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A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF FOUNDATIONS FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN JEWISH EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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VITA

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CHAPTER 1

A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
OF THE JEWISH CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

A survey of the curricula proposed by the three major Jewish movements in the United States, as well as those published by independent educational institutions and agencies, clearly support the fact that "all learning opportunities" in the Jewish school today consist of experiences with subject-matter texts. The only curriculum component which is given any serious consideration is the area of cognitive learning. Yet, the conventional wisdom of the field of curriculum development identifies the ideal curriculum as one broad enough to provide a wide range of learning opportunities—experiences that clearly lie beyond the cognitive mastery of a body of subject matter.

Despite supposed denominational differences, Jewish education throughout the nation deals with the same areas, Hebrew language and grammar, Bible, history, prayer, and a curricular component called "customs and ceremonies". It is one thesis of this study that this selection of content is not accidental, but rather an inchoate recognition that the
curriculum makers are, in fact, defining Judaism in this manner. It is also contended that by making such a definition of content operational, virtually all the groups have subscribed to a Jewish curriculum which prevents giving attention to crucial learning experiences that lie outside of the subject matter so narrowly defined. In effect, these curricula ignore the needs of the child in his or her cultural environment. There does not even seem to be a hint of attempting to meet their needs. Nor, is there any attempt to deal with the Jewish community in its current environment.

One finds a total lack of provision for communal participation in the curriculum-making process. In a period when every major writer in the field calls for communal participation, the Jewish curriculum leaders continue to act as if the community is some type of transcendent unit totally unaffected by temporal or cultural change. There have, in fact, been studies made to determine the various educational, social, and religious needs of the community. The study most often cited is the Lakeville studies sponsored by the American Jewish Committee (Sklare and Greenblum, 1967). This particular study of a midwestern Jewish community and its internal structure, desires, and opinions, as well as its relationship to the general community, pointed to some factors that would be invaluable in the curriculum study (Liebman, 1972).
These studies document such problems as decline of Synagogue attendance, the decline of religious beliefs, problems of intermarriage, growing drug addiction among Jewish youth, and the problem of alienation in the face of an open society. None of these problems are reflected in any more than a cursory manner in the existing curricula. Moreover, school administrators, principals, and teachers do not seem to have played any role in formulating the existing curricula. It appears that all curricula are written by central agencies without any documented evidence that these common factors or participants have any role. In fact, if there is a "vanishing teenager" in America today, there is an "invisible Jewish child" in the curriculum. In view of this situation, this investigation will examine the chaotic state of the field of Jewish education. Such an examination will serve as a matrix for the generation of a more effective conceptual framework drawing upon yet untapped foundational sources.

Another serious problem in the field of Jewish education centers on the fact that even when curricula are proposed, there is little evidence of any testing or evaluation of the curricula. Significant provision for instruments to evaluate the curriculum have not yet been developed. Even in the case where an entire research center was established (Melton, 1960) to work in this area, there has yet to appear any type of evaluation procedure or instrument for
evaluation of the program. There are no data available to draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of their work. Most major curricular programs, in every area except Jewish education, tend to be subject to analysis and evaluation. There is no doubt that any attempt to analyze a complex social structure leads to problems in dealing with complex variables. However, not to initiate the study and analysis is to allow the existing state of confusion to widen.

For the purpose of this investigation, Judaism will be defined in very global terms. Religious and secular groups in the Jewish community would take issue with the proposed definition. However, it is this fear of disagreement which has been one of the major contributors to the curriculum paralysis just delineated. Mordecai M. Kaplan's definition that "Judaism as otherness" is something far more comprehensive than Jewish religion. It seems appropriate, therefore, as a base for this study. It includes "the nexus of a history, literature, language and social organization, folk sanctions, standards of conduct, social and spiritual ideals, esthetic values, which in their totality form a civilization. It is a social heritage made up of the sum of characteristic usages, ideas, standards, and codes by which the Jewish people is differentiated and individualized in character from the other peoples" (Kaplan, 1935). This definition, as a consequence, serves to broaden our perspective to allow us to see Jewish education as having to deal
with more than a limited text-subject matter phenomenon narrowly defined. It allows us to move to social, cultural, and esthetic components of racial experience as a resource for curriculum making. In fact, not to move in this direction would be to develop curriculum on an indefensibly narrow base.

In analyzing the various elements of the curriculum in terms of this broader definition of Judaism, this investigation will propose directions that move beyond the current practices. As background for the study, and to suggest something of the nature of these projected new directions, some illustrations are in order. Like the existing curricula, language instruction will be an essential component. However, the curriculum maker must come to view Hebrew as a foreign language with all the inherent problems of foreign language instruction. The available Hebrew language programs up to and including the high school level tend to ignore works in linguistics as well as the extensive literature on foreign language teaching. The concept of inquiry-oriented teaching strategies is virtually nonexist­ent. Likewise, the venture into esthetics seems to be limited to early childhood "clipping and pasting". The whole concept of the Jew as part of a real and organized social organization must be confronted and dealt with in any reconceptualization of curricular content. All the curricula under investigation start with the preschool
program, but none either indicates an awareness or expresses an interest in the almost revolutionary work being done today in early childhood education.

Although we propose to explore the elements that will comprise a reconceptualization of the foundations for the Jewish curriculum development in America, we must not see the Jewish community as living above reality. As indicated earlier, there have been studies showing the problems and realities of a contemporary community. We must also be able to deal with social and political forces in contemporary society which appear to be calling attention to new directions in the American intellectual scene. Contemporary social criticism has serious consequences for the Jew and the Jewish school. For example, what does the "greening of America" and the "new consciousness" do to a Jewish school? Can a "radical man" really be a part of the Jewish community? Does Erikson's view of the development of a "social being" affect the way in which we will have to structure the Jewish school in order to survive as a member of an American subculture? These new voices on the American scene must be dealt with as possible sources for curriculum development and practice.

Jewish curricular studies which recognize these new forces in American life are not to be found. This reluctance to deal with such phenomena has undoubtedly led to more and more text-oriented curricula, and consequently
to greater and greater assimilation. While there have been essays on some aspects of the current cultural revolution (Fein, 1970) there is no attempt to deal with it in curricular, or school terms. This investigation proposes, therefore, to draw on several of the major thinkers in this area. To paraphrase, one can do Jewish curriculum against the social forces and ideas, or one can write curricula with the recognition of social reality, but one cannot do serious work in Jewish curriculum without dealing with the social ideas and movements of contemporary America. This is a major hypothesis underlying this investigation.

Several examples will serve to illustrate further the point being made here, and will serve as a backdrop for the proposed study. Erikson, in Childhood and Society, discusses the rites of passage used by an Indian tribe which allows a youth to define himself in terms of his group. He sees this as helping develop a clearly defined sense of "self-rite" minimum of anxiety. This is part of a larger analysis of ego formation and self-esteem. Judaism also has a rite of passage known as Bar Mitzvah which has traditionally taken place at age 13. It, too, was intended to allow a young man the opportunity to define his role and to "pass" into adulthood. If we are to take Erikson seriously, then the rite must be a real one, and the resulting effect must be the ritualization and communal recognition of one's manhood. In typical ceremonies today,
the only outcome that seems obvious is that in terms of a rite of passage, the whole elaborate and sometimes vulgar ceremony tends to leave a confused American Jewish adolescent more confused. He tends to feel not a sense of accomplishment, but rather, a sense of disappointment. If this is true, then this ritual warrants a close examination and an effort to put it in its place as a legitimate and educationally valid ritual. If "identity crisis" is a real term, Jews must come to grips with it and provide for identity formation in their curriculum. For a subculture not to do this means the eventual demise of that subculture.

If concepts like Reich's "consciousness" are not dealt with by the Jewish educator, then clearly other problems and issues will emerge. The heightened consciousness, the awareness of self, and all that that means in Reich's terms, present a problem to a very group-oriented people. If one can allow for a heightened awareness that permits one to be a true member of a group without surrendering his own integrity, then Jewish life and Jewish education at a higher level is possible.

These are but two of the ideas which illustrate how the Jewish curriculum worker must be aware of and come to terms with the multitude of intellectual social ideas which affect the student and the society in which he lives. This type of analysis is valuable not only for Jewish
groups, but also for various ethnic subcultures attempting to survive in America. A preliminary survey of the literature does not identify any ethnic studies curriculum which take a global approach proposed in this investigation. Instead, most curriculum theorists and practitioners tend to dwell on their own peculiar experience and tend to stress only their minority group contributions to the surrounding majority culture.

A second component which will serve as a foundational source for the proposed conceptual framework is the body of theory centered on curriculum development. The investigator will focus on Schwab's recent work. The concept of the "missing community" (Newmann and Oliver, 1967) becomes an important element in dealing with the "agents of translation" (Schwab, 1972) and the methods of translation. There can be no sense of collegiality or effective functioning of the proposed change agents, unless all realize that the basic commitment to a genuine sense of community is a prior condition for any meeting of minds or subsequent cooperative action. In this analysis of the curriculum theory component, the feasibility of the Schwab thesis will be tested by projecting scenarios of actual curriculum development procedure in practical field settings. Furthermore, prototypical units will be generated to raise both theoretical and practical questions within a modification of the Schwabian framework. The literature reveals
only one attempt to use the method suggested by Schwab (Fox 1972).

While many curriculum theorists deal with ideas and proposals, few, if any, see their proposals in terms of their effect on the school as a social organization. Any curriculum design emerging from the conceptual framework to be generated in this study would be only so much speculation if one could not make a case for its acceptance and actual operation. Consequently, the study must also deal with the whole concept of innovation and its acceptance by any host organization. The literature reveals that, perhaps, one reason for the lack of follow-through or even initiation of evaluation of curricular proposals has been the almost naive approach to social organization on the part of Jewish educators. Research shows that an organization can be changed if it is "invaded by liberal creative and unconventional outsiders with fresh perspectives" (Corwin, 1972). Mere rewriting of cognitive goals, an undertaking which tends to be widespread, will never effect a change in any Jewish school curriculum.

The extensive literature on innovation also points out that the clientele must be of such nature that they are receptive to change, that they must, indeed, expect and want innovative ideas and leadership. Given such expectations a strategy which would superimpose change has little likelihood of success (Clark, 1960, 1968). Moreover, this
points out one of the weaknesses with the three major movements in curriculum planning. They do not deal with this variable in their planning. They tend to treat all suggestions as absolutes, and their word as the role determinant of the need to accept the change. Another set of variables dealing with innovation are those variables which deal with the nature of the change agents or innovative leaders.

A. Etzioni in two works, "Organizational Control Structure", in Handbook of Organizations, ed. by J. G. March (1965), and Readings on Modern Organizations (1964), asserts that the power to innovate comes either from the specific position, or from the personal qualities of the leader (Clark, 1968, and Robert Merton, 1969). This variable of the innovative leader is important for the applied aspect of the proposed investigation. Curriculum leaders, or guides, cannot hope to achieve any success without an awareness of this feature of leadership in an organizational structure.

Another variable mentioned only by Clark in The Distinctive College (1968), was the "Sage of Organized Change". His hypothesis supports the fact that the feeling by the clientele that the change has a certain status conferring "mystique" is an important variable. Another set of variables which must be included are those which deal with the "cosmopolitan" versus the "local", or provincial leaders. In effect, the type of leadership in a typical
Jewish organizational setting will be an important dependent variable. If, for example, leaders in Jewish communities see their schools as personal fiefdoms, and cannot see or understand how they will improve their school and personal position by allowing change agents, then we can assume that any project will be doomed unless a "reward" is in evidence. In the case of communal leaders, this may be the status conferred by the role of leader in an innovative project. In the case of parents, the reward might well be the satisfaction gained from knowing that their children's Jewish education has been improved and guaranteed by their personal efforts. In the case of scholars and professional educators, the reward might have to take the form of fees or payments which would justify to them the expense of time involved and the time taken from their own academic and professional projects.

These ideas clearly indicate parameters for curriculum development that extend far beyond the parochial borders of conventional Jewish education. The problems raised and issues to be confronted will also prove useful for many ethnic subcultures in America. This is especially true when one considers the rising concerns that ethnic groups have voiced in recent years as the United States tends to recognize more fully the pluralistic nature of its citizens and their educational needs.
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This investigation involves the development of a conceptual framework to guide curriculum development and instruction in Jewish education. The study itself will (1) identify the foundational sources underlying such a framework, (2) delineate the problems involved in utilizing data from these sources, and (3) illustrate prototypical examples of curriculum planning utilizing this framework. In effect, this study will result in a reconceptualization of the foundations for curriculum development in Jewish education.

The study is philosophical-logical in its mode of inquiry, utilizing both analysis and synthesis. Theoretically, it draws upon the definition of prescriptive slogan-systems proposed by Komisar and McClellan. The defense of this mode of inquiry also rests with such explanations of need as Thomas Kuhn's The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, which clearly calls for new and different theoretical paradigms if problems of applied science and social science are to be approached with fresh


perspectives. MacDonald's review of the state of the field of curriculum theory makes a strong case for the need to reconceptualize the field if more adequate applications are to be generated. As is the case with all philosophical-logical inquiry, the major criterion regarding effectiveness will be: does the inquiry raise significant new questions and suggest leaderships to be tested in further empirical field-oriented research? The state of the field of curriculum development is such at this stage in 1974 that such empirical studies cannot proceed without the kinds of conceptual underpinnings as those that will be generated in this study.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT OF THE STUDY

The report of the study will be organized with five chapters as follows: Chapter 1, A Statement of the Problem of the Jewish Curriculum (introduction and background); Chapter 2, The Reconceptualization of Jewish Culture as a Curriculum Component; Chapter 3, Curriculum Development in the Social Context; Chapter 4, Proposed Conceptual Framework and Prototypical Examples of Curriculum Design; and Chapter 5, Summary and Recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

THE RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF JEWISH CULTURE AS A CURRICULUM COMPONENT

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR THE JEWISH CURRICULUM

The curriculum is understood to be the medium through which a culture specifies those elements which it selects to transmit to its future generations. In terms of education the curriculum becomes the essence of any culture because it functions as the medium of translation. A study of specific attempts to formulate a Jewish curriculum in America reveals those elements of Jewish culture which Jewish educators have chosen, and what they perceive as the essence of the Jewish subculture in America. The method and content for selection remains a fairly ambiguous thing, but there have been some attempts at justifying the selection. One American Jewish educator has candidly said that the selection and criteria are conditioned by "background, ability, state of mind, personal problems and orientation"¹ of those who make the selection. It is the intention of this study to

reconceptualize Jewish culture as a curriculum component. A reformulation of any nature is obligated to come to terms with the previous formulations of Jewish curricula in the United States.

The American Jewish experience has presented the curriculum planner with a set of variables heretofore not encountered in Jewish history, an open society and social mobility. The life of the ghetto, and the resultant social isolation, has fostered a life style and education for that life style which was appropriate to that environment. The openness and social mobility of American society has been the greatest challenge to the American Jewish educator. He has been forced to confront this new reality and attempt to formulate a viable curriculum which would permit the Jewish subculture to continue to develop and thrive without abandoning the past, or being submerged by the majority culture.

This awareness of the problem facing Jewish education is articulated by the content of the statements of aims and objectives of both the early twentieth-century Jewish educators, and those down to the present time. Their statements of objectives reflects their acute awareness that they were dealing with a new phenomenon in Jewish history. These statements further reflect a sense of obligation by the educators to assure their constituents that they would not betray the new-found freedom and openness on the one hand, and the content of Jewish culture on the other. This need
to reassure the new Jewish immigrant of the early twentieth-century indicates the insecurities and fears of the group.

Howard M. Sachar has offered a description of this immigrant which suggests the nature of the group, and the challenge they offered to the Jewish educator:

"... the true significance of the Jewish migration to the United States was the willingness of the newcomers to adapt themselves to the speed, the tempo, the efficiency of American life; but also their willingness to follow the path marked out by most of the Sephardic and many of the German Jews who had preceded them; namely, their unwillingness to abandon their ethnic and cultural inheritance. It was the fusion of the New World efficiency and wealth with old world ethnocentrism which enabled the American Jewish community to move into the center of Jewish history for the seventy years that followed the May Laws, and to dominate that history until the rise of the State of Israel in 1948."²

The willingness of the newcomers to adapt to American culture, combined with their need and desire to retain some of the familiar and important aspects of Jewish culture as they had known it, was the impetus for Jewish education to begin the process of selection of curricula to meet their

requirements. This meant that the educator was given the practical task of developing a curriculum which would conceptualize Jewish culture in such a way that it would allow the immigrant to "strike roots, to consolidate and to move forward".

The early curriculum writers accepted the challenge of the need to respond to America, and in so doing demonstrated that they felt confident that they could integrate Jewish education with the American majority culture without sacrificing subculture integrity. This was the major theme of all of the leading Jewish educators of the early and middle twentieth century. For the purpose of illustrating this point, this study has selected the formulation of this position as articulated by the leader of Jewish education in this period, Samson Benderly.

Benderly articulated this position throughout his career, and always maintained that it was possible to retain the desired group identity, and develop a curriculum which would achieve this goal. "What must be borne in mind is that the new system of Jewish education must be based upon principles underlying the life of all American Jews."  


4Nathan H. Winter, Jewish Education in a Pluralist Society; Samson Benderly and Jewish Education in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 1966), Introduction XV.
... "Our country is by far the most favorable to the proper development of the broad-minded Jew, whose broadness does not depend on his Judaism". Benderly subsequently added a phrase which strengthened the position, "The aim of the Jewish school is to reproduce American Jewry, that is to make a new generation of Jews out of the present Jewish children". Benderly later qualified the challenge to Jewish education even further when he asked, "Are the schools merely aiming to reproduce that which has passed, or are they striving, on the basis of the past heritage, to produce a generation which shall be capable of developing a new link in the historic chain of Jewish life—American Judaism". Benderly and his colleagues did understand their role as forgers of a new mold, the new American Jew who would be capable of integrating two different cultures. This avowed goal led to the formulation of curricula for various types of schools.

