A Census of Jewish

Supplementary Schools

# in the United States 

2006-2007

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The complete list of schools for which enrollment data were collected may be found at www.avichai.org under the publications section. This listing provides in most cases the complete addresses of these schools, as well as their denominational affiliation. It has been placed online as a service to the field so that others may have a baseline list from which to work. It is also being made available so that we may learn about schools that were not reached by the census survey or for which we have incorrect information. Enrollment numbers for each school do not appear on the listing because the census survey promised to treat such data with confidentiality.

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## Letter from AVI CHAI's Executive Director - North America

Since its founding over two decades ago, The AVI CHAI Foundation has focused on Jewish education, primarily, in the past dozen years, to enhance day schools and summer camping. The Foundation hopes to contribute to other sectors of Jewish education by supporting "thought leadership," which may take the form of research, re-conceptualization, assessment and other intellectual initiatives.

Toward that end, last year the Foundation commissioned Dr. Jack Wertheimer to conduct an examination of recent trends in the field of supplementary Jewish education, which can be found in the publications section at www.avichai.org.

In order to provide hard data for analysis and decision-making, the Foundation took the next step of asking Dr. Wertheimer to conduct this Census of Supplementary Schools. It is our hope that the data provided in this census will both facilitate and stimulate new thinking and action to enhance the Jewish educational experience of the 230,000 or so Jewish children in supplementary schools each year.

AVI CHAI is supporting two additional research projects in supplementary schooling: case studies of ten different supplementary school models and an approach to outcomes assessment. We anticipate that the case studies report will be available in late fall 2008. The outcomes assessment project is just getting started.

As is clear from the research done thus far, the supplementary school field is in a process of evolution that is not yet well understood. Change provides both opportunities and challenges. We hope that this census and the research to follow will stimulate conversation and consideration among practitioners and lay leaders and help in the process of realizing the opportunities and overcoming the challenges.

We very much appreciate Dr. Jack Wertheimer's commitment to Jewish education and leadership of this ambitious research project.


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## Executive Summary

Asignificant percentage of Jewish students in the United States receiving a Jewish education are enrolled in programs that meet on weekends and/or late weekday afternoons when their full day public or private schools are not in session. No single term covers the range of these programs, which are variously referred to as religious schools, Hebrew schools, congregational schools, and more recently as "complementary schools" - i.e., they complement the education offered in public or private schools. Most commonly, these programs are known as supplementary schools.

This report presents the findings of the first census of supplementary school enrollment in over a quarter century. The most basic challenge facing any such undertaking is the absence of a comprehensive list of every supplementary school. In order to prepare for an enrollment census, a list of possible schools was drawn up, numbering over 1,500 entries. These were primarily gleaned from information made available by the larger bodies of synagogues, umbrella agencies and educational organizations. As the project unfolded, more schools were added. Based on these various sources, the estimated total number of schools is between 2,000 and 2,100.

This census project elicited enrollment data from 1,720 schools throughout the United States. Between 200-300 institutions were non-responsive, despite repeated telephone and email inquiries. It is not possible to state with certainty whether all these institutions actually run school programs; nor do we know with precision how many students are enrolled in the non-responding schools. In all likelihood the non-responders tend to be among the smaller schools with a very part-time staff, or are defunct.

The key findings of this census are:
Supplementary schools continue to enroll the majority of students receiving a Jewish education.
The 1,720 schools for which data could be obtained report a combined student population of 212,566 pupils enrolled in
grades 1-12 during the 2006-2007 school year. (Early childhood and kindergarten enrollment figures have been excluded from these figures.) If we assume that the remaining schools are small, and that the census includes data on over 90 percent of the students, the estimated total of all children enrolled in Jewish supplementary schools throughout the United States stands at approximately $\mathbf{2 3 0 , 0 0 0}$. This compares to a total of 172,447 enrolled in the same grades of Jewish day schools enumerated by Marvin Schick in his day school census of 2003-2004.

