if the study is replicated elsewhere.¹⁸ Yet, the similarity to be found between fathers and mothers of each school and among parents in the eight schools (together with the plausibility of the differences) leads us to believe that our findings have a solid foundation. Further research will show how solid that foundation is.

The specific conclusions are, in a sense, secondary to the kind of parent-school teamwork which is facilitated by the study's approach. "The aims of instruction . . . will and should determine the choice of subject areas and content to be covered in each [such subject area], the relative emphasis to be given to each subject in terms of time allotment and the spirit which prevails in the school's classroom instruction."¹⁹ When the "aims of instruction," as implemented in the school program, are those held in common by both the parents and the school administration, then a greater degree of cooperation may be anticipated.

Interpretation by the educator of how the school is helping the children to become what they, their parents, *want them to become* will give the parents a greater stake in the success of the school's operation. Furthermore, mutual consultation concerning shared goals can lead to cross-fertilization of ideas and improved functioning of the school.

But what about the differences? What if the parents have very different ideas from the educator's as to how the children should develop? An awareness of the differences may make it possible to narrow the gap. Ignorance of the dif-

¹⁸ Hebrew College and the author would be glad to be of assistance to qualified persons who wish to replicate the study with other groups of parents.

¹⁹ Louis L. Ruffman, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

ferences will only produce frustrations and tensions as teachers try to achieve results which parents regard as inconsequential or neglect to do what parents consider to be indispensable.

This is not to imply that school people should substitute parents' judgment for their own. There may be times when the educational conscience will dictate a different set of priorities from those held by the parents. In such cases, there should be careful explanation to the parents of why the aims which are pursued in the school diverge from those which they desire, and teachers should be forewarned not to expect substantial support from parents for programs in which the latter are not interested.

Cooperation that results from an awareness of mutually held goals can go beyond the school itself. In every subgroup that we have examined, we have found that the parents consider that *they* and their *home* have a greater "effect in helping to develop [their] children as Jews" than does the school. If they can

be helped to see that home and school are both directed toward the same desired ends, the resources of the home can be mustered and integrated with the resources of the school for the harmonious Jewish development of the child.

We introduced this article by telling how a lack of understanding between teacher and parent ended with the child's dropping out of school. We hope that better understanding between the two may result in more effective schooling.

NOTE: Technical information underlying this study may be obtained by writing directly to the author at 665 So. Center St., Orange, N.J., 07050. Available are tables showing 1) comparisons between mothers and fathers, 2) indices of consensus on each element for all types of schools, and 3) more detailed forms of Tables One and Two. Also obtainable are descriptions of previous studies referred to on page 2 f., of the survey procedure used in this study, and of the method of statistical analysis of the data.