This investigation has selected various figures in Jewish education as examples of how widespread the above-stated goals of Jewish education had become. While these

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5Samson Benderly, "The Jewish Educational Problem, The Jewish Comment" (Baltimore, Maryland: June 12, 1903). Read before the Sixth Zionist Convention; also quoted in Winter Jewish Education in a Pluralist Society, pp 47-48.

examples are not exhaustive, they are felt to be represent­
tive of a cross section of the field of Jewish education.

Benderly is considered a nondenominational representa­
tive of the field. Mordecai M. Kaplan, the founder of the
Reconstructionist group in the Jewish community, is another
leader and major voice in the early and mid-twentieth
century American Jewish community education. Speaking
almost two decades after the statements quoted above,
Kaplan continued the theme that Benderly had first
articulated, the theme of integrating Jewish education into
the American culture:

"The aim of Jewish education may be defined thus: to
develop in the rising generation a desire and a capacity 1) to participate in Jewish life, 2) to understand and to appreciate the Hebrew language and literature, 3) to put into practice Jewish patterns of conduct both ethical and religious, 4) to appreciate and adopt Jewish sanctions and aspirations, 5) to stimulate artistic creativity in the expression of Jewish values. It is almost superfluous to add that all of these objectives presuppose a type of Jewish life which is completely integrated into a progressive and dynamic American life. In view of the high ethical and spiritual implications of the Jewish civilization, an American Jewish child who has the advantage of a Jewish training of the proper kind has his sympathies broadened, has his tastes refined, and his striving socialized".

Benderly and Kaplan were joined in their echoing of
this goal of integration by Emanuel Gamoran, Director of
Religious Education for the Reform Movement in Judaism for

\[\text{Mordecai M. Kaplan, Judaism as a Civilization (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p 482.}\]
over three decades\textsuperscript{8}. Gamoran also viewed his movement's task as that of transforming the local and larger American and world Jewish communities from a provincial, closed group to a cosmopolitan and integrated entity\textsuperscript{9}.

This study has shown how a broad cross section of American Jewish education formulated their goals and objectives in American Jewish education. Investigation has also shown that all of the groups represented by the leaders mentioned above needed and found a philosophical basis for their goals and objectives in the work of Horace M. Kallen, \textit{Culture and Democracy in the United States}, 1970. This theory was adapted to the Jewish group five years later when Isaac B. Berkson published \textit{Theories of Americanization: A Critical Study With Special Reference to the Jewish Group}. This work served as the philosophical basis of American Jewish education. This theory saw American life as a cultural pluralism in which all groups take from and give to the so-called American culture. This very brief statement of the theory indicates why it was so welcomed and absorbed by every group within the Jewish community from the

\textsuperscript{8}Judah Pilch, ed., \textit{A History of Jewish Education in the United States}, p 111.

religious denominations to the socialist and Yiddish secularist groups. Investigation reveals that this philosophical base for formulating a curriculum for Jewish education was valid and widely held until the end of World War II which saw the Jew emerge as a native-born American "on the suburban frontier". The "new Jew" required a new philosophical base and a new content for his curriculum.

The Jew, since World War II, has seemingly achieved one of his stated goals, becoming an integrated member of American society. As such, he is not willing to "recapture any values institutionalized and expressed in the characteristic experience of the immigrant ghetto". However, the other aspect of the Jew's concern, survival, has always lived in tension with his goal of integration. Before proceeding with this new aspect of the problem of curriculum planning, it is important to see how this


philosophy was translated into statements of aims and objectives, and how this was, in turn, translated into a subject-matter curriculum.

THE CURRICULA AND EXAMPLES OF SUBJECT MATTER AS AN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STATED GOALS

A study of these charts clearly indicates that despite constant social, political, and economic change within the Jewish subculture, the aims and objectives of Jewish education have remained, with little deviation, almost constant since 1912. These charts also indicate that the philosophy of integration so often repeated and so widely held has not found implementation in the curriculum. These curricula also fail to take any notice of the change in the Jewish community since World War II. The failure to actually implement a conceptualization of Jewish culture in light of the philosophy held so clearly can be seen as the major error in past Jewish education. It is important to note that a very recent analysis of Jewish curricula could see the actual conceptualization of Jewish culture meant to

"(1) provide knowledge to the classical texts, and the tradition therein; (2) to foster a life-long commitment to the study of Torah; (3) to develop some form of personal

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<td>3. Pentateuch</td>
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<td>4. Selections from the Mishna and Midrash. Some portions of the Talmud</td>
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<td>I. Torah and Hebrew Language (cont.)</td>
<td>5. Some specimens of medieval Hebrew poetry</td>
<td>5. Collateral Hebrew reading</td>
<td>5. Hebrew literature</td>
<td>5. Theology</td>
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<td>II. Jewish Living</td>
<td>1. Memorizing Jewish benedictions and such short prayers as are fit for children</td>
<td>1. Prayer and worship</td>
<td>1. (Practiced but not subject of curriculum)</td>
<td>1. Worship—the Prayer Book</td>
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<td>2. Special children's service on Sabbath and holidays</td>
<td>2. The Synagogue</td>
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<td>2. Jewish art, music, dance</td>
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<td>3. Acquaintance with Jewish religious observances and ceremonies connected with them</td>
<td>3. Holidays and festivals</td>
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observance; (4) to develop a facility in the Hebrew language and a familiarity with its literature ...", and then despite his familiarity with the actual published curricula as this study has presented can continue ... "to encourage participation in American society, based on a conscious awareness of the relationship between Jewish tradition and democracy."

Thus, a further study of our curricula outlines illustrate the great discrepancy between the professed philosophical base, and the actual program. It also reveals that the culture is actually defined as textual knowledge and is basically subject matter, and "the plethora of subject matter ... is certainly beyond serious treatment in the available time, and even the most serious student cannot hope to acquire more than a hopeless hodgepodge of information ... the hopeless proliferation of subject matter denies even the most competent and dedicated teacher the possibility of significant achievement in any one area."

This de facto definition which in reality defies the philosophical commitments, has by virtue of its statement on curricula eliminated any real integration, and has seen Judaism in very narrow subject matter terms. The


15 Ibid., pp 21-23.
curricula writers have de facto, eliminated all but narrow cognitive skills as their definitions of Jewish culture, and have all but abandoned their oft-stated goal of integration.

THE DAY SCHOOL

This study has primarily dealt with the philosophies and curriculum planners of the afternoon or supplementary school. Investigation reveals that the Jewish all-day school is also a victim of this failure to integrate its curriculum, and offer a comprehensive definition of Jewish culture despite the apparent maximum condition in which to do so. The day school movement, a growing force since World War II, merely imitated the philosophical base offered by the other types of schools. "The Jewish Day School enjoys the role of a private educational institution in the pluralistic American setting." This formula for a philosophy is not limited to any denominational day school movement. Dr. Simon Greenberg, speaking for the conservative denomination day school, echoes this philosophy, "Their importance depends, in the final analysis, upon the faith that the Jewish religion, rooted in the Bible, and in the Rabbinic tradition, is the highest and noblest principle for the integration of the life of the individual Jew, and of

the Jewish community, and that in this land we have the opportunity to make it the center around which to develop the Jewish version of American civilization. This same sentiment is echoed by an orthodox denomination leader who says that the Jewish Day School "is dedicated to the best ideals in Judaism and American democracy. Each approach enriches the other to produce a better Jew, and a better America. The enlargement of this concept of pluralism sees Jewish education as not only integrating, but adding to American culture.

"Instead of imitating the jargons of the established school systems the Hebrew Day School must be candidly explicit in announcing that it is committed to a particular set of values which are embodied in the Jewish religion and are rooted in the whole of established Jewish tradition. As we see it, the question which schools must settle is not whether to teach values, but only which values to teach. In clarifying their own position, the Day Schools may help to eliminate this basic confusion from other types of schools as well. Moreover, in affirming the commitment to Jewish religious values, the Day Schools announce their opposition to scientific naturalism. It is a matter of incalculable importance for the moral and intellectual growth of our society that there be such challenges. Whenever a single philosophy threatens to become the exclusive philosophy of a country or an age it imperils any further development. By reminding America constantly that there are legitimate ways for man to understand himself and his world

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other than through the insights of scientific naturalism, the Day Schools can help to avert the dangers of the kind of intellectual totalitarianism which no democratic society can afford. This is the first and most fundamental contribution of the Hebrew Day School to the pattern of American education. 

For comparison and emphasis this study includes a selection of the curricula of two major divisions of the day school movement. A study of the sample material only reinforces our contention that there is a total failure to complement the stated objectives, and a failure to utilize the curriculum to conceptualize Jewish culture in America. Here, too, there is an overwhelming emphasis on textual study without any apparent attempt to integrate it with the American experience. Our investigation leads us to conclude that in reality Jewish culture is seen as separate and distinct despite the vast literature devoted to claiming the contrary. We also must conclude that despite the awareness of the reality of the Jewish community in America, the failure to conceptualize the culture has resulted in the failure to implement this into a curriculum.

This survey has shown that the failure to conceptualize Jewish culture in keeping with the professed philosophy of integration has led to repeated failures of curriculum. Despite periodic outcries for change, the awareness that

19 Marvin Fox, "Day Schools and the American Educational Pattern", The Jewish Parent (Sept., 1953).

the failure to properly define Jewish culture within the context of the American majority culture has not been heretofore articulated. It is the purpose of this study to reconceptualize the culture so that it may serve as the basis for a viable and realistic curriculum.

OUTLINES OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES PROGRAMS

The Hebraic Day School Curriculum

Grade 1

In the first grade, pupils acquire the basic Hebrew language skills. They learn to

- Read and comprehend simple Hebrew words and sentences
- Follow a simple Hebrew conversation about daily routines
- Express simple thoughts in short Hebrew phrases and sentences
- Print Hebrew letters (in many schools they learn to use cursive writing)
- Recite selected weekday and Sabbath prayers and blessings; appreciate Jewish values such as charity, honesty, Jewish learning
- Learn simple Sabbath, holiday, and Israeli songs.

In this grade, pupils acquire basic knowledge about the Sabbath, Jewish holidays, and Israel. They learn the importance of Jewish religious observances.
Grade 2

In the second grade, pupils use the basic Hebrew language skills they acquired in the first grade. They learn to

- Read simple Hebrew stories
- Use and read the Prayer Book with relative facility
- Worship as a group (to recite daily and Sabbath prayers)
- Follow a fluent Hebrew conversation
- Speak in simple Hebrew sentences with a measure of fluency
- Understand and use words and phrases found frequently in Humash (Pentateuch)
- Spell simple Hebrew words
- Write Hebrew script
- Compose simple compositions.

They gain more knowledge of the Sabbath and the holidays, and the customs and rituals pertaining to these days. They learn more prayers and blessings for these occasions. They are introduced to the study of Jewish history via Bible stories. (They cover the Biblical period, from Abraham to the destruction of the First Temple.) Their attitude toward Jewish religious and ethical values and toward Israel is reinforced. In many schools pupils are introduced to the study of Humash in this grade.
Grade 3

In the third grade, pupils increase their fluency of Hebrew reading and prayer reading, develop their Hebrew conversational ability and their Hebrew writing and composition skills, gain mastery of Jewish liturgy, and study simple Hebrew literature. In Jewish history they study about the period of the First Temple.

Humash, in the original, is continued (or begun) with intensity. Usually from four to seven sidrot of B'reshit (Genesis) are studied. In some schools the Book of Genesis is completed in this grade. The study of Rashi (the major commentary on the Bible) is initiated.

The study of Jewish values and observances is intensified. Although not a regular subject, Israel is taught via other subjects.

Grade 4

In the fourth grade, children gain further mastery in the Hebrew language arts. They study Hebrew literature, Jewish history (the period of the Second Temple), and Jewish living. They complete the Book of Genesis and learn from five to eight sidrot in the Book of Sh'mot (Exodus). The study of Rashi is intensified. The Book of Joshua (the first book of the Early Prophets) is added to the
curriculum. In this grade pupils learn more about Israel and deepen their knowledge of Jewish values and practices.

Grade 5

In the fifth grade, pupils continue to intensify their knowledge of Hebrew language and literature. In Jewish history they study about the time between the Second Commonwealth and the Golden Era in Spain. They study the Book of Exodus, with liberal sections from the Rashi commentary and the Book of Judges. In this grade, students are introduced to the Talmud (via the study of Mishnah, the first body of post-biblical teachings of the Oral Law) and to the Shulhan Arukh (Code of Jewish Law). The study of Israel is correlated with other subjects.

Grade 6

In the sixth grade, pupils acquire more intensive ability in the subjects studied in earlier grades. In Jewish history they cover the Spanish period. They study Bamidbar (Numbers) with Rashi. Other commentaries are introduced from time to time. In some schools selections from Vayikra (Leviticus) are studied; pupils begin to study Gemara (the vast body of commentaries and teachings based on the Mishnah, and recorded in Aramaic). Samuel I, Hebrew literature, Hebrew composition and grammar, and Shulhan
Arukh are also part of the program. The study of Israel is integrated throughout the subject matter of this grade.

**Grade 7**

In many schools pupils complete the study of the Bible with the Book of Leviticus or the Book of Deuteronomy, and begin to review the Torah in depth. In a number of schools this review takes place via a weekly cycle covering the highlights of each sidrah. The pupils acquire more intensive ability in the study of the Talmud. They study Samuel II, and learn Jewish history from the end of the Spanish period until the Haskalah period. In some schools, girls study Aggaddah, Hebrew literature— and in some programs, Jewish home economics— in lieu of Talmud. The study of Hebrew language, Israel, and Jewish life is continued. Jewish current events are introduced into the program.

**Grade 8**

The Torah is completed or reviewed. Pupils study Kings I and II. The study of Talmud is further intensified taking up about 50 percent of the school day. In Jewish history the modern Jewish era is covered. In some schools, a brief survey of Jewish history is made. Shulhan Arukh is continued. Creative Hebrew writing is stressed in many schools.
Grades 9-12

The following subjects are usually included in the high school curriculum.

The Curriculum of a Talmudic Yeshivah

Grade 1

- Phonetics
- Hebrew reading, simple stories
- Simple Hebrew grammar (declensions)
- Cursive writing
- Jewish life: stories about the Sabbath and holidays in simple Hebrew; basic laws of Sabbath, prayer, holidays, and personal behavior
- Selected morning prayers
- Blessings and religious songs.

Grade 2

- Daily prayers
- Torah: Genesis and Noah (studied orally)
  - Four sidrot in the unabridged Humash text—Lekh-Lekha, Vayera, Haye Sarah, Toldot
- Hebrew reading: simple stories
- Grammar: nouns, verbs (simple conjugations of regular verbs)
- Penmanship
- Jewish life: laws and customs of Sabbath and holidays.
Grade 3

- Daily and Sabbath prayers
- Torah: the last six sidrot in the Book of Genesis
  - Selections from the Rashi commentary on the Bible
- Prophets: Joshua (unabridged)
- Hebrew readings: stories about Jewish life
- Grammar: verbs
- Penmanship
- Jewish life: laws and customs re Sabbath, holidays, daily routines.

Grade 4

- Daily, Sabbath, and holiday prayers
- Torah: Exodus (emphasis on Mishpatim)
  - The first three sidrot in Leviticus
  - Rashi commentary for most versus
- Prophets: Judges, Samuel I, Chapters 1-14
- Talmud: introduction
- Grammar: vocalization, verbs
- Composition work
- Jewish life: the Kitzur Shulhan Arukh (abridged Code of Law)
- Cantillation of Torah and Prophets.
Grade 5

- Torah: Leviticus—last seven chapters; Numbers
  - The sidrah of the week
- Prophets: Samuel I, Chapters 15-31; Samuel II
- Talmud: 10-15 folios with Rashi commentary
- Grammar: Review of verbs
- Composition work
- Jewish life: The Kitzur Shulhan Arukh
- Cantillation of Torah and Prophets.

Grade 6

- Torah: Dueteronomy with Rashi commentary
  - The sidrah of the week with Rashi
- Prophets: Kings I and II
- Talmud: 20-25 folios with Rashi and selected Tosafot
- Grammar: Irregular verb forms.

**CULTURAL MODELS**

The use of the term culture requires a workable definition. The failure to properly define the term promises additional chaos. A survey of the literature dealing with culture reveals that the term is shared by the disciplines

of sociology, anthropology, and psychology. This enables us to use the term in a comparative sense, and also permits us a broader perspective. This study will demonstrate how various models have been developed and used for analytical purposes. This does not claim to be an exhaustive use of the term, but is intended to illustrate how models can be used to deal with our specific problem of reconceptualizing Jewish culture.

A standard anthropological definition of culture is, "the way of life of a people, the sum of their learned behavior patterns, attitudes and natural things". The problem we face in broadening and applying this definition is discovering and utilizing models to deal with the array of variables suggested by this definition. For the purpose of this one investigation we will employ a variety of analytical models.

Our first model is the one suggested by Edward T. Hall in his work, *The Silent Language*.

Hall defines culture as a form of communication\(^\text{22}\). It is a language which has (1) formal, (2) informal, and (3) technical aspects. It is our wish to understand the primary message units of any given culture in order to comprehend that culture. Hall then elaborates what he means by primary message units present in any culture:

(1) **Inter-action**—the ability to interact with the environment. The interaction patterns become more complex as they ascend the phylogenetic scale. Speech and writing are a form of inter-action.