## Students are clustered in the grades leading up to Bar/

 Bat Mitzvah. After grade 7, enrollment drops precipitously. Enrolled students are clustered between grades 4-7, which account for roughly half of all students in Jewish supplementary schools, despite the fact that they constitute only one-third of all the grades from 1-12. Undoubtedly, the preoccupation with enrolling children in the years leading up to the Bar/Bar Mitzvah celebration plays a major role. As to the other grades, more students are enrolled in the lower grades than the higher ones. The drop-out phenomenon after Bar/Bat Mitzvah is dramatic. More than one-third of students drop out after grade 7 and then the rate of decline accelerates so that by grade 12 only one-seventh of the number of seventh graders is still enrolled. Only a small minority of Jewish children is exposed to formal supplementary Jewish education on the high school level. The most rapid drop out after grade 7 occurs in the New York area; retention rates in the West are somewhat higher.School affiliation matters. Some types of schools have grown in numbers and increased in size over the past five years.
Chabad schools are the most rapidly growing type of school in the field. Over 350 such schools now enroll students; all Chabad schools responding to our survey report dramatic enrollment increases, if for no other reason than because most did not even exist five years ago. Modern Orthodox schools are on the decline because there is little market for them; they tend to be small. By contrast, schools under Reform auspices now dominate the field. While they constitute 39 percent of all schools, they enroll 57 percent of all students. Schools affiliated as Reform on average have the largest enrollments.

## Enrollments in schools affiliated with the Conservative movement are shrinking.

Although schools with a Conservative affiliation constitute 30 percent of the total for which we have data, they enroll just 26 percent of all students in supplementary schools. When asked about growth or decline over the previous five years, Conservative schools are more likely than any others to report declining enrollments. Some of this is attributable to the fact that more than 40 percent of children from Conservative homes who are enrolled in programs of formal Jewish education attend day schools; such children, in fact, constitute the large majority of children from non-Orthodox families enrolled in day schools. But even when these numbers are added and we account for the tendency of Conservative teens to attend community high schools in far higher numbers than any other group, the total number of youth from Conservative homes is more than 30 percent smaller than children from Reform homes receiving a formal Jewish education. In short, the number of Conservative families with school-age children has shrunk.

## Most supplementary Jewish schools have small enrollments.

Forty-one percent of all supplementary Jewish schools enroll fewer than 50 students, and over 60 percent of all Jewish supplementary schools enroll 100 or fewer students. As a result, class size tends to be small in a great many schools. This raises questions about the resources these schools can bring to bear - whether they can afford to hire school
heads and teachers who can offer more than a minimum of their time; whether they can get the attention of national organizations or even local central agencies for Jewish education.

## A large number of schools report they have altered their hours of instruction in recent years.

The number of days and hours of instruction in supplementary schools continues to be in flux. Whereas many schools, particularly those under Conservative auspices, cut back on their hours of instruction in the 1990s, approximately half now report an increase in hours introduced over the past five years. Schools under Reform auspices that reported changing their hours tended to add time; their counterparts in the Conservative movement tended to subtract time.

## The numbers of class meeting hours vary greatly by grade level.

Schools report significant variations in the amount of time their students take classes, depending upon grade level. Schools of all stripes are most likely to expect grade 6 students to attend classes twice or thrice weekly. By contrast, many schools require grade 3 students to attend only once a week, although schools under Conservative auspices are most likely to require twice or thrice weekly attendance. By grade 9, few schools require attendance more than once a week.

## Shabbat Programs - A Missed Opportunity For Many Schools

A bit more than half of the schools ( 56 percent) offer some kind of Shabbat programs for supplementary school children and their parents. Conservative and Chabad synagogues are the most likely to expect attendance at religious services or youth services; Reform schools are the least likely to do so. Orthodox and Chabad schools are the most likely to offer youth activities on Shabbat. Reform and Reconstructionist schools are more likely, though, to offer family education programs on Shabbat. Much more research needs to be done on this question. Shabbat programs offer an invaluable opportunity to augment what is learned in school, build synagogue skills, and embrace Jewish children in a religious community.

Geography makes a difference in school size, denominational share and number of days of study. Jewish supplementary schools can be found in every state of the country. In a few states, enrollments are disproportionately high or low compared to the numbers of schools, suggesting that in some states schools tend to be larger - e.g., New Jersey and Illinois - and in other places such as the Deep South, Hawaii, Alaska and some of the Rocky Mountain states, enrollments are small per school. It appears that as new schools come into existence, the tendency is for them to require fewer days of study compared to the norm in an established community, such as New York.