(2) **Association** in human terms refers to the way in which societies and their components are organized or structured.

(3) **Subsistence** refers not only to the way a society subsists, but to its characteristic economy.

(4) **Bisexuality** deals with sexual reproduction and differentiation of both form and function along sex lines.

(5) **Territoriality** is the technical term used by ethnologists to describe taking possession, use and defense of territory. The balance of life and the use of space is one of the most delicate nature.

(6) **Temporality** deals with the cycles and rhythms of life.

(7) **Learning** is the adaptive mechanism used by a culture.

(8) **Play**—Hall claims that if you can learn the humor of a people and really control it you know that you are in control of nearly everything else.
(9) Defense—this is how men deal with both external and internal destructive forces.23

This model, like all models, is not obligated to deal with the variables which constitute the content of the model, but to stipulate a broad enough base which allows us the needed mobility in terms of our own culture.

Another model used in this study is taken from the field of social psychology, the work of Erik H. Erikson and Robert Coles. It seems legitimate to say that both Erikson and Coles would accept Hall's model, but would insist on widening by adding that culture is permanently affected by the situation and reaction of the individual to the collective message system (culture). Erikson sees culture in terms of "a dynamic scale of collective behavior; in one variation as historical memory."24 He feels that there is "a process inherent in an organism which coupled with the collective group or culture allows it to express itself, determines the way in which that culture will function."25 Erikson chooses to see culture as a collective representation of the interaction of individual and society.

Erikson's model in light of Hall's analysis points up our need to reconceptualize Jewish culture in terms of its

23 Ibid. 22, pp 46-62.


25 Ibid. 24.
own "language", and in terms of how the inter-play of Jewish and American culture affects the "language" of each culture.

The third model to be utilized in the reconceptualization of Jewish culture is the one set out by Robert Coles in his work *Children of Crisis*. Coles methodology requires extensive and intensive involvement in the culture of his subjects. He is interested in finding out how they "live". He feels involvement in the lives of individuals leads to understanding their expectations and assumptions, the vacillations and misgivings, and scruples, the rhythm—as it engages the outside world with social and political events with our nation's history. Coles has contributed the needed methodological instrument of participant-observer to our study. This study has also seen it as an appropriate method to move from the abstract concept of culture to the particular lives of the members of the culture. It is past the movement which is essential to the formulation of curriculum which is viewed as the transition from the general to the particular.


The neglect of a proper reconceptualization of Jewish culture, and the need to determine the elements of the culture, has led to the inadequate curricula as outlined above. It is now the object of this study to reconceptualize the Jewish culture as a curriculum component so that the philosophical basis of pluralism will be meaningful and real.

A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF JEWISH CULTURE

Having moved from an analysis of the philosophical base of American Jewish education to a critique of the existing curricula of both the afternoon Jewish school and the all-day school, we are now obligated to move into the final phase of this section of our study, a reconceptualization of Jewish culture. This study shares the opinion that the Jewish curricula as we know them today are "unrealistic, and the methods and materials used to achieve them are inadequate".

One educator who has been aware of the variables of culture had offered some suggestions, but did not

have available some of the information available to the study.  

Our investigation has demonstrated that a formal aspect of culture in Hall's terms requires an understanding and conceptualization of the value structure of the particular culture. Erikson, in his study of the Sioux and Yurok Indians, and Coles, in his studies of the lives of migrants, sharecroppers, and mountaineers, indicate that a failure to grasp, and for our purposes, conceptualize the value structure, results in a total breakdown of communication.

In Erikson's study of the Sioux we see this in very concrete terms. He illustrates this crucial point in the following example. In the Sioux culture value system, time (temporality) is not conceptualized as it is in the White American culture. Punctuality, or to be aware of hours and minutes, is not present. Instead, the conceptualization of time in a more fluid and, for us, less precise manner has, according to Erikson, allowed the now-sedentary reservation dweller to preserve an aspect of his past history as a nomadic hunter by totally ignoring the cultural demands of the white majority culture. The failure to understand this aspect of Sioux culture has led to conflict between the white school superintendent, and his insistence on

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punctuality and regimented school life, and his constituents.

Coles points the same communications failure out when he too cites the failure of schools to understand the time concept as it exists in the migrant worker's culture. Both Erikson and Coles are able to illustrate this point precisely because they have grasped the primary message system of the culture they chose to study. We could multiply the illustrations of this type of failure. It is apparent that it is just the type of failure which has had a catastrophic effect on Jewish education, as well as on ethnic studies in general.

Our first point in our reconceptualization of the culture as a curriculum component is to provide for the articulation of the value system of Jewish culture which is part of the collective Jewish memory, and to at least outline the techniques and materials which will be necessary for their transmission.

Our initial assumption is that there is a body of literature which contains the content of the value system. Second, there must be a conscious determination to use the curriculum values to integrate and transmit these values in such a way that they become part of the primary message system of all such culture members. Third, we must see those aspects of Jewish culture which deal with behavior (i.e., ritual, mitzvot) as the forces for actualizing these
values, and not as in the past see ritual as not having any relationship to reality. In addition, we must determine which mitzvot are, in fact, transmissible or understandable to a Jew living in American society. Fourth, worship, and the "idea of the holy" will be seen as that part of the culture and its message system which gives emotional expression to the values and behaviors. This outline of our reconceptualization assumes that a Jewish culture has (1) a thought-value system, (2) ritual-behavior system, and (3) concept of God and the holy which allows for emotional expression of the language of the culture as well as providing for collective and individual memory and participation in history.

In our first area of Jewish culture we suggest that there is a body of information which has stored the values and thoughts of Jewish culture. The subject matter in curricular terms which contains this body of information is clearly the Hebrew Bible. In the previous formulations the Bible was studied for its own sake, and without any apparent realization that it speaks "a language" which is not comprehensible to its students. Hence, the dull memorization of texts, and the recitation of Bible stories which were subsequently abandoned as trivial and meaningless by Jewish children and adults. They were unable to see why anyone in American culture would find the Hebrew Bible relevant in any sense. This reconceptualization
proposes that Biblical study now be presented as the primary unit for Jewish values. In this program the values will be compared and contrasted with the sources of the American culture's value system; e.g., the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Federalist papers, etc. This puts value sources in a very different framework than previous formulations, and does in reality attend to the goal of integration.

In addition to the conceptual framework, or as part of it, this study will be based on the inquiry method of investigation which is familiar to the student from his experience in general education. A critical inquiry method prevents the trivialization of the Bible, and puts it in its proper conceptual place. This method can then be used in dealing with other areas of Jewish literature, and will bring with it an aspect of the majority culture which further enhances the understanding of Jewish culture's primary message units. Thus, the Bible is the source of the ideas and values of Jewish culture which has meaning in our majority culture. This allows the student to utilize a method which is part of his reality, and opens up the collective memory of his culture to his training. In

\[\text{\textsuperscript{31}}\text{Fortunately this approach in Biblical studies has been initiated by the Melton Research Center of The Jewish Theological Seminary. See Nahum Sarna, Understanding Genesis (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary and the Melton Research Center, 1966).}\]
interaction with others, as well as interaction with institutions, the individual is presented with value systems and ideas. The possession of his own culture's values and ideas will add a dimension of being able to approach the American system with a critical eye based on knowledge or, in Hall's term, learning. It gives his "identity" substance and a feeling of really being able to participate in his own culture's life.

This will require more complete and detailed work on texts, materials, and teacher-training which will implement this concept. Very little of this type of conceptual material is available as yet, and will require the obvious investment of skill, time, and money to produce materials which reflect this aspect of Jewish culture.

The first aspect of our reconceptualization is seen as yielding a body of concepts which are imbedded in the Bible and which contain the value concepts of Jewish culture. Our next task is to see the Hebrew language as the active voice of the values. In previous curricula, with no concept of values, or language as the vehicle of value expression, Hebrew language was a mixture of modern Israeli Hebrew, and classical Biblical Hebrew. This confused Hebrew language program led to many disparate approaches which, in turn, has failed to yield results. Here, too, our study indicates that the failure to see Hebrew in light of the Jewish subculture resulted in the
failure to win the student's attention. It did not meet these cultural identity needs, and was certainly a foreign element in their communications system. In our model of Hebrew culture, Hebrew language will be taught as the language through which the values were in the past transmitted, and which contains the full meaning of the values and concepts. This will eliminate the Hebrew language as a modern living tongue. The language is seen as the vehicle of the message system. This takes into account aspects of interaction, territoriality, and intergroup realities in American life. The student's life in America all but precludes the possibility of Hebrew as a second language. The cultural misrepresentation which dominated Hebrew language curricula can now be terminated. The purpose of Hebrew language in our new framework becomes the transmission of the values as found in Biblical and general Hebrew literature. This means a commitment to a specialized vocabulary which will allow the student to integrate his value system without the impossible burden of seeing this as a foreign language exercise.

This study does not eliminate the teaching of Hebrew as a modern language in the informal programs of summer camps, and winter clubs or groups dedicated to this task, or in provisions for study in Israel where actual living experience makes it a reasonable and realistic goal.
Our language, Hebrew, is one of the vehicles for communicating values and nothing more or less.

Aside from the thinking of values, and the knowledge of the sources through language study, Jewish culture must conceptualize the activities which allow these values to be acted out. In our investigation we have concluded that the area of ritual should be conceptualized as the action area of the culture. The culture has really divided the rituals (mitzvot) into two categories: (1) the acts between man and man and (2) the acts between man and God. Thus, in our re-conceptualization, mitzvot becomes the rubric under which acting upon or acting out of the learned values is possible. This prevents ritual from being a disconnected set of acts which seem totally alien, and now allows ritual to be a sensible part of a real framework. This further enables Jewish culture to be truly pluralistic, and as concrete forms to find expression in the American culture. The ritual overlaps or is part of every aspect of the value system, and in Hall's terms, the entire primary message system. It also enables the individual to dynamically link himself to his culture's history and life-style patterns while working out his own personal identity. This formulation means that a selection process from among the myraid of mitzvot will take place. This selection will be fluid enough to respond to cultural needs, and eliminates the pressure or need to include all ritual. This brings a
reasonable framework to ritual and ties it organically to a concept of Jewish culture. This study sees this as eliminating the previous confusion and disorganization so common to the implementation of ritual into a curriculum.

The next area is to be known as the area of the holy and includes concepts of God, and Jewish worship. This area of culture allows for the expression of emotion and belief expressed in every culture. It means that the Prayer Book can be seen as another form of expression of values and feelings, and can borrow or make use of the techniques and methods used in the other areas of Jewish culture. It also puts the whole idea of prayer and God in a category which lends itself to cultural understanding. This, too, will require development of new materials and experiences. This prevents the learning of prayer and discussion of God from becoming the mechanical, unemotional thing it has become in the various curricula illustrated previously.

In addition to this area of our culture we must see the institutions in terms of a total culture. Our students are certainly familiar with the American institutions which transmit the culture from the government and its parts to the school system. This rubric will be known as Jewish institutions and community. This allows us to study the Synagogue, the Jewish Center, the defense agencies (such as The Anti-Defamation League), and the world-wide Jewish community in a conceptual framework. This also provides us
with the framework to deal with the State of Israel in a meaningful cultural manner. It achieves the purpose of showing historical development and present action. This is a framework which will eliminate the emphasis on the institution's past so prevalent in the existing curricula. This category also demands a wide range of new materials and techniques. It also provides the framework for the Jew to see his culture's "defenses" in Hall's terms, and provides for a real comparison with American "defenses". It allows the Jew to see himself as part of a larger group with a meaningful existence outside of his immediate geographical area. It attunes him to the "language" of a world-wide Jewish culture, and forces him to see his subculture's various responses to different majority cultures. This is more than history, it is more than social studies, it is an expanded view of culture. History, geography, religious life, and institutions are now part of a rubric which gives unity and comprehension to a formerly disorganized mass of subject matter.

This conceptual framework allows the Jew to see himself in terms which make the philosophy of pluralism meaningful. This study has purposely avoided making distinctions between the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor. It has reconceptualized the culture as organic whole with each rubric being interdependent, as in every living organism.
Since this is a new formulation or model, it has not provided the substance of units, materials, and texts, but is aware that that is the next step of development. That stage can now take place because it does have a framework. It will require coordination and patience, but it is felt that the confusion brought about by the failure to conceptualize the Jewish culture has been eliminated.
... "the sense of ethnicity has proven to be hardy. As though with a wily cunning of its own, as though there were some essential element in man's nature that demanded it--something that compelled him to merge his lonely identity in some ancestral group of followers smaller by far than the whole human race, smaller often than the nation--the sense of ethnic belonging has survived. It has survived in various forms and with various names, but it has not perished, and twentieth-century urban man is, closer to his stone-age ancestors than he knows."  

Whether the reasons for ethnic loyalties offered above are totally accurate or not, it is quite clear that the Jewish community has, in some measure, felt compelled to continue its existence. In our previous chapter we discussed some of the historical background of the Jewish immigrants of the last years of the nineteenth and into the mid-twentieth century, and their attempts at perpetuating their subculture through education. We also affirmed that


the immigrant's goal of integrating into American society had met with some real success, and that our view of Jewish culture had not come to terms with this part of contemporary Jewish life. The failure to deal with this in our curricula has led to the oft-voiced and previously cited laments about the poor condition of Jewish education.

Having developed a conceptual framework for the Jewish subculture is a first step. Its implementation requires some understanding of the social, economic, religious, and political forces which are currently playing on the life of the American Jew. "Jews respond both to the American environment and to their own traditions ... In the process of their response, American Jews in turn reshaped, with a remarkable degree of success, both their tradition and their environment". In a real sense, the implementation of a valid curriculum will be a strong and positive step in allowing survival and identity to assert itself, and will, hopefully, prevent a form of integration that is so complete as to swallow the Jewish subgroup.

THE JEWISH RELIGION IN AMERICA

As this study outlined in Chapter 2, one aspect of Jewish culture involves the application of values through

ritual or in a broader sense through the institution of religion. In order to achieve the goal of having this re-conceptualization implemented, we are forced to come to terms with religion in America, and Jewish religion in particular. It is useless to provide a framework that is inoperable in the context of the majority culture. In Jewish legal terms, all Jews born of a Jewish mother are part of a covenanted community with God's law as its code. A Jew is part of the community by birth; he may choose to reject his identity and to disenfranchise himself, but Jewish law still sees him as a Jew, albeit a Jew who is subject to sanctions—but still a Jew. The Jew saw himself as part of the socio-religious community. However, American Judaism sensed that the avenue of greatest acceptance was in defining your ethnic ties along Church lines rather than as a separate ethnic community. The American Jew has adapted a full community with religion to the American concept of a Church, and for formal purposes has called Judaism a religion, while filling it with ethnic and/or communal content as well. Thus, religion is viewed as part of the social structure of American life with Judaism as one part of this total structure. This enables ritual to have a legitimate place in the society so long as it does not require total separation. An example of how a value...
included in a curriculum is allowed expression in this structure can be seen in the following illustration.

Passover is the Jewish holiday of freedom from the slavery of Egyptian bondage. One of the concrete symbols is Matzo, or unleavened bread, which represents the unleavened cakes baked by the former slaves as they hurriedly left Egypt. The eating of these cakes and the ritual which surrounds it are part of the pattern of the institutional framework of American Jews. The majority culture accepts it and allows it to thrive as a folk element, and as a religious symbol. By seeing this form of religion as it really exists allows the curriculum writer the latitude of working out details in light of the framework, and not stumbling by proposing actions and programs which do not fit this American mold. Now, one can lament the nature of the religious framework in America, but a successful and operational curriculum must recognize it and see it as a force to be dealt with.

This framework of viewing Judaism as another religion also allowed for the emergence of what this study has chosen
to call the various denominational groups\. It is not the purpose of this study to examine these groups, but merely to point out that the social forces which allowed Judaism to thrive as a religious institution also allowed for various denominations or representations of that institution. This, too, follows a pattern already accepted in the majority culture. Any curriculum planning will need to deal with each denomination, but the basic structure of how the groups can function within American society is well established and does allow real development to take place. A study of this denominationism has shown that they usually reflect socio-economic rather than religious differences, and that as the groups tend to become socially homogeneous, there is a lessening of the denominationism. This pattern is seen among Protestants and one could reasonably hypothesize that this will become part of the Jewish pattern as well6.

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Development and change within this structure are very much a part of the American religious scene.

This study has shown that these factors have been given little, if any, consideration in the formulation of Jewish curricula, and are now presented as being at the very foundation of that development. One reason for the failure of curriculum planning, and not in any way the only reason, has been the failure to place the Jewish religion in the framework of a social organization within American society. This definition of Judaism in religious terms rather than socio-ethnic terms has been one of the unique aspects of American Jewish life. The curricula as we know them do not even begin to respond to this, and cannot be given this inability to conceptualize Jewish culture in the appropriate way.

This shift of position from ethno-religious group to a recognized "Church" has had little recognition on the part of Jewish educators. Their curriculum planning does not even give the vague hint of coming to terms with this phenomenon in American life. They continue to program their schools for a social type of organization which perhaps never existed, and certainly is no longer the framework for the Jewish community. While there is an abundant literature of self-criticism, as indicated previously in this study, there is very little evidence to indicate that these educational writers have perceived this subtle, but major,
change in communal organization. The curricula propose pluralism, but are unaware of just what this pluralism has meant to the structure of the community. The curricula continue their planning as if the folk community was totally intact. This single, and oft-noticed shift in emphasis seems to point to a direction which this work has taken, but that has been totally ignored in the literature. This variable further supports the thesis of this study that the only possible approach is a reconceptualization of the Jewish culture. Revisions of materials and texts are futile without the framework. The writing of curricula for a type of social framework which is not part of the Jewish religious reality in America is foolish and self-defeating.
THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY JEWS

Demography

Any formulation of curriculum must have some reasonable data about the social characteristics of the group or groups it is writing for. Jewish curriculum planning should not be an exception to this accepted methodological practice. However, while there is an awareness of the Jew as having definite social characteristics, there does not seem to be any curriculum which has thoroughly wed these data with its task of combining foundational material with educational procedure.

In speaking of the Jews as a subculture in America, and their possibilities for a viable life as a sub-group, we must understand their social relationship to the major culture. One of the mystiques of Jews has been the fact that they seem to appear to be a large subgroup in America.

Statistics do not support this assumption, although there have been periods of large-scale Jewish immigration to the United States, starting with the programs directed against the Jews in Russia in 1883, to the quota laws of the 1920's. Today there are approximately 5-1/2 million Jews in the United States. They constitute about 3 percent of the total population. Statistics further indicate that the Jewish community continues to decrease proportionately in the American community. This demographic reality indicates that the posture taken of the Jew as being one leg of the triangle Protestant-Catholic-Jew in American life is not based on any statistical evidence or reality. It does indicate that the Jews have been able to become part of this accepted pattern by the apparent and often-decisive roles in American life. The pluralist scheme of American life supported this idea of seniority group success, and as this study has indicated, the Jew has always fostered the idea of pluralism sensing its importance to his social and economic mobility. There has been a further suggestion that the willingness to accept the Jew as a full partner is based on

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a view of life that predates the significant Jewish communities. This thesis is that "some of the country's earliest settlers viewed themselves as Christians with roots in an ancient Hebrew past—pilgrims who had arrived in a new promised land." This point of view indicates that the success of the Jews in terms of social and economic mobility is tied to the role of the Jew in the Christian past. This adds another dimension which must be included and seen as part of the subculture's history, and must be seen as another variable in the complex picture of this subgroup's role in American society.

Despite the apparent success of the Jew to be included as a viable partner in American society, and as a corollary, having the freedom to conduct his subcultural life without fear, does not allow us to overlook the problems of group survival. Population size certainly influences the amount of influence a group has. In addition, only a community with some substance is able to support the institutions of its own subgroup, such as schools, Synagogues, teacher-training schools, etc. In our particular area of concern we are making proposals which require not only a philosophical

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arrangement and reconceptualization of Jewish culture and institutions, but are making proposals which involve large expenses of money and manpower. It is obvious that a declining community poses problems for such ventures. It is one of the important variables which every serious educator must analyze, understand, and deal with intelligently. If there is no basis for support, then all the suggestions become muted by the demographic realities.

Population size depends upon births, deaths, and migrations. In addition, ethnic and religious groups must be sensitive to intermarriage, conversion, apostasy, and assimilation. All of these variables present unique problems. Assimilation means leaving the subculture and, in effect, vanishing; however, it is difficult to determine exactly when this has taken place. The areas of birth, death, and migration do not present us with the same difficulty as indicated above. The areas of intermarriage, conversion, apostasy have the same vagueness and ambiguity as assimilation, and because of this seem to arouse more

11Ibid. 10.

12Jean Paul Sartre, Anti Semite and Jew (New York: Schocken Books, 1948). Sartre contends that the Jew is defined by what the majority culture labels him, and not by what he labels himself. Thus, a Jew may feel that he has assimilated only to discover that the majority culture has not accepted his assimilation. The experience of the Nazi holocaust illustrates the difficulty in determining when a Jew is no longer a Jew.
concern on the part of the Jewish subgroup. The Jewish group has viewed intermarriage as an indicator of its integrity as a subgroup. While it has not done this in a declarative statement, the very fact that it has commissioned a national Jewish population study\textsuperscript{13}, whose just-published document deals with the topic, is a clear indication of the seriousness with which the organized Jewish community views this problem. The committee's findings show definite trends and reveal the essential problem of the tension any subgroup has between integration and survival. We present the summary of the basic research to point out the direction, and the concerns which we must deal with as an educational reality.

(1) Of all Jewish persons now married, some 9.2 percent are intermarried.

(2) The proportion of Jewish persons intermarrying in the period 1966 to 1972 is much greater than corresponding proportions in earlier periods; 31.7 percent of Jewish persons marrying in this recent time span chose a non-Jewish spouse.

(3) The combination of a Jewish husband and a non-Jewish wife is about twice as prevalent

Definitions

Per "basic" intermarriage—when couple met:

- "Husband Jewish" = husband Jewish/wife not Jewish
- "Wife Jewish" = wife Jewish/husband not Jewish
- "Husband No Preference" = husband no (religious, ideological) preference (but typically born Jewish)/wife not Jewish
- "Other" = miscellaneous combinations of "no (religious, ideological) preference" by either husband or wife, or other patterns, including "part Jewish" partners.

Figures indicate percentages unless otherwise noted. Percentages may not add to 100.0 due to rounding. Technical memoranda specifying precision sampling will be prepared by B. Lazerwitz. Data based on initial analysis, National Jewish Population Study, conducted under auspices of Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.
TABLE 2
JEWISH PERSONS INTERMARRYING (BY TIME PERIOD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Not Intermarried</th>
<th>Intermarried</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-1920</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1972</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year not given</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Husband Jewish</td>
<td>Wife Jewish</td>
<td>Husband No Preference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1920</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1930</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-1940</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1950</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1972</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year not given</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x = negligible.

*For each time period: all marriages considered = 100 percent.

Each proportion shown is taken of all marriages (100 percent) in the respective time periods.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child Raised</th>
<th>Not Intermarried</th>
<th>Husband Jewish</th>
<th>Wife Jewish</th>
<th>Husband No Preference</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With no belief</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Jewish</td>
<td>99.2</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Protestant</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Catholic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All children by marriage type</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intend That Child Will Receive Jewish Education</td>
<td>No Intermarriage</td>
<td>&quot;Typical&quot; Intermarriage&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Sample too small to permit further breakdown.
as the combination of a Jewish wife and a non-Jewish husband.

(4) About one-fourth of all intermarrying non-Jewish females report conversion into Judaism; in contrast, few intermarrying non-Jewish males have converted.

(5) Nearly half of marriage partners who were non-Jewish prior to marriage subsequently identify as Jewish regardless of formal conversion.

(6) In a very large majority of cases, when the wife is Jewish, though initially the husband is not Jewish, children are raised as Jewish. On the other hand, when the husband is Jewish and the wife initially not Jewish, about one-third of the children are raised outside the religion.

This study goes on to say that "when the wife is Jewish (but the husband is not) very high proportions of children are reported as being raised as Jewish. Accordingly, there seems to be no major 'loss' of Jewish children here as might be implied by a possible drifting to

14 Ibid. 13, p 2.
another religious view as that of the non-Jewish father. The data which support these statements about Jewish population are included in this study to give the reader a clear picture of the material outlined above.

In this area of intermarriage we can readily see that the concern is not an exaggerated one, and that it has had a dramatic increase within the last decade. It is not within the scope of this study to deliver a detailed analysis or explanation of this phenomenon. We are obligated to say that it does reflect a general failure to educate the Jewish group in a way that will effectively allow them to preserve their group's integrity within the American framework. Education is, of course, not the only variable, but as we have pointed out in Chapter 2 of this study, it has not, to date, seen its problems in the cultural framework which we have suggested must be used.

In terms of the other factors affecting the Jewish population, the fertility rate of Jews has never equalled the rate for the general population. It seems apparent that as this trend continues, the American Jew will continue to be an even smaller proportion of the greater society. This does not necessarily mean a diminution of ability to support existing institutions, but does indicate a lessening of

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15Ibid. 13, p 5.
influence on the society, and an increased feeling of being isolated from the mainstream of American culture. This adds to our need to reconceptualize our culture. It illustrates the demographic reality which this study has not seen dealt with in any of the curriculum plans heretofore published.

Secular Education

The majority of Jewish immigrants of the last 100 years came to America with almost no secular education. In these last 100 years, the Jew has become one of the best educated subgroups in America. Studies of local Jewish communities
reveal that this is an accurate statement. One of the explanations offered for this is that Jewish tradition has always emphasized the primacy of the educated man. This

17 The tables used here are taken from Marshall Sklare, America's Jews, pp 52, 54, 55, and 57. They were considered the best arrangement of the material. For other demographic materials see:


### TABLE 6

**LEVEL OF EDUCATION, ADULT MALES IN MILWAUKEE AND PROVIDENCE, JEWISH AND GENERAL POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Jews (Age 20+)</th>
<th>Jews (Age 25+)</th>
<th>General Population (Age 25+)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>Milwaukee SMSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school or less</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No information</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The general population figures for Milwaukee SMSA and Providence SMSA include Jews. However, in these particular communities the resulting bias is small and operates to narrow the disparities between Jews and Gentiles.

**Sources:**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Puerto Rican</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Other Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some grade school or less</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school graduate</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>Native-Born Jews</td>
<td>Foreign-Born Jews</td>
<td>All Jews</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some grade school or less</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school graduate</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Persons are classified as "Irish" or "Italian" only if they or their fathers were born in Europe. Anyone of third or later generation Irish or Italian background is classified "Other Catholic" or "Other Protestant", as the case may be.*

### TABLE 8

**MALE EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY, NEW YORK CITY, BY ETHNICITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Mobility&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>+5 to +7</th>
<th>+3 or +4</th>
<th>+1 or +2</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>-1 or -2</th>
<th>-3 to -7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All men</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Catholic</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born Jewish</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born Jewish</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Educational Mobility: The difference between respondent's educational level and his father's educational level. Educational levels were ranked: none = 1; some grade school = 2; grade school graduate = 3; some high school = 4; high school graduate = 5; some college = 6; college graduate = 7; postgraduate = 8.

**Upward Mobility**: Respondent's educational level higher than father's.

**Downward Mobility**: Respondent's educational level lower than father's.

**Zero**: Respondent's educational level same as father's.

drive was thwarted by the discrimination in education suffered by the Jews in the European experience, and is now allowed to work its way out in America. Achievement in education is valued in the Jewish home and intensifies the child's desire to achieve and gain the approval of elders. To underscore this, it is interesting to note that while 30 percent of all high school students plan to go to college, 75 percent of all Jewish high school students have these plans. Jews, who constitute 3 percent of the population, are over-represented in the college population by 260 percent, and by 365 percent in the elite institutions. They are over-represented in medicine by 231 percent, and by 478 percent in psychiatry, 229 percent in dentistry, by only 70 percent in architecture, and 9 percent in engineering.

To underscore this a little more, we cite the study of Louis M. Terman who followed the careers of gifted children: "Of those who were Jewish 57 percent entered the professions, while only 44 percent of the Gentile children did. Yet only 15 percent of the Jewish parents were professionals, while 35 percent of the Gentile ones were. A clear indication that Jewishness reinforced motivation toward professional careers independently of the professional or

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19 Ibid., p 23.
nonprofessional parental status. This rise of Jews in the professions followed the mass immigration in the early twentieth century. It is essential to point out that the Jewish minority is not the only minority that has displayed this degree of mobility. Thus, we must point out that the motivation can be partially attributed to cultural values, and not genetic variables. For our purposes we need to realize that the clientele in Jewish schools will be a highly educated group who are accustomed to achievement in this realm. These statistics also tell us that the American Jew spends a great deal of his time and energy in the area of secular education, which is a very goal-oriented, success-oriented area.

Thus, the parents and children are accustomed to a productive, modern educational program of secular studies, and are confronted, as we have seen in our curricula samples, with curricula that places heavy emphasis on text and language study and does not deal with the child's American environment. His Jewish studies prove to be so totally removed from his secular studies that they become, at best, an interesting side trip into antiquities, and curiously disconnected facts.

The Jewish student today has come to expect a quality

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20. Ibid. 18, p 24.
21. Ibid. 18, pp 24-25.
education in his secular field, and in these terms is disapponted, and often alienated, by a curriculum which does not meet the sophistication that the Jew encounters in his secular world.

This section sees the problem from this standpoint, and it must certainly be seen as a direct challenge to our program of reconceptualization.

**Occupation**

In our study we have seen the demographic changes, and the educational changes of the Jew in America, and have pointed out that our Jewish curricula seem to be unaware of these tremendous changes. Another area where the Jew has developed a change is in his occupational opportunities and selections. It is almost commonplace to remember the Jewish worker in the sweat shops in New York in the early twentieth century. Statistical analysis reveals that this image of the Jew is yet another aspect of how the myth, and folklore overshadow the reality. This change is dramatized by the statistics. In 1900, 57 percent of male East European immigrants in New York City were blue-collar workers; by 1963 the statistics for New York City had changed dramatically with 26.9 percent being blue-collar workers. This figure showed an even greater change in other cities (see tables). In 1900, 2.9 percent of the immigrants were professionals;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boston&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Detroit&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>(Age 20+) Milwaukee</th>
<th>(Age 25+) Providence</th>
<th>(Age 20+) N.Y.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and proprietors</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>All male Jews in labor force.

<sup>b</sup>Adult male family heads.

Sources: Axlerod, et al., Boston, p 44; Mayer, Milwaukee, p 34; Goldstein, Providence, p 89; Elinson, et al., Ethnic and Educational Data, p 47.
TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT MALES IN SELECTED CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Boston SMSA</th>
<th>Detroit SMSA</th>
<th>Milwaukee SMSA</th>
<th>Providence SMSA</th>
<th>N.Y.C. α</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and proprietors</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not ascertained</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

αNew York City, age 20 and over.

Sources: For Boston and Detroit see appropriate data in 1960 U.S. Census reports. For Milwaukee, Providence, and New York City, see sources cited in Table 6.
in the 1960's, the figures ranged from 20.7 percent in Providence to 32 percent in Boston\textsuperscript{22}. It seems clear that the most casual reader can see that there has been great Jewish occupational mobility, as well as educational mobility, in America. This mobility has definite implications for our study. As the Jew enters the outer society he must give up many of his cultural patterns to achieve his new status. Now that he has rid himself of the petty businessman label he is quite anxious "to fit in". This new success is not like the old blue-collar worker who worked in the factory, and then joined his own cultural group for his moments of relaxation. In this new role the Jew has constant social as well as work contacts with his clients. He is also part of the corporate and professional structure of America, which means being involved in an organizational structure with a "language" or culture of its own. This aspect of occupational mobility has a profound effect on the Jewish school. The school cannot teach a life style that is so foreign to the Jew in his new-found occupation that it will appear to endanger his hard-won status. This new form of social organization which so dominates America poses yet another aspect of the dilemma. These corporate and professional models are at times far different from the institutional models in the Jewish community. There is a

\textsuperscript{22} Marshall Sklare, \textit{America's Jews} (N.Y.: Random House, 1971).
need to select which, or what part, of these new models one will respond to positively and supportively. As Sklare points out in several of his studies, this new role presents some serious possibilities of social disorganization\textsuperscript{23}.

It is one of the thesis of this study that the Jew has borrowed the organizational structure he has encountered in his professional and business life and superimposed it on Jewish institutional life to avoid this dilemma. The implications of this will be discussed more completely in another section of this paper.

The Politics of American Jews

In the previous sections we have dealt with social variables which together give us a mosaic of Jewish life in America and the factors influencing the existence of the subgroup. The Jew as part of the political life, and the direction the Jew has taken in the political arena, adds another dimension to our analysis.

In terms of American political labels the Jew is best characterized by the label—liberal\textsuperscript{24}. Various studies indicate that Jews do not support the Democratic party because of party loyalty, but rather because they are issue-motivated. One study revealed that Jews did not vote along their own economic interests\textsuperscript{25}, but rather because of the liberal ideology of the candidate. Jews also proved to be less influenced by a candidate's religion than any other group\textsuperscript{26}. John F. Kennedy's election did not create an issue in religious ideology among Jews. The idea of issue orientation is also illustrated by the fact that Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller increased his support in predominantly Jewish districts over Jacob Javits in 1962. This isolated, but clear-cut case, further supports the contention that Jewishness does not, in any of itself, mobilize the Jewish


\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid.}
vote, and further suggests that the issue orientation remains the primary variable in the Jewish voting pattern.

Our question must be, what has led to this situation of Jewish liberalism? One writer asserts that the Jewish values of communal responsibility and concern for the welfare of others has played a significant role in this liberalism. The concept of charity or Tzedakah becomes the support for liberal welfare policies and social justice. This whole approach is questioned by Sklare when he claims that "Jewish religious values are not unambiguously liberal; they are folk-oriented rather than universalistic, ethnocentric rather than cosmopolitan, and at least one major strand in the Jewish tradition expresses indifference, fear, and even hostility toward the non-Jew." This does raise serious questions as to whether the Jewish religious tradition is at the base of the American Jewish liberalism.

This study feels that this must be pointed out here to avoid the pitfall of choosing that part of the religious tradition which seems to conform to the political reality while ignoring a substantial and equally valid aspect of the tradition.


28 Ibid. 25, p 140.
Other attempts to explain this liberalism point to the Jew as having been degraded in European society, and now trying to prevent any form of status deprivation in American society. While there have been Jews in radical movements, the liberalism of the American Jew does not follow the path of radical politics. As pointed out above, the Jew has been issue-oriented, not party-oriented, as is the case in the radical left-wing parties. Another theory suggests that Jews supported liberal politics to gain emancipation. Study indicates that the traditionalist leader in the Jewish community during the period of emancipation sensed the threat that liberalism held in terms of traditional observance and communal cohesiveness and these leaders opposed, rather than supported these liberal trends. It seems safe to assert that the religious tradition did, in fact, stand opposed to these attitudes, and saw them as the enemy who would destroy the community as they knew it.