## What are the top goals of schools?

When asked to pick their primary goals, schools gave the most top "votes" to the following items:

- Giving children positive Jewish experiences (31 percent)
- Hebrew reading for participation in religious services (18 percent)
- Teaching about holidays and rituals (11 percent)
- Preparing children to live as decent (menschlich) people (10 percent)
- Inspiring children to observe Jewish religious rituals (9 percent)
- Preparing children for Bar/Bat Mitzvah (7 percent)

The low priority placed on Bar/Bat Mitzvah preparation is at odds with the goals parents seem to set for supplementary schooling.

Denominational affiliation played some role in the goals set forth by schools. Chabad schools were the most likely to stress giving children positive Jewish experiences; Conservative ones were the least likely to pick this option and were the most likely to stress Hebrew reading for participation in religious services.

## IMPLICATIONS

This census report raises important questions for educators and policy makers about:

- The challenge to retain students in the post-Bar/Bat Mitzvah years, particularly in the high school years. Educators tend to stress retention as a worthy goal and a measure of their success. How can schools increase the numbers of students who continue their Jewish education through the high school years?
- The large numbers of schools ( 45 percent) that miss opportunities to embrace children in religious and communal activities on Shabbat.
- The shrinkage of enrollment in schools under Conservative auspices, which continue to have the highest standards for hours of instruction and teaching for participation in public prayer.
- The kinds of support and resources made available to the high proportion of small schools enrolling fewer than 100 students.
- The seeming disconnect between schools and parents as to the goal of supplementary schooling. Schools rate preparing young people for the Bar/Bat Mitzvah low on their scale of priorities. Judging by the huge percentage of children removed from supplementary schools right after their rite of passage, it appears that parents (and perhaps children) link Jewish education with Bar/Bat Mitzvah preparation.


# A Census of Jewish Supplementary Schools 

For much of the past century, the large majority of American Jews receiving a Jewish education attended part time schools often known as religious schools, Hebrew schools, or congregational schools. These schools met for as little as an hour or two on Sunday mornings and as often as five days a week, including Sundays and four weekday afternoons when children had already put in a full day at their public or private schools. In the first half of the twentieth century, supplementary schooling ${ }^{1}$ was conducted mainly under the auspices of communal institutions. But by the middle of the century, the dispersal of Jews to suburbia and the explosive growth of synagogues brought an ever larger population of Jewish children into congregationally-based supplementary schools. The second half of the century also witnessed a dramatic increase of enrollments in all-day Jewish schools, initially almost exclusively within the Orthodox orbit and more recently in some other sectors. A far smaller but as yet unstudied phenomenon is the recent trend toward privatizing Jewish schooling by hiring tutors and creating home schooling environments.

As the types of educational settings have proliferated, it has become far more difficult for communal planners and others engaged in educational policymaking to know with any precision how many children are exposed to each form of Jewish education. This uncertainty makes it difficult to plan properly. Without knowing how many children are enrolled in each educational setting, it is hard to gauge the proper allocation of resources or even the relative needs of each type of schooling. Better information on enrollments may also help in spotting trends. Are the numbers of Jews receiving a Jewish education growing, declining or remaining stable? And if change is afoot, what does that portend for the future of organized Jewish life? Enrollment data may also shed light on how young Jews are engaged with Jewish life at different stages of their childhood. At what ages do the bulk of children begin to receive a Jewish education and when do they generally stop? What is the percentage of high school students receiving a Jewish education? If the rates for the latter are low, should resources be invested in upgrading high school programs to make them more attractive?

Thanks to the pioneering research of Dr. Marvin Schick, two landmark studies have provided rich census information about enrollment patterns in all-day Jewish schools. ${ }^{2}$ We now have a nuanced understanding of the patterns of enrollment in day schools of different Jewish religious orientations and of students in different metropolitan areas. We also can track

[^1]internal developments in day schools, such as the relative size of schools under the auspices of various religious groupings and the distribution of children by grades.