Liebman offers a theory which suggests that the Jew who always felt estranged from the society despite his de facto acceptance always supported programs which would change the society, and allow him to strike roots in new soil rather than fight to survive in a status quo society. His liberalism was his way of "Judaizing" his society and preventing himself from being the outsider any more. The

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29 Ibid. 25, pp 146-147.
need to be a real part of the society is the prime mover according to this theory, and permitted him to be part of the new open and liberal society which was coming into existence.

The question of Jewish liberalism had become an almost totally academic question. The assumption had been that Jews were liberals, and as indicated above, the only task was to determine the source or sources of this liberalism. The 1972 presidential election changed this from an academic search for sources to a questioning of the premise of Jewish liberalism and its validity.

By 1972, the Jew felt that two basic Jewish issues had to be dealt with on the American political scene. The first involved the support for Israel proposed by the candidates, Nixon and McGovern. The second was a response to the Black call for quotas-in-hiring practices, and university admission practices. The Israel support issue involves a Jewish political and emotional response that will be dealt with later in this study. The quota issue touches the nerve endings of the Jew who has always found quotas to be to his disadvantage. The American Jew felt that his success had been partially due to the mobility provided by the merit system rather than some type of adjusted quota system. In this election there was a great deal of diverseness among Jewish intellectual leaders who began to question the loyalty the Jew owed to his accepted liberal stance. The
question did not remain veiled, but took the form of public debate, and for the first time in recent American Jewish history reputable leaders were openly exposing a change of direction for the Jew\(^\text{30}\). However, even those who urged a change in political direction, and a re-evaluation of the liberal position, felt the need to defend the doctrines of social justice.

"The abandoning of liberal ideology does not mean a weakening of the passion for social justice. How could one be a Jew without a concern for the widow and the orphan? It does not mean a satisfaction with the status quo. How could one be a Jew and be satisfied with any level of human achievement? We must be for justice and for improvement of our social order. But these changes and these advances must be achieved in accordance with the facts and with a profound awareness of the limitation of human achievement. As Professor Heschel has so eloquently put it, 'It (Judaism) claims that man has the resources to fulfill what God commands, at least to some degree. On the other hand, we are continually warned lest we rely on man's power and believe that "the indeterminate extension of human capacities would eventually alter the human situation"'. Our tradition does not believe that good deeds alone will redeem history; it is the obedience to God that will make us worthy of being redeemed by God ... At the end of days, evil will be conquered all at once; in historic times evil must be conquered one by one\(^\text{31}\)."

While the above illustrates the defense of social justice, it also indicates that liberalism has come under attack from Jewish quarters. This study does not want to


\(^{31}\text{Ibid. 30, pp 30-31.}\)
imply that this questioning of liberalism is a widely held view. In fact, the symposium in which this view was published contained various vigorous defenses of the liberal position. It is important for us to note that there is this movement toward questioning the heretofore unquestioned position of liberalism, and that while it is too early to point to directions, it is a definite new trend in the Jewish community. We might hypothesize that the trend indicates success in achievement, and the natural conservative drive to hold that which was gained. Steven Schwarzchild articulates this view when he says, "What has brought about this state of mind and of affairs? The overall cause can easily be determined: until very recently Jews wanted things that they did not have and had, therefore, to try to wrest from the powers that be—emancipation, social and political security, and natural existence; now we have by and large attained to these desiderata in the Western world and Israel, and we want to protect and keep them. 'Protect and keep are the watchwords of the status quo'."


33Steven S. Schwarzchild, "The Radical Imperatives of Judaism", Ibid., p 11. For verification of this attitude see Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier. This work was published before the issue was discussed in the literature, but it strongly indicates their desire to maintain that which was gained.
While this trend was and is part of the American Jewish scene, the first testing ground, the 1972 elections, did not indicate that the Jew was ready to abandon his liberal interests so readily. A study revealed that despite all of the predictions of mass deflection of Jews to Nixon, McGovern received between 60 and 70 percent of the Jewish votes cast. For our purposes it is important to understand that while there may be a conservative trend developing, there is still a spirit of liberalism which is not so fickle as to be destroyed by one election or one issue. It may very well be that the changing social climate caused the questioning, but that it seems safe to say that it will take more than one issue to make revolutionary changes.

This aspect of the Jew in American life is essential for the educator to know and understand. It allows him to draw on those Jewish cultural values which can be reinforced by the group. The lack of attention to the Jew as a political being who reflects attitudes and values is evident in most work on Jewish education. The particular and specific subject matter and text areas do not even hint at this area of the subcultural life which is so vital to his existence in America. By including it here, we are able to

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34 Milton Himmelfarb, "The Jewish Vote (Again)", Commentary, Vol 55, No. 6 (June, 1973), pp 81-85. For an illustration of the pre-election debate, see Seymour Siegel and Eugene Borowitz, "The Question of the Jewish Vote", The New York Times (October 9, 1972), p 34.
add even greater perspective to our role as Jewish educators in America. The fact that the Jew as having a political reality has been omitted from Jewish educational considerations adds to our understanding of why the Jewish school and its program have been seen as totally irrelevant to the lives of its students.

THE JEWISH RADICAL AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Having drawn a composite of the social characteristics of the American Jewish community, we might now ask who is the student we have been dealing with, and what avenues has he taken since his childhood experiences.

Many schools have attempted to offer explanations of the radical student movement of the late 1960's, and have offered various explanations. Our task is not to formulate a theory of the American radical, but rather to note that the Jewish student who has grown up in the environment described above seems to figure prominently in the history of this radical generation. In two studies of the student radical movement, the data indicated that radicals "are far more likely to be Jewish than are the nonactivist" 35, and that "formal religion was not important or relevant to the

lives of most of the activists. These studies further indicated that our picture of the Jew as well-educated, urban, and politically liberal was an accurate presentation. Marshall Sklare has given a great deal of attention to the reasons for the prominence of Jews among the radicals, as has Charles Liebman. Both suggest that the permissive family is a central theme in this syndrome. It is not within the scope of this study to determine the validity of any one theory, but rather to illustrate what the student we have been educating as a Jew "looks like" in the larger culture. There is ample evidence to indicate that these radical students were on the whole totally unaffected by the formal institutions of Jewish education. However, there is a small and significant group of young Jews who borrowed the vocabulary and rhetoric of the student radical movement and translated it into particularly Jewish terms. These students were affected by their Jewishness and have continued to serve as a voice of dissent in the American Jewish community. One of the bodies of this movement says that the work which was the most influential in terms of the student movement was Charles Reichs' *Greening of America*.  

36 James W. Trent and Judith L. Craise, "Commitment and Conformity in the American College", Ibid., p 40. This is also referred to in Charles S. Liebman, *The Ambivalent American Jew*, p 214, Notes 1 and 2.  

One of the spokesmen for this Jewish movement shares Reichs' feelings that today's young people (Jews) are different from their parents; "they are leading an entire society toward new values which it must adopt to save itself". This radical Jewish movement has borrowed Reichs' concept of "consciousness" and appropriated it in their description of Jewish life in America. The same concern for values and qualitative living present in works like Reichs' stand at the heart of the Jewish radical movement. They, too, want to expand the concepts of "religion, education, and community". This total concept of the young radical is expressed in such statements as:

"There is a Jewish people. It lives and feels its life across state boundaries, draining sustenance from the Jewish communities of America, the Soviet Union, Israel, Western Europe and Latin America. It lives and feels its life across milennia, across the rise and fall of several successive civilizations. It is not simply a religious denomination, and its peoplehood is not even chiefly defined by religion. Indeed, its peoplehood is defined chiefly by its refusal, its transcendence, of the conventional categories of peoplehood. The Jewish people is not political, or religious, or cultural, or economic, or familial. It is political-religious-cultural-economic-familial. What characterized its peoplehood best, at its best moments, was the principle of Halacha: the way, the path; a wholeness and fusion of body and mind, and spirit, of action and ideology; of person and community.".

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38 Ibid. 37.

39 Ibid. 37, p 216.

40 Ibid. 37, p 217.
This group has, like almost all of its antecedent movements in American Jewish history, Judaized a counter-culture movement in the greater American society. They are indebted, as they acknowledge to Reichs, and his critique of society and his proposals. They are willing, however, to see this movement in Jewish cultural terms and also realize that there are differences between the American establishment and the Jewish establishment. "... we ought not relate to the Jewish establishment as if it were the American establishment (the murder machine)". This borrowing of rhetoric and ideology, and transferring it to the area of the Jewish subculture, is a new phenomenon in American-Jewish life. It does not discount the apparently numerous Jewish radicals who find their concerns beyond their particular subculture, but it does show the Jewish educator that there are students who are critical but still vitally concerned with the life of the Jewish community. As Jewish educators we must not fail to take note of this group in our midst.

The strength of this admittedly small, but vital, Jewish radical group is underlined by the creation, and continued existence, of their own periodical which is appropriately named Response--A Contemporary Jewish Review. This periodical has addressed itself to a critique of the

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41Ibid 37.
existing institution of the Jewish community, and has continued to pursue a social critique of the Jew in America. Articles have appeared which have dealt with the very problem this study addresses (the tension of living in two cultures), as well as articles dealing with Jewish literature and Jewish art in America. These writers see themselves as part of the mood of America, and yet distinct from it as part of the Jewish subgroup:

"... it nonetheless seems possible to state with a fair amount of assurance that there is a ratio observable between one's closeness to Jewishness on the one hand and, on the other, an ever-increasing remoteness, in some cases even a withdrawal, from the more prevalent features of present-day American culture, especially as that culture comes to be defined by its indulgence of extreme forms of behavior, both licentious and repressive."

These writers, and participants in a Jewish version of radicalism are products of a unique American movement. Their writing, their style, their rhetoric are a reflection of the society at large. Just as Hampden-Turner speaks of Radical Man, implying a new direction in the life style and content of the new man, so too do the Jewish radicals speak of The New Jews, implying a new type of Jew.

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responding to the society in a way that past Jews and Jewish educators have failed to do. This new group sees itself as part of the American radical culture, and seeks to synthesize these two phenomena in some way, while recognizing the inherent difficulties in such a venture; "The productive union of Jewish life and the radicals' grasp for answers is not always an easy one to effect, of course."45. This radical Jew, who could only grow out of an environment like America's, demonstrates in just the way they suggest how once again Jewish education, through its failure to understand the essence of Jewish culture in America, has isolated and forced even its dedicated youth, to move in their own direction. Now, it is true that like other radical youths, they must operate outside the established institutions. However, it is scandulous that the established educational institutions have not even begun to respond to the challenge and need. As we demonstrated in Chapter 2, the curricula are totally inappropriate to this new voice. Despite the fact that we have focused on this group of radical Jews, we cannot cavalierly dismiss the unconcerned or totally alienated young whose Jewish education so totally failed them that they have left the Jewish subgroups. Their large percentages in radical movements are indicators of the extent of our loss, and should serve

as one more reason to begin our work in Jewish curriculum development. Research has clearly demonstrated the social climate in which the Jew currently lives. Continued failure to respond means an ever-increasing number of our young becoming "American radicals", and not "American Jewish radicals". It is unfortunate that Jewish education has not seen this type of social overview as a legitimate function of its role. The failure to be aware of the scope of the problem facing the Jew in America makes any educational response a futile one.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

While all of the above sections have separated out various aspects of the Jew in America, the totality of Jewish life is expressed within the context of a subcommunity and its institutions. Some argue that any subgroup must develop its own institution for survival. The Jewish subculture has created and expanded on institutions which met their needs in America. The European Jewish community could not serve as the model for social organization. The Eastern European Jewish community operated as an autonomous body within the country of residence, and derived its leadership and authority from the Rabbis and appointed key leaders. America has never been receptive to this concept of autonomous communities, nor did the Jews coming to America
have any desire, as we illustrated earlier, to re-establish this form of social organization. The American Jew felt the need to integrate, not segregate, himself from the majority culture, and did not want to use his institutions in any way which would inhibit that goal.

The desire to maintain identity did necessitate the establishment of organizations and institutions which would operate within the majority culture. This has led to a diverse number of Jewish agencies which aid the ill, the young, the old, and address local interest, as well as national and international interest. There is a network of Anglo Jewish newspapers ranging from weeklies to monthlies, and a vast array of organizational periodicals, magazines, and newsletters. There are Synagogue organizations, philanthropic, and social service organizations. There are a variety of these various organizations without any real
coordination between them, although there have been and are attempts at Jewish federations in various communities. These federations are still hampered by competing groups within the communities, but do exhibit an ability to serve as somewhat of a coordinating agency. The organizational model available to this wide range of subgroup institutions has been the American social organizational model. These Jewish organizations are familiar to any student of social organization because the structure is merely a copy of existing models in the majority culture. The adaptation of American models means that the student of the Jewish community and its social organization can make full use of the existing literature. This study suggests that we now use this literature to understand what the possibilities for change within the communal structure are and to what extent

we can hope to succeed in our reconceptualization of Jewish education. We know that the formal organization of both educational and religious institutions are based on an American social organizational model, and that any attempt to deal with them will require a strategy based on an understanding of these models.

We now have a picture of the Jew in his social environment, and see how he has institutionalized his subgroup. We are aware of the failure of past curricular programs to make use of these data, and are now ready to act upon our knowledge of this American Jew. We have shown the numerous variables present in the subgroup that must be recognized and dealt with for any program of Jewish education to succeed. It is only by using this type of hard data that any real change can take place. We now understand what was meant when we referred to the post-World War II Jew as a new type never encountered before in Jewish history. We also see that the educational framework must be able to deal with this Jew in the "language" which he can understand. Our next task is to use these data, and utilize the social organizational literature to develop a strategy which will allow us to succeed in our goal of reconceptualizing the Jewish curriculum.
CHANGE IN THE JEWISH ORGANIZATION

Our composite of the Jew in America shows him to be a natural-born American, urban, well-educated, middle class, shrinking in percentage of population, and a copier of the social organization of the American model. Our picture was drawn to enable us to reconceptualize a Jewish curriculum which would allow him to retain his ethnic identity while maintaining his presence in the American majority culture. We have suggested a model of the Jewish culture which would be appropriate to America. It is now our task to set out the variables any educator will have to be aware of as he attempts to institute any change within the existing organizational structure.

One of the writers in the area of innovation in social organizations suggests that an organization can be changed if it is "invaded by liberal, creative, and unconventional outsiders with fresh perspectives". This point of view, which finds wide support, is supplemented in its detail in other works. These amplifications say that the clientele


must be receptive to, and willing to accept, this type of leadership. In addition, it is felt that innovation will succeed if it is "located in a changing, modern, urbanized setting with a coalition of other cosmopolitan organization that can supplement its skills" (49). Based on our study of the social context of the Jewish subgroup we realize that the Jewish subgroup meets the criteria of conditions so necessary for change. The Jews are an urban group who, in their life outside the Jewish community, are part of a cosmopolitan setting. In addition, we have shown that the flexibility, or as the literature phrases it, the "liberalism", so necessary for being receptive to change is almost indigenous to the Jewish community. Their history has in itself been a history of constant need for flexibility. This situation would certainly indicate that the resistance to a reconceptualization of the culture, and curriculum, would be welcomed by the Jewish subculture. The reluctance to take this step, and the implicit fear of rejection does not seem to have historical precedent or a sound sociological base. On the contrary, the Jewish group seems to be a model of potential receptivity to change in its organizational structure. This is only an hypothesis, but the literature and evidence seem to indicate that we are

on solid ground in advancing such an hypothesis. This is not to deny that there will be organizational resistance, but it does say that the conditions within the Jewish community seem to indicate that our proposal can have success.

Another variable which is often discussed in this context is that of the nature of the innovation leader. The general assumption seems to be that the power to lead innovation comes either from the specific position or from the personal qualities of the leader. In terms of strategy, it is important for us to note that the proposal must be presented either by a leader with acknowledged charisma, or from a leader whose position brings with it acknowledged status. This indicates that a proposal of this nature requires the proper presentation and leadership, and cannot rely on well-meaning, but unrecognized leaders for its support. This leader will have to possess the necessary skills to assure the current leaders, educators, and teachers, that they should accept the innovation and their role. We are assuming that those who are currently involved in Jewish education will see this new proposal as a way to enhance their own professional status. If these are dealt with adequately, then we will be able to present this program without anticipating any vigorous resistance.

This type of planning is another element which seems to go unnoticed in Jewish curriculum literature. It is the
assumption of this study that the failure to understand, and plan for education in terms of the existing social context is to insure failure.
CHAPTER 4

PROPOSED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND
PROTOTYPICAL EXAMPLES OF CURRICULUM DESIGN

THE PURPOSE OF A CURRICULUM MODEL

Chapter 2 of this study detailed (1) the proposed philosophy of Jewish education in America and (2) the failure of this philosophy to give adequate direction to curriculum development. In addition to this analysis, the thesis was set forth that this failure was related directly to a more pervasive failure to see American Judaism as a subculture. It was further hypothesized that a reconceptualization of Jewish culture is crucial in view of this situation. A framework for the reconceptualization was set out as a guide to the curriculum planner. The next chapter dealt with the Jew in terms of his social setting, and his reality in America. An analysis of this kind has not been a major factor in previous studies of Jewish education. Clearly, the failures cited earlier had, in part, come from this lack of understanding the nature of the subgroup and its present context. A curriculum planned for an immigrant to America in 1910 is not geared to meet the needs of the
American native-born, well-educated, urban Jew of 1974. While various laments have been made regarding the poor quality of Jewish education, few critics have undertaken an analysis of the resources for curriculum development that could lead to more adequate designs.

The task in this chapter, therefore, is to utilize the findings set out in the previous chapter, and to generate a model for curriculum planning which will reflect the reality of American Judaism, enabling thereby the development of a practical curriculum program. This procedure will involve several levels of theory building. First, a theoretical base, or model, will be proposed and detailed. Second, application of this theoretical base in light of the proposals and findings of the previous chapter will be made. Third, particular paradigmatic units will be suggested. These units are not intended to be the curriculum statement, but rather illustrations and paradigms of what the model could possibly yield. In effect, they may be viewed as scenarios to enable theorists and practitioners to project possible strategies for bringing about curriculum improvement.

Our analysis of the curricula of the Jewish schools has shown that curriculum planning has come to mean a statement, and at times, a detailed guide to subject matter. Rarely have published curricula moved much beyond this. Our purpose is to begin with a theoretical base which will allow
us to move from purpose, to content, to resources, to institution, and finally, to evaluation.

SCHWAB'S MODEL--A BASE FOR THE JEWISH CURRICULUM

While there are many different approaches to curriculum planning, the model most applicable to Jewish education today is "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum"¹ and "The Practical: Translation Into Curriculum"². Earlier in this study the fact was established that the Jew has within his own group a large number of professionals and academicians who could participate in the program which will be outlined here. This will mean expertise available without having to go outside the subgroup. This model also suggests that the planners need to be a flexible, open, liberal group who are willing to deal with ideas, and are unhampered by a commitment to the status quo. This type of liberal bias is certainly part of the Jewish subgroup, and indicates that change in educational material is less likely to be resisted.

In addition to the availability of professional and academic people, the Schwab model provides for parent input.

This implies a need for articulate parents who can express their needs and articulate their desires. The study of the Jewish group's social characteristics in Chapter 3 clearly demonstrates the availability of such a group. In fact, the failure to have elicited any community participation in the past can also be a factor in the failure of the educational planning of the Jewish community. This model allows for the greatest amount of participation and provides for a practical program so needed in the Jewish subculture.

With this as a preliminary statement, we shall outline the Schwab model, and explicate the base it provides for our program. At all levels of the development, this study will refer back to the earlier chapters and integrate the findings described there with the model for curriculum planning. Without such integration this study, as is the case with many theoretical curriculum proposals, would lose the direction and purpose of developing a realistic and practical plan for curriculum planning in the American Jewish community.

Schwab's description of the field of curriculum serves also as a description of the conventional Jewish curriculum:

"The field of curriculum is moribund. It is unable, by its present methods and principles, to continue its work and contribute significantly to the advancement of education. It requires new principles which will generate a new view of the
character and variety of its problems. It requires new methods to the new budget of problems.\textsuperscript{3}

Schwab's suggestion that curriculum planning should be "practical" rather than theoretical moves us in the direction so greatly needed by Jewish education. In Chapter 2, we detailed how the theoretical commitment to the concept of cultural pluralism had led Jewish curriculum writers to discuss the theory at length, and endorse it, and then almost totally fail to introduce the theoretical into any meaningful or practical curriculum program. As we indicated there the factors which led to this body of theoretical literature were intimately connected to a certain historical reality. However, the tradition of theoretical curriculum planning has a deeply rooted tradition in American Jewish education, as reflected in the analysis of the programs of the various denominations within the Jewish subgroup in Chapter 2.

For Schwab, the term "principle" is used extensively. It means those ideas which direct our observation of the world and establish our responses to those observations. These principles, as this study utilizes and understands them, serve as a rubric for action and inquiry. For him a curriculum is intentional. It presupposes ends, and principles which will yield experiences leading to those ends. This concept of a curriculum as having at its base a set of

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid. 1.
principles which guide activity toward some purpose is reflected in the reconceptualization of Jewish culture. The areas referred to there are, for curricular purposes, the principles which direct our observation of the world of the majority culture and our response to it as a subgroup. These areas of values as reflected in the Bible, the language—Hebrew, the sense of the holy, the idea of world community are for our purposes now the set of principles which serve as the framework for our curriculum planning. These principles as we have outlined them in Chapter 2 serve as the principles or "ends", and our subsequent planning will involve an interplay of ends and means, of problems, data, and solution. Our role is to accept these categories as the statement of principles which will direct our action.

A recognition of this function of principles or ends leads us to develop subject matter by which we mean the "concrete and particular and treated as indefinitely susceptible to circumstance, and therefore, highly liable to unexpected change". In our terms, this allows us to see our categories as principles, and prevent us from developing materials which are considered the final formulation in practical terms of our curriculum. This allows us to see that the subject matter must constantly be open to the type of social changes which call for revision. The failure to

\[\text{Ibid. 1.}\]
see subject matter in these terms is reflected in the description of the change in the Jew as described in detail in Chapter 3. However, with this concept of subject matter as part of our framework, the neglect of socioeconomic change described in this study will diminish. The very nature of the concept as we use it now provides for constant examination and revision of subject matter. Note that in our analysis and description of subject matter in Chapter 2 of this study, subject matter remained static and continuous. Not only did it fail to reflect the type of changes illustrated in Chapter 3, but it failed to reflect accurately the theoretical principles so widely held and professed.

With the idea of principle firmly delineated, and subject matter defined, our concern must now turn to the method of the practical, the actual program of implementation without which this model becomes another theoretical outline.

In our model, the method of the practical is ("called deliberation in the loose way we call theoretic methods induction") ... "a complex, fluid, transactional discipline aimed at identification of the desirable and either attainment of the desired or an alteration of desires." In this method of the practical, the principles— the categories of reconceptualized Jewish culture— serve as the framework for what the deliberations must attend to and, in fact, of what

\[ ^5 \text{Ibid. 1.} \]
\[ ^6 \text{Ibid. 1.} \]
deliberation is. This obviously means that different attitudes and perception will give us different views of the practical. This flexibility of method allows the various needs in both spatial and temporal terms to be attended to without any restraint or feeling of limitation. This concept of method as Schwab describes it also allows us to deal with an established subculture in an evolutionary way which will allow us to deal with existing institutions in a realistic and "practical" way. As we illustrated in Chapter 3, the Jewish subculture has a widespread and highly developed network of institutions and schools. Any model must take into account the reality of these existing schools. Although at the end of Chapter 3 we indicated that the institutions would be receptive to innovation, we did not suggest that this meant instant capitulation to the innovations. Our practical method recognizes this reality, and adds this institutional reality to a developing model.

"The practical arts begin with the requirement that existing institutions and existing practices be preserved and altered piecemeal, not dismantled and replaced ... This would require that we know what is and has been going on in American (Jewish) Schools ...

"The second facet of the practical: its actions are undertaken with respect to identified frictions and failures in the machine and to inadequacies evidenced in felt shortcomings of its products.

"The third fault of the practical, I shall call the anticipatory generation of alternatives ... Effective decision also requires that there be available to practical deliberation the greatest possible number and fresh diversity of alternative
solutions to problems ... Problem situations, to use Dewey's old term for it, present themselves to consciousness, but the character of the problem, its formulations, does not. The character of the problem depends on the discerning eye of the beholder\(^7\).

This statement of method allows us to see the focus of deliberation in the problem, not in the deliberators. This method also sets the boundaries for planning. It also allows us to deal with the realities of an existing situation. The flexibility of the method allows us to utilize more than one set of principles, and one group of deliberators. It also recognizes "what is going on" as having real status and force. It also requires for input from various fields, as we will indicate below. In effect, this method yields a structure for Jewish curriculum planning without insisting on dogma. It does not say that any one formula is the formula for implementing principles, but provides a practical forum which will allow adaptation and innovation.

By employing deliberation, we are forced to begin from a definite point or problem. In our case, the need to implement the principles we have determined as the primary language of our subculture. Our goal is a practical solution to the need for subject matter, materials, teaching strategies, and evaluational materials. The process of

\(^7\text{Ibid. I.}\)
deliberation will yield the complexities of the problem and its solution.

THE NATURE OF DELIBERATION

As delineated above, this model moves beyond the theoretical and initiates curriculum planning through deliberation. The nature of this deliberation, as we noted above, sets the boundaries for planning, and forces us to move into practical concerns. The practical, and its translation into the curriculum, is the goal of our model. As we noted in our previous chapters, the theoretical basis and the translation of theory into subject matter areas has been left to the so-called professional curriculum people. Their failure to develop a program which would deal with the primary message units of the American Jewish subgroup is reflected in the entire history of the American Jewish community.

In our discussion of culture we noted that the "language" of the culture is of vital importance, and our references to the method and approach of both Erikson and Coles reflected the need to discover the essence of the culture by dealing directly with those who live in that culture, the members of the subculture. Our research into recent past and current efforts finds no evidence of plans which suggest adequate contact between the curriculum
planners and the clientele they represent. If our proposal for reconceptualization is to be implemented, we must generate a strategy for dealing with the culture language system. This model provides for such a strategy through the use of deliberation.

**THE AGENTS OF TRANSLATION**

The first phase of this deliberation process involves what Schwab calls the "agents of translation", scholar, the person familiar with child development, a person familiar with the community, the experience of the teachers, and the representative of the curriculum-making process itself. For the purposes of this study we must address ourselves to the reality of the Jewish community, and expand these concepts to meet our unique needs.

First, one must question the availability of people familiar with the scholarly material. A clear reply to this question is found in the resources of Rabbis and trained educators in the individual communities. These individuals have a unique opportunity to engage their talents and knowledge which often go unused. By including them and utilizing them as resource people on a local level, as well as training to the institutions of higher learning for more sophisticated expertise, we are able to avail ourselves of talent and resources. Our analysis of the professional and
occupational reality of the Jewish community today indicates the abundance of people engaged in the area of psychology and child development.

The evidence gathered about the occupations of Jews in America today in Chapter 3 has supported our decision to employ this model with full confidence that these people are available within the subculture itself. It seems safe to say that these people have never been consulted before, and would welcome the opportunity to help shape the nature of Jewish education, and the future of their own group. While it is true that some will be reluctant, the large percentage of Jews in their particular professions guarantees participation and availability of personnel. In addition, the concern for education also referred to in Chapter 3 supports our position that these people will be willing to participate in these deliberations.

The community representatives are certainly available. The "radical Jewish community" which was dealt with in the previous chapter should find this program challenging. It will allow the critics of the Jewish establishment to have a genuine participating voice in the shaping of the future of the subculture. The inclusion of community people as equal participants in educational deliberations should guarantee input from the bearers of the primary message system. It will also allow the type of direct contact that Coles and Erikson find so necessary in dealing with sub-
cultures. Although other curriculum designs include input from the community, few see the community representative as an equal partner in the deliberations. However, this concept of the community representative as an equal partner in the curriculum decision-making process allows this study to attend to the job of cultural reconceptualization, as we have described it, as well as attending to the translation into the curriculum.

The participation of teachers, which has been nonexistent in any of the programs discussed in Chapter 2, is an obvious need for providing for any successful program. The lack of teacher participation is a clear weakness in these earlier programs. In terms of this study, one cannot hope to deal with the language of a culture if one excludes the voice, concerns, experience, and expertise of the people who have the most direct day-to-day responsibility for implementing this plan. It is not just poor strategy, it is almost total disregard for the reality of the school as an institution. As we noted at the outset of this chapter, the existing institutions are not to be destroyed, nor are we allowed to neglect the primary participants in these institutions.
Schwab contends that there are four common elements which are of equal rank: (1) the learners, (2) the teacher, (3) the milieu, and (4) the subject matter, and that none of these can be omitted in thought or practice. This integrates all elements and does not take the position that one factor or variable or "common place" is to be emphasized more than another. The problems which arise from child-centered, or subject-matter-centered, or teacher-centered, or society-centered curricula are avoided when each of the groups is represented. This continues the approach in our previous section, and allows for representatives of each area to question and contribute to the total program. It allows decisions to be made about what is to be translated by those whom it most affects. In the Jewish subculture terms, it might mean, for example, that community representatives can tell the teacher, and the scholar, that the emphasis on the modern Hebrew language is "nonproductive", and "useless" in the American cultural setting. This type of interchange prevents the teacher from expending a great energy on material and subject matter which cannot be learned in this setting. Hence, the decisions reached by the contributors will, in fact, determine the boundaries of the curriculum and define the cultural emphasis. In our
terms, this means that the culture concepts are translated directly into the curriculum by means of a coordinated effort.

This entire process of translation presupposes that all of the participants in the deliberation can confront each other with the sense of awareness that each is, indeed, an equal partner in the deliberations. The scholar cannot assume that his expertise is the most valuable component, nor can the others assume similar stances. This is a crucial prerequisite to our entire model. In this model, the curriculum specialist must constantly prod the group to move on to different considerations.

In our terms, this can be explained in the following way: The group has determined that the cultural values found in the Book of Genesis dealing with the value of the integrity of each human being is to be incorporated into the curriculum. The Hebrew scholar then proposes both texts, and vocabulary which are appropriate to this task. A discussion follows in which teacher, psychologist, and community representative attempt to work out a program for implementing this material in a classroom of 10-year olds, and emphasizing materials which deal with affective aspects of the value concept⁸. The curriculum expert must then lead

⁸Max Kadushin, The Rabbinic Mind (New York: The Jewish Theoretical Seminary of America, 1952). Kadushin uses this term, but not in the curriculum setting used here.
the group into dealing with this in terms of the Jewish community, and then move them to deal with it in terms of the American majority culture, as well as guide them into different areas of learning processes. The example cited here depicts the role of the curriculum specialist. In fulfilling this role he functions as the key facilitator, guide, and catalyst.

This model allows us to establish necessary boundaries to our work, as well as providing for an openness free of dogma. This model also tends to prevent any one aspect or factor, society, child, teacher, or subject matter, from dominating. It also forces the curriculum planner to make decisions and provides the support for implementation of decisions. Moreover, the concept of culture, as described in Chapter 2, can become a vital element in the process. The need for continuous sharing of responsibility, and the provision of a system for feedback from the participants, also gives strength to this approach.

In this work, Schwab calls for cooperation and mutual respect by citing the need for shame, humility, and collegiality. For our purposes, this implies the needed mutual willingness to accept each party of the deliberation as of equal value. The nature of the Jewish community makes this mutuality possible because of the close kinship ties plus the reality that on the local level the Rabbis and laymen interact on a regular basis. The assertion that such a
relationship exists does not mean to imply that the issue of personal status and self concept are not relevant, but rather, to say that the basis for a close relationship is already existent.

In the modification of the model we proposed in this study we assert that whenever the resources are available this curriculum process be developed in local communities. A national body should be developed, but local curriculum groups are crucial and should be encouraged. The data discussed in Chapter 3 do not support a thesis which sees the American Jewish community as a totally homogeneous group. Therefore, the community representatives, local teachers, and students must share in the process. This investigator acknowledges the fact that the model generated here on the elements and processes proposed by Schwab is totally foreign to Jewish education. However, it has been demonstrated that the nature of the subculture as well as the formulation of a reconceptualized model of culture demands an approach of this kind. The reliance on scholars alone, or on national educational agencies, has created the gap between curriculum theory and practice that now characterize the field.

The major obstacle to an application of this approach will be the attitude of those heretofore responsible for the Jewish curriculum.
APPLICATION OF THE MODEL--
PARADIGMATIC UNITS OF STUDY

In our reconceptualization outline in Chapter 2 we delineated the various areas which will function as the components in a reconceptualized curriculum development process. The first such area is the basic area of value concepts. This area involves not only knowledge about these values, but also commitment to using those concepts found in Biblical literature and its commentaries. In Chapter 2 we indicated that some work in Biblical studies had begun with the texts of the Melton Research Center. At that point we underscored the value of that institution's work in its utilization of the inquiry method, a mode indicative of an open intellectual stance.

Although the Melton Center has initiated a valuable methodology, it has fallen short of the goal of extracting basic values to form the "central core" of our proposed curriculum. A thorough reconceptualization involves a move to a level of abstraction which precedes such work. The Melton effort thus far tends to become yet another method to reproduce the same single focus on subject matter and text, refined though they be. Once again, it fails as an approach to deal with the "silent language" of the subculture. In contrast, our purpose is to abstract basic values which will then utilize the methodology they have refined, and to relate it to other methodologies as well.
The legitimate and necessary question which must now be asked is how do we determine these values? Our answer lies in the model projected here. Instead of proceeding with a single-focus methodology, we now must involve our curriculum group in the primary task suggested by our modification of the Schwab thesis. They must jointly work out the basic values of the Jewish tradition and then determine how and where they will be introduced into the life of the members of the Jewish subgroup. Thus, the curriculum process as outlined in our model is applicable in formulating the content of the curriculum. This involves, in our terms, selecting the primary message units of the culture. Clearly, this involves the people who "live" the culture in the development and survival of the culture. For purposes of demonstration of both process and curriculum units we have selected several concepts which embody values and provide us with the potential of expression in every area of our culture as stipulated in Chapter 2 of this study. We shall simulate the curriculum process, and illustrate how it involves the social characteristics illustrated in our profile of Chapter 3. We shall then set out the specific unit for particular grades or groups within the school framework. This effort is intended to provide what might be viewed as a scenario to test out in an "as if" manner in the proposed model. The actual testing, of course, awaits extensive application in field situations.
A PROCEDURAL EXAMPLE

The curriculum specialist opens the discussion by pointing out the lack of enthusiasm and response from children in dealing with the Bible in Grade 3 (age 8) in X religious school. The discussion is then opened:

Teacher: My experience shows that even texts and simple stories with a moral are incapable of retaining enthusiasm. We also have to spend a great deal of time reviewing the text.

Parent: My child seems totally disinterested. Now, I know that he reads at home, and watches TV, but always selects both stories and programs which hold his interest for long periods of time.

Subject Matter Specialist: I realize that the offering of a Bible program more often than not are removed from the experience world of the American 8-year old. However, the concepts are as valid now as then. The texts don't always reflect this, and the method of presentation does not always involve the student, but that does not call for a rejection of the subject matter, only its form of presentation.

Psychologist: I know that almost all Jewish schools are text-bound, and I personally want to see the text as a recognized source. However, if we are to utilize current theory, allow me to raise some obvious problems you will need to deal with. Please allow me to introduce Piaget's theory as an example of what I mean. Piaget says that between 7 and 11 years a child is able to perform mental operations. They are "concrete" operations because they usually require the presence of an actual object. "If a child is given a piece of clay to roll out he is aware that the amount of clay has not changed by his manipulating it and that his mental action is reversible. If he is presented with a problem of changing
it, he may experience difficulties in answering conservative types of questions." What I am suggesting here is that our approach to the text may be entirely unjustified. Perhaps we need to look for another way of teaching the concept of individual worth at this developmental level.

Teacher: I find my materials limited enough; how can I possibly have concrete types of materials?

Curriculum Specialist: Do I understand you to be suggesting that we teach our 8-year olds without the text or are you proposing a different type of text?

Subject Matter Specialist: Please don't forget that we want to use the basics of Jewish tradition.

Psychologist: I am not suggesting abandonment of Jewish text, but am suggesting that at this age the text alone may not only be inadequate, but totally impractical.

Parent: I do want my child to learn about Jewish tradition, and am here because of my feelings, but I do want to point out that we have never heard this type of approach before.

Curriculum Specialist: Could you formulate some suggestions which would illustrate your point, and would allow us to see how it would meet our needs?

Teacher: Please make your suggestions specific. You know that the classroom of 8-year olds is not a theoretical workshop. I need to stimulate and teach twenty 8-year olds daily.

Psychologist: Let me turn it back to all of you. I am suggesting that at this age a child learns best by direct concrete exposure of concepts.

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Curriculum Specialist: You want us to give examples of how to make the value concept of concern for the individual a concrete experience for our children.

Psychologist: Exactly!

Parent: What about making use of the Jewish old age home? That's a place that certainly offers an opportunity for concrete experience.

Teacher: That's a good idea, but is it more than a one-time field trip?

Subject Matter Specialist: Not only does that offer an opportunity for teaching about individuals, it provides the opportunity for dealing with Jewish attitudes for the aged.

Curriculum Specialist: Do we assume that this type of suggestion would permit us to teach the basic value structure within the Jewish context, and that the child will be able to see the concrete application of a set of values?

Psychologist: Yes, I feel that the failure to utilize this type of information has been detrimental to our Jewish schools.

Parent: That's exactly my feeling as a parent. We should be getting the best possible advice.

The hypothetical exchange of participants in our curriculum model is admittedly brief and limited, but it allows us to see the nature and quality of the activity required to formulate concrete programs for Jewish curricula. In this discussion note that the curriculum specialist allowed the direction of the discussion to move in the

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Seymour Fox, "A Practical Image of the Practical", Curriculum Theory Network No. 10 (Fall, 1972), another prototypical scenario to that developed here.
direction of developmental theory rather than turn to a
discussion of textbooks or methodology, or parental rein-
forcement. It seems that this was a genuine concern, and
in an initial meeting the curriculum specialist felt it to
be the most productive. It helped set a mood of exchange
and allowed for input from all concerned. Also note that
the teacher is able to remind the group of his/her practical
problems of dealing with students on a day-to-day basis and
to, in effect, appeal for attention to this type of detail.
The type of reaction, and the parents' ability to understand
the sophisticated subtleties, is based on the composite
portrait of the American Jew described in Chapter 3. The
data cited there allow us to assume that the parental/
communal input is based on exposure to higher education and
its subject matter. In addition, our studies have shown
that Jewish psychologists are available and can be counted
on in a realistic planning group. Another point that must
be commented on is the fact that the willingness to accept
new ideas, or the willingness to accept change, is also
part of the Jewish community.

None of the participants even hinted at the idea of the
enterprise being unnecessary. This attitude of acceptance
is included to illustrate the notion that American Jews do
want a viable subculture life, and are willing to give the
time necessary for its development. This is based on the
previous chapter's illustration that the institutions that
are present today require time and work for the subgroup members. The assumption here is that they are willing to give that type and quality of time to formulating a program which is dedicated to the future existence of these very institutions.

It is assumed that this type of model for planning will have the facilities necessary for producing a coherent expression of cultural aims and objectives. It allows for all aspects of the milieu to contribute and to continuously formulate policy. It allows for teacher input in a way that prevents the faculty from working in its own self-enclosed surroundings. It also provides a process for working out the curriculum procedures, and provides a global forum for evaluation of materials based on the concepts decided in collegia. It also prevents the imbalance of input that has resulted in the type of curricula produced by Jewish educators with little, if any, consultation. This group also has the flexibility and expertise to deal with the variety of techniques, methods, and programs available to implement their ideas.

The scenario developed here is a totally unexplored program of curriculum planning in Jewish education. Our task has been to provide a working, workable base for Jewish curriculum planning before setting out units that may be generated within the total curriculum development process.
The units which follow are untested and, at present, theoretical. They are presented here only as prototypes of what might logically be projected as outcomes in a typical school-community setting.

UNIT 1—GRADE THREE  
—AN INTEGRATED PROPOSAL

Aim and objective of this unit in our school is to deal with the value concept of the value of an individual in Jewish tradition. The subject matter specialist has culled illustrations from the Biblical text which support this value concept. They range from the flood story of Genesis to the narrative of slavery in Egypt. The texts are to be studied in English employing an inquiry method which will allow the student to arrive at the concepts. The Melton model will be our basic text, but we will not use its sequential study, but rather move from illustration to illustration. This method reinforces the idea that our Jewish tradition is open to inquiry and questioning, and is not a closed book of tradition in the sense of blind acceptance. The curriculum committee will have selected the text, and the teacher having had a voice in the selection has been able to react. Note that materials are developed from the discussions. In our reconceptualization of the culture we pointed out that the Hebrew language was, indeed, a vehicle and an important part of any Jewish subgroup
culture. It is, therefore, appropriate to deal with that aspect of our unit at this time.

It is assumed that the mechanics of reading Hebrew have been mastered, and that any one of the various approaches to reading have been utilized; e.g., oral, audio-lingual, whole word, etc.—phonics. This has been done in consultation with our curriculum group, and has been executed by the teacher in a variety of settings appropriate to his/her abilities and predispositions. At this point the Hebrew language studies are based on a vocabulary which will reinforce the concept stated above. A limited vocabulary will be developed which will be employed throughout the various aspects of the unit. They will become the commonplace terms and will be used to demonstrate their cultural values. Examples of this in this unit are words like Tzedek—righteousness, justice; Yahid, the individual; Ish, man; Avdut—slavery. The vocabulary is not intended to be extensive, and long lists are not to be learned. It is not our intention to develop a Biblical vocabulary following the model of the modern vocabularies and merely interchanging word lists\(^{11}\).

Our goal is to use the primary cultural language as a source, but do not expect its usage or extensive knowledge

\(^{11}\)We understand that a Biblical language program is now under development in Israel by Dr. Shlomo Haramati.
at this age. This deviates radically from any program suggested before, but it does react to the criticism leveled at Hebrew language programs before. It recognizes the limited time available, and our inability to reinforce the language in the majority culture setting. However, it does use the language in terms of being able to verbally communicate. At this level our goal is not to make a classical source text available, but rather to familiarize the student with those key terms which are critical to the concept in the culture. Thus, the term Avdut-slavery, is to be understood as incorporating the concept of subjugation to the will of another person or concept. This is but one example, and many others could be added. An essential departure is the limited, and in light of previous Hebrew curricula, minute vocabulary to be learned. We do not want to be guilty of speaking of a program and writing units for something else.

It is assumed that the curriculum group has come to terms with this new approach, and are prepared to defend it to a community which has come to expect quantity in terms of language, despite their recognition that quantity has been a failure. This approach follows our cultural analysis which allows the student the possibilities of success in understanding his culture and developing pride in it without seeing it as an incomprehensible burden. Our emphasis here is not the burden, but rather the incomprehensibility of Hebrew language studies. The language program, limited as
it is, will employ the techniques which have proven most
successful, including audio-lingual techniques, and a
language lab. In addition, this unit is the basic unit upon
which an appropriate reading vocabulary will be built.
This Hebrew unit assumes the existence of the language
material based on the value unit described above.

It also assumes that the language teacher is equipped
to make use of the latest foreign language teaching tech­
niques and materials. This is assumed here for purposes of
this unit of instruction, but the question of teacher train­
ing will be dealt with in another section of this chapter.

As both method and substance we further suggest that the use
of terminology to depict and clarify values be demonstrated
in both Hebrew and English. An example of this being the
concept contained in the word slavery in English, and all it
brings to mind for the age group. This is one approach to
illustrating cultural reference points, and as our previous
work has demonstrated, this is almost totally neglected and
yet of central concern.

At this point, let me once again involve our process in
our curriculum by pointing out that our subject matter
specialist, as well as teacher and psychologist, will need
to advise us of the type of conceptual material appropriate
to this age level, the material available or within realistic
development, and the likelihood of success in the classroom.
We will deal with prayer in our curriculum on two levels. First, as part of this proposed paradigmatic unit, and secondly, as a constituent of a total cultural experience.

Our study of the American Jew in Chapter 3 has shown us that the American Jew is unquestionably a part of an American secular culture. His social and professional life is far removed from the world or culture which deals with concepts like "holiness" and its expression in prayer. Therefore, this prayer unit for 8-year olds will deal with the problem of the American Jew on several levels. Our first assumption is that the language unit has taught the skill area of reading Hebrew. As we suggested in the previous section, the various approaches have been used and we may assume that our unit need not deal with the mechanical skills. The other basic assumption critical to any unit, but perhaps more so here, is the existence of a good teacher-student relationship which enables openness and honesty.

Following our reliance on developmental data from our experts in this area, we proceed to the subject matter. We also are incorporating the concept of "historical identity" between generations and expressed in Erikson's work. The holiness and prayer unit is to emphasize that this is the
communal as well as private expression of concern, and values by the Jewish community. This idea can be paralleled in American society, and should be pointed out and studied. It is essential to a subculture to realize that their way of dealing with this type of expression is not unique, but in other forms is found throughout the majority culture. As obvious as this point may seem, we stress it here to clarify our goal of never losing sight of our basic commitment to understanding of our role in the larger culture.

The actual prayers in this unit will be selected based upon their expression of the value concept of the concern for the individual studied in the Bible, and Hebrew. By now the terminology will be familiar, and the concept of God as the source of this concern will be dealt with. This will perhaps be the first time that the basically foreign concept will be dealt with, and will require the skill, openness, honesty, and, of course, training of the teacher. The teacher will deal with the expression of these values in the prayers, and will have an actual service which will allow the student to concretize his skills and knowledge. The actual service is essential in this age group, and must be more than a pro forma act. It must take place in the Synagogue or other room which has an aesthetic appeal conducive to public prayer, and expression of feelings. By making the locale appropriate to the concept, we are able to
concretize the experience and the emotions. Since the prayers are limited to the ideas taught, the service will not be lengthy or elaborate. This is asserted here because it makes a deviation from the idea of a complete service based on the traditional diversions of the Prayer Book. We are aware that subsequent units will build on other ideas, and that in our later units we will plan for a heightened awareness of communal prayer. This will mean dealing with the traditional services and their order. It is our assumption that our beginning units will serve as a basis of understanding which will allow the student to be receptive to the traditional Prayer Book.

In terms of our initial thesis this unit is taught as a cultural-religious expression of values. It is assumed that this will be the basis for a willingness to continue with this type of activity as an expression of the Jewish historical identity. If prayer is seen as a legitimate activity which gives substance to life in America, then the need to continue will be obvious. Both Erikson and Cole have pointed out the subgroup's need for expression of these feelings. This approach clearly requires new materials, and teaching models, but for the purpose of demonstration these are assumed to be available.
Our goal in this unit is to demonstrate how an integrated approach may be utilized to avoid the often meaningless and unrelated teaching of the past. Inasmuch as the vital acts of Jewish tradition are divided into two categories: (1) acts between man and God, and (2) acts between man and man, there is a theological assumption that the two are related, and that one category is meaningless without the other. In our situation the child has already experienced, both intellectually and emotionally, the concept of the value of the individual. It is now appropriate to demonstrate how Jewish rituals further concretize the concept in terms of a specific act, or mitzvah. The whole notion of symbolical action is readily apparent in the greater culture and the teacher will point out our many symbolic acts; e.g., saluting the flag. The nature of ritual also allows the child to participate in a situation where he interacts with others in his group, and in actual performance sees his relationship to his own people. He is aware that he is not alone in his actions, and in the terms of our study is developing the primary message units of Jewish culture.

The ritual we have selected as a starting point is the mitzvah of Tzedakah—helping others as part of a ritual act. We will take these children to the Jewish home for the
aged to work on arts and crafts projects of Jewish symbol; e.g., a set of candle sticks used for Sabbath candles, and a wine cup used for the ritual of Kiddish on the Sabbath. This is a departure from traditional starting places, but it is based on the need for "hands on" concrete experiences at this age. It further allows the child to express physically his usefulness, grasp a sense of generational interdependence necessary to any subculture's life. It also allows the Jewish ritual system to be seen and experienced at the age when this is most appropriate.

Most of the Jewish ritual programs studied seem to ignore these principles, and begin with abstract mitzvot-like study and then plan for the concrete social mitzvot in the teen-age years. By the time they arrive at this point of adolescence, they have lost the majority of the student population. The concern for individuals worked out as an idea, expressed aesthetically in prayer, is now a real concept to an 8-year old, and allows him to see his own culture as a logical, tangible, meaningful thing. It allows for the development of the group, and generational identity so necessary for subgroup survival. It also shows the child how his group does deal with the realities of our society in context of Jewish concerns and values.

In addition to this, it leads naturally into another aspect of our reconceptualization, the awareness of the wider Jewish community and its institutions. Most programs
begin their greater community awareness with a study of the State of Israel. It is our contention that this is far too remote and abstract for the young child. We then suggest that the mitzvah of Tzedakah and concern for individuals developed above exposes a child to a Jewish institution in his own community which begins the process of sensitizing the Jew to the wider community and provides for regular reinforcement. This is a basic first step, and once again allows for cross-cultural experience. The Jewish child can visit and work with aged or other groups in other institutional settings, and be further awakened to both the common needs and the particular expression of those needs. It further allows him to see his own culture's interaction, association and temporality, and defense (see Chapter 2 of this study). This basic knowledge must precede the study of Israel as the center of the historical experience, and the present embodiment of Jewish culture as the majority culture.

Since this is only one paradigm unit, the assumption is that the curriculum process will continue to build on this model, and will give the necessary direction to a realistic cultural development curriculum. It is our goal to center units around the values, and then expand into every area of our curriculum based on thematic presentation. The assumption is that the value structure which forms the core of Jewish culture has direct effect on each area as we have
reconceptualized it. The various aspects of the unit suggested here are, as we have stated, paradigms of the curriculum. The development of further units which follow developmentally remain the chief task. However, development is not merely based on more material, but will reflect the process of the model suggested at the outset of this chapter. The concept of a practical forum for curriculum development is intimately tied to the development of texts and materials. It is not our task to undertake such development here, but to have shown the direction the development should take.

While the quantity of material appears to be less, the quality and potential for qualitative commitment, based on our research, appears great. Moreover, there is evidence to show that this model can be accepted in the existing Jewish communal structure. Following the statement of Schwab cited earlier in this chapter, we are projecting a piecemeal, practical, and evolutionary change in the existing structure. We feel that the creation of a viable, representative, curriculum group contains within it the prototype of change. By its formation, we have moved the curriculum process from the environs of an elite and often removed group of professional Jewish educators to a group which, in its very nature, represents a democratic process. This will allow the reconceptualization of the foundations of the curriculum as a culture agent.
Any discussion of a reconceptualization of the foundations of the curriculum must make provision for teacher training. In this study the teacher is not only the facilitator of a program, but a participant in the formulation of that program. To make a contribution based on legitimate expertise, we expect our teachers to be in control of the basic areas of Jewish culture as we have defined them. Our question in this study must be, what is the current status of teacher training, and what do we feel needs attention and change?

The most recent study of Jewish teacher training in the United States revealed:

"That the curriculum of the accredited Hebrew teachers colleges ... finds a fundamental similarity in the programs of studies, which include six basic subjects—Hebrew language and literature, Bible, Rabbinic literature, Jewish history, religion, and education. Of these, Hebrew language and literature and Bible receive greatest attention, with the former occupying first place in all but two of the colleges ... The curriculum is therefore language-centered and heritage centered. It gives top priority to modern Hebrew, the sacred text of the Jewish people and the literary classics ... it neglects the contemporary Jewish world. Few of the colleges offer courses in recent Jewish history, or the evolution of American Jewry or Israel or contemporary Jewish thought, or the American Jewish community. This cannot be due to the old and passing prejudice against contemporary life as a subject of study for almost all of the schools offer
This, once again, points out that the Hebrew teachers' colleges have also failed to deal with American Jewish education in terms of educating a subgroup in the American culture. The study cited above shows that the area which needs the most attention is the most neglected. Our proposal to correct this situation is to follow Schwab's advice, and to deal with the existing institutions first. We propose the alteration of the subject matter curriculum of these schools to follow the cultural model projected in this study. To be more specific, we propose that the existing courses be reformulated and taught with the intention of training teachers to educate for a culture which understands its place and role in the social order. We are suggesting that the studies now be geared to the value orientation we have suggested, and that the concept of utilizing the culture's primary message system be the guide to the courses in such institutions. This will mean substantial courses in contemporary history and thought. The lack of courses in American Jewish history and sociology will be implemented.

In addition, there must be additional emphasis on child development, teaching methods, and theory. The concern with subject matter competence has so dominated so much of teacher education that we have forgotten that there are children to be taught, and a culture to be transmitted. We are suggesting a redistribution of time allotted to subject matter, and proposing courses which teach the teacher the social and cultural context in which he is operating. Teachers who do not have this knowledge and competence cannot function in our society today. Our proposals will be challenged by those who advocate "learning" as the basic guarantee of good teachers. Chapter 3 of this study illustrates which variables are dominant.

A teacher must be trained to be sensitive to the child's needs, the Jewish value system, and the method of implementing these aspects of Jewish culture in the classroom. The concept of a new program for students without a reorientation of the teacher-training schools is not adequate to prepare teachers to assume the larger, more complex roles they must in order to fulfill their roles designated in the reconceptualized curriculum.

IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

Reality tells us that our problem requires retraining of people now teaching in our Jewish schools as well as the reorientation of preservice teacher colleges. This study
suggests that this be done on several levels. First, the involvement of the teachers or teachers' representatives is a way of generating interest and commitment on the part of the teachers. The process is a central form of educating teachers to accept change. In addition, it enhances their status and role, and must not be overlooked as a central aspect of in-service training.

We also suggest several summer-training programs on a regional basis for "master teachers"\textsuperscript{13} who will be taught the concepts and methods for implementing them during an intensive 8-week course. The course will also deal with the sociological material presented in Chapter 3, and all new materials available. There will not be any attempt to teach subject matter. It is our assumption that those selected are well informed, and are thought to be people who are meeting with success in the present system. These people will serve as master teachers in their local schools. Unlike Janowsky's suggestion of utilizing them in other agencies\textsuperscript{14}, their primary function will be in their local schools. These people will return for three to four summers and will continue to serve in their local communities. The

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid. 12, pp 340-345. Janowsky discusses master teachers, but does not use the term in the sense used here.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid. 12, p 343.
local schools will, in turn, establish adequate time for sessions with these people and with local resource people. If subject matter knowledge is present, then the need is to utilize these master teachers to deal with the reality of existing as a subgroup, and the basic method of transmitting the subgroup culture. In addition, the local curriculum group will provide a forum for feedback on the effectiveness of this program.

**RESOURCES**

Any central planning requires a realistic evaluation of resources both human and financial. It is evident from our study of the Jewish community in Chapter 3 that there is a significant pool of people who are well trained in the areas which are essential to making this plan operational. The numbers of Jewish people involved in psychology, sociology, education, etc., are proof that there is a human resource potential. In addition, the general educational level of the Jewish community makes the possibility of leadership a real possibility. Our problem will be one of motivation, not one of finding human resources.

The existence and continuation of major Jewish institutions is proof in itself of the availability of the financial resources as well. We must also note that there is currently a network of various types of Jewish schools.
This indicates the availability of financial resources. In addition to these apparent funds, the Jewish federation, an umbrella agency, has resources which would in and of themselves be sufficient to meet our needs. Again, our major problem is not finding the financial resources, but of convincing the existing funding agencies of the worthwhileness of our program. We feel that a presentation of the material found in this study would serve as an excellent starting place for this project. We are fully aware of the problems involved in suggesting innovation, as we indicated in Chapter 3, but the history of Jewish communities suggests a willingness and openness to innovation. The very nature of the Jewish community makes it possible to speak with confidence about funding the needed financial support.

The Jewish commitment to education is also a major force in the optimism concerning financial resources. Our documentation of this concern in Chapter 3 is another factor which supports the fact that the resources are present, and that our task will be to demonstrate the worthwhileness of our proposal. We are aware of the competition for these funds, but the education of Jewish children has high priority within the Jewish subgroup. This priority makes the problem seem less of a challenge than it might be in another subgroup or community.

The constant discussion about Jewish education also indicates to us that the organized Jewish community is
willing to fund reasonable new approaches to Jewish education, and since our program grows out of local curriculum groups there is a built-in lobby in the very nature of our program.

**ORGANIZATION**

The organizational structure for the Jewish school currently in existence is basically a vertical type of system based on departmental lines. Our plan does not propose to eliminate this structure, but rather to allow it to function at optimum conditions. The curriculum planning committee serves as a major partner in this structure, inasmuch as it is not only an advisory source, but also an essential policy-making agency. This committee serves as a source of innovation in policy as well as method and is able to utilize the existing framework with a degree of efficiency.

In our plan the national agencies of the major denominational groups will serve as disseminators of information, policy, and technique. They will cease to be the sole source of leadership and policy as they have been. Our analysis of existing philosophy and curriculum in Chapter 2 certainly illustrates the folly of such procedure. Instead, they will utilize their organizational application to distribute information, and to coordinate, arrange, and execute regional and national conferences and meetings dedicated to
sharing information and programs. With our basic curriculum unit being local, the national agencies will change from policy formers to disseminators of information. This will enable us to make use of existing staff and organization. It will also allow the national group to act as resource people in a way that will be valuable to the local units. This type of organization allows for maximum local participation and reaction to local needs. It allows for cooperation and sharing of ideas through the use of the existing national bodies. The local group also has the ability to implement, change, or totally reorganize, according to local needs. It allows for a fluid, open approach to organization while providing for an interchange of ideas and experiences. It also follows our overall approach of utilizing existing structures and not proposing immediate and radical change. This approach also continues our goal of constant interchange among the various "agents of translation".

This framework also allows for organizational information involving open classroom or open space techniques. These organizational formats require attention as to their ultimate utility and effectiveness. Our general framework allows for this, but does not commit itself to any one organizational structure.
Evaluation is the area most neglected by the Jewish educators. They have provided for some subject matter testing, but this does not reflect actual goals or local conditions. The test of history has shown that they have not been successful, and that a failure to provide for continuous evaluation has aided the type of self-deception that has prevailed. In this section we propose a format for evaluation. We suggest that a type of evaluation is always operative if the agents of translation continue to function. However, this is too limited and admittedly subjective. We need a check list which will allow us to see if (1) the organization reflects the aim and purposes, (2) the procedures are rational and procedurally possible, and (3) the various groups or agents are involved. Evaluational material will be designed to test skills as well as attitudes of the students. The question of flexibility which is so central to this plan will have to be evaluated by the various participants. The ultimate evaluation will be the empirical judgment as to whether the subgroup is strengthened and enhanced by the program.

Inasmuch as evaluation is a continuous activity, the very process we have proposed provides us with evaluational material.
SUMMARY

It has been our goal to generate a model for the reconceptualization of the foundations for curriculum development. In this chapter we drew on the evidence and data found in the previous chapters and have proposed a model for curriculum development. We have given anecdotal illustrations as well as descriptive illustrations of our model and its possible application. As in all models, the details are not developed fully. It is the intention of this study to provide the much-needed model for further development and to show by several scenarios the prototypical units that might emerge.
CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

In our previous chapters, we have demonstrated the foundations of the Jewish curriculum as a direct outgrowth of the confrontation with American society. We outlined the reaction of the educators to this challenge, and pointed out the wide gap between a professed philosophy of cultural pluralism, and the actual practice which almost totally ignored the commitment. Our outline of the general failure to respond to the challenge of American society by Jewish educators illustrates that this problem is not, and was not, peculiar to any group or denomination in the Jewish community.

Our study has also demonstrated that the curriculum development process became crystallized in the generation of mass immigration, and its needs and challenges. However, the Jewish community as a subgroup in the American culture has been a dynamic, upwardly motivated group. This dynamism has been documented, and it has been demonstrated that
Jewish education has failed to respond adequately to this change. We have also delineated the cultural forces which have become challenges to the continued existence of a quality Jewish subgroup, and as a corollary, a quality Jewish education. Our study has developed the thesis that the Jewish subgroup, and as an extension, any subgroup in America, must be able to understand the "language of its culture". By being able to isolate the primary message units of its culture, the Jewish group will then be able to accommodate with the major culture and enhance its own quality as well as guarantee its own survival.

In this study we did, in fact, offer a reconceptualization of Jewish culture in light of our understanding of the concept of culture. It is our thesis that some such cultural analysis is an essential precondition to the initiation of any curriculum process. Our study has shown that such analyses have been virtually ignored by Jewish educators.

The approach projected in this investigation adds an element of dynamism which will allow for a continuous evaluation of the state of the subgroup in light of the majority culture. It provides a certain protection against failure to respond to changing social forces. By delineating the problem, documenting it, and offering a practical alternative, the study makes a contribution to what social scientists have called "middle range" theory development.
Current analyses of the state of the field of curriculum identify that this kind of effort is the greatest single need to bridge the theory-practice gap.

As developed in the body of this study, an analysis of our current state, and a framework for dealing with Jewish culture is necessary, but not sufficient. In our view the curriculum and the curriculum process are significant keys to the transmission of culture. Therefore, the data we have gathered, combined with the reconceptualization of Jewish culture, have been used as sources for the generation of a model for a curriculum development process for Jewish education.

We have proposed the use of Schwab's model with modifications as indicated in Chapter 4. In this approach we have moved the Jewish educator into a radically different process. We have eliminated the concept of unilateral decision and policy-making from the process. Our decision to offer a model which would provide for wide participation is based on our analysis of the Jewish community in Chapter 3. We found that the Jewish subgroup is a highly educated group. This fact allowed us to assume that the input of the agents of translation could be expected to be articulate and concerned. This analysis also allowed us to assume that the specialists who are so important to this process are available from within the subgroup. The availability of these people within the Jewish community, and the commitment of Jews to
education, allow us to argue that this model is a realistic one for our subgroup.

Our outline of a suggested integrated unit utilizing the reconceptualized culture, and simultaneously exposing our participant to the process of translation, is intended to point out the possible direction this model can take. This approach makes central the continuation of both the process and formulation of subject matter content as crucial next steps. Our task in this study has been to formulate the foundational basis for this process. Our paradigmatic unit is intended to illustrate the possibilities, and is not conceived a "real" first draft. The effort here, then, may be compared to the writing of scenarios with the action yet to come as actors take on unique roles within specific school-community settings.

Our data convince us that this model can be made operational in the typical Jewish community. Our study of the community leads us to conclude that this model in tandem with members of this community, will best allow a development of the "language" of the American Jewish culture. Our primary interest is in developing a practical and realistic model. As is the case in any philosophical-logical mode of theory building, final validation of a proposal rests with the kinds of questions raised by the inquiry. These questions suggest a wide range of practical
field experimentation and a rigorous collection of empirical data.

ANTICIPATED PROBLEMS

It would be, at best, naive to believe that the radical changes projected in this study would be welcomed without resistance. It is our obligation to indicate anticipated areas of both resistance and reservation and to make practical as well as theoretical suggestions for coping with such constraints.

While our research has shown that the Jewish organizational structure is a good candidate for change and innovation, we cannot overlook the problems cited in the literature. First, extensive literature on this subject points out the tendency of organizational concern for "boundary maintenance". In our terms, this means that the educational establishment, whether it be a local school or national Jewish educational agency, seeks to protect its own existence, integrity, and authority. As the literature indicates, it is only willing to be "invaded" by outside forces if it feels that it will gain in status, prestige, or power. This general statement once again can be seen in terms of both local and national groups, as well as local and national personnel. We must not ignore the fear that personnel will have about their own welfare and position.
At the end of Chapter 3 we cited the reasons, as reflected in the literature, for the willingness of Jewish organizations to join in this innovation. We are convinced that this willingness will help to minimize such difficulties.

The model generated in this study does not propose an immediate and revolutionary approach to change in Jewish education. The model proposes dealing with existing institutions, and initiating these changes gradually. This allows the institution to retain their integrity, and to simultaneously evaluate the program. The retraining and in-service education of teachers should serve to further include existing personnel in the innovation and support a feeling of mutual trust and confidence as well as enhance the excitement of being part of a new venture. This, of course, in addition to the obvious goal of providing teachers who are competent to deal with education as we have charted it. This variable of self-esteem as reflected in being part of a new and exciting program is not to be dismissed as an inconsequential variable. This development of self-esteem will undoubtedly be a central force in the Jewish institutional framework.

The curriculum model then provides for limited action at the outset with the anticipation that the success of the limited projects will provide the various groups and institutions with the excitement, conviction, and self-confidence to move even further.
One of the variables referred to in Chapter 3 was that of the role of the innovative leader. The need for an innovative leader of sufficient competence and charisma to allay the fears, and buoy the confidence of all the parties concerned is clearly an element in the effectiveness of any curriculum development effort that might be based on the model generated in this study.

The field of Jewish education has not experienced very many curriculum reforms and, therefore, the experience of dealing with it is limited. However, the establishment of the Melton Research Center of the Jewish Theological Seminary is one such reform. Its primary leader was able to effect change precisely because of this combination of educational competence and charismatic leadership. This success serves as an indication of how appropriate resources can, in fact, yield positive results. The projected curriculum change proposed in this study calls for an even broader reform. The thrust, as we see it, must be in this direction represented in the beginnings made by the Melton Center.

The availability of curriculum resource materials continues to be a problem. Increased numbers of method books, or language programs, or prayer manuals, which operate in a cultural-social vacuum only serve to increase the confusion, and allow us the self-delusion of progress in Jewish education. The basic issue of translation of one subculture
in light of the major culture must be dealt with as a pre-
condition to manuals and guide books. We see these problems
as manageable and capable of solution. We also point out
the vast literature and material available to assist us in
our unique project. This abundance of resource material
not directly related to our project is another positive
factor.

The question of resources, both human and financial,
have been alluded to and dealt with throughout the body of
this study. There is, demonstratively, an adequate supply
of both of these resources. There is a constant call for
more manpower, and expertise. However, the problem is not
necessarily a shortage, although there is always a need for
more people, but rather a problem of gaining the interest
and motivating those who are available at the present time.
Our program calls for input from Jewish scholars, as well
as experts in education and allied fields. It is now the
task of those who embark on the application of the model to
be aware of the rich supply of human resources within the
Jewish community and utilize their expertise. This utiliza-
tion will require the effective leader referred to above,
and the willingness of the subgroup to utilize its finan-
cial resources to guarantee that these people and their
subsequent work is adequately funded. Our study has shown
that the general socioeconomic level of the Jewish
community is certainly capable of responding to these needs.
If our assertions about the Jewish commitment to education are accurate, then the appropriate funding can be expected to be made available. The problem is not the existence of these resources, but rather the ability of those involved in the program to have these resources made available.

Another variable noted in Chapter 3 is the vast array of Jewish institutions within the subgroup. These institutions are competitors for both the financial and human resources. The area of Jewish education has never demanded nor received large amounts of financial assistance, especially of the type which would make far-reaching programs possible. This study should be of value in presenting the case for the need, and indicating the direction in which to move. Clearly delineated new directions prevents possible objectors from saying that curriculum developers are merely asking for funds to reproduce "more of the same". The fact that a model exists, and that inherent in this model is actual development, should be a convincing theme in the quest for resources. The idea of Jewish education as a prerequisite to the future existence of these various institutions should not be overlooked as a strategy to be utilized in the competition for funds within the Jewish community.

The human resources problem involves convincing Jewish academicians that the contribution of time and skills over and above their commitments within the context of the
majority culture is worthwhile. The worthwhileness of this project must be apparent to this group in order for them to participate. This study has indicated an awareness of the problem, and perceives a willingness among some to contribute the survival and enrichment of their own subgroup in American society. As in all cases of a more adequate utilization of resources, the only method of discovery is by direct approach. Again, the lack of data about the concern of academicans and their willingness to participate directly and actively in a specific educational venture support one aspect of our thesis that this has not been attempted before. It further supports our contention that the first step must be initiated before any type of empirical data can be obtained.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We propose several steps which, while discussed individually in our study, must take place simultaneously to insure an effective testing out of the proposed model for curriculum development.

(1) We recommend that several schools be selected, using the criteria set out in this study, as pilot schools for the implementation of the proposed model. We recommend that these pilot schools be utilized as empirical resources to
evaluate and study the effectiveness of our model and the problems generated by the model which we may or may not have anticipated in this study. This step should be taken with selectivity and in light of our research, and must be seen as a critical variable in our model.

(2) We recommend that the development of prototypical material be developed to reflect the model design. While we have briefly sketched the possibilities in our study, we recommend that the prototypical materials be developed in order to make the model a viable one. This, of course, is a media problem and will involve the development of material in various media. However, a model without material is obviously useless. This will once again involve the enlistment and commitment of various experts in the field. Our study has indicated that this should be forthcoming from within the Jewish community.

(3) We recommend the immediate establishment of an in-service training program. This program, which may assume a variety of forms, will deal with the cultural and social aspects of the Jewish community and Jewish education as
developed in this study. This recommendation assumes that those involved in this in-service educational program have the needed expertise in Jewish textual materials. The in-service program will develop a comprehensive social and cultural view of the American Jewish community, and its effect on the Jewish schools and classroom. This institute will service present teaching and administrative personnel.

(4) We recommend the establishment of a preservice teacher-training institute which will allow us to develop a group of teachers employing our model. The input in this program will be based on the model as outlined above, and the study and use of the cultural and social aspects of the Jewish community as outlined in this study. This preservice program will be held prior to the school year, and will allow us to develop the working relationship upon which this model is based. This preservice program will serve as a model within the model, and will demonstrate the type of atmosphere which can yield positive results. It will also allow the teachers to become familiar with the prototypical units and materials, and will allow them to react, and evaluate in the manner our model calls for.
(5) We recommend that all of the initial programs tested above be utilized as a source of empirical studies which will provide us with data for evaluation. In our study we indicated the lack of evaluative material. This program, as recommended here, will enable us to have available for real and beneficial study valid empirical data. We recommend that these data then be applied to the improvement and adjustment of the model. We trust that this built-in mechanism will enable us to translate our culture through the educational curriculum.
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