To date, no comparable census exists for supplementary Jewish schooling. Simply put, we do not know how many schools exist, how many children they educate, how enrollments break down by grade and by denominational affiliation, whether schools tend to be growing or declining in size, or whether they are adding or subtracting hours. In the absence of hard data, we rely on guesstimates, extrapolations from limited data and anecdotal accounts.

The present report begins to answer these questions based on a wide-ranging census. Readers are cautioned to observe that while on some measures, this census bas gathered information from a broad swath of schools, on others it can report on sub-samples only. The size of these samples will be noted throughout the report.

## THE NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS

The task of census-taking in the supplementary school arena is vastly complicated by the absence of a comprehensive list of schools. The major religious denominations of Reform and Conservative Judaism have incomplete information on schools sponsored by their own synagogues. Moreover, not all synagogues with schools are affiliated with a movement, and not all schools are housed in synagogues. Some are organized as communal operations; others may be run on an entrepreneurial model by private individuals.

This census utilized information on Jewish supplementary schools from a variety of sources. The most comprehensive was a registry of schools compiled by Drs. Michael Ben-Avie and Jeffrey Kress for the Jewish Education Service of North America. ${ }^{3}$ The registry was based on congregational listings of the major Jewish religious movements - the Conservative and Reform movements especially - local communal websites and other listings. The registry cast its net widely. But as institutions were contacted for this census, it became evident that some of the schools included in the registry are now defunct or have merged with others; some are in congregations that do not sponsor a school. A variety of other information sources were tapped for this census to round out the registry. Valuable help came from the Union for Reform Judaism,
which shared the results of a survey it had conducted in 2006-2007. At a later stage, school lists were transmitted directly from the central offices of the Reconstructionist movement and Chabad and also from central agencies for Jewish education. Additional schools came to our attention through on-line listings.

Based on a compilation of these various sources of data, it appears that there are somewhere in the vicinity of 2,0002,100 Jewish supplementary schools in the United States. This figure conforms with data compiled by Behrman House Books, the largest publisher of Jewish educational textbooks. ${ }^{4}$ It also corresponds closely to findings of a census of Jewish schools in the diaspora undertaken 25 years ago. ${ }^{5}$

To establish whether a school functions and how many children it enrolls generally required making contact with the school or with an informed local observer. This census succeeded in gathering data from 1,720 schools. (The names, addresses and affiliations of these schools may be found at www.avichai.org under the publications section.) Virtually all the known remaining schools were contacted multiple times via telephone and email; no one at these schools responded to requests for information. This raises the distinct possibility that a large number of these congregations in fact do not run supplementary schools - or if they do, the schools are administered by part-time personnel who did not have the time to respond. This suggests that the nonresponding schools tend to enroll few students. As the census process neared completion, most of the last schools reached had tiny enrollments. It was not uncommon for some of these last responding schools to report enrollments of fewer than 10 students. Approximately one-half of the schools for

[^2]which no enrollment information is available are Chabad schools: the average number of students in Chabad schools for which we do have data is 38 . For estimation purposes, we assume the mean size of the missing Chabad schools is considerably smaller. Reform, Conservative and unaffiliated congregations for which data are missing - i.e., half of the non-reporting schools - may be assumed to be small too.

For this reason, I estimate that the 1,720 schools in our census reflect close to 90 percent of all enrollments in Jewish supplementary schools in the United States. In the school year 2006-07, the combined enrollment of these schools was 212,566 pupils from grades $1-12$. (Early childhood and kindergarten enrollment figures have been excluded from these figures.) If we project another 8-10 percent to include the schools for which we lack data, the total estimated enrollment comes to approximately 230,000 .

The most comprehensive past effort to pin down the enrollment number in supplementary schools was undertaken in 2002 by ADCA, the organization of directors of central agencies for Jewish education. By surveying its own members, ADCA arrived at a figure of 225,900 students enrolled from grades $\mathrm{K}-12$, or apparently 215,000 students in grades $1-12 .{ }^{6}$ The ADCA report also claims only 1,258 "congregational schools," a serious undercount that ignores between 600-750 schools. The ADCA figures, however, only included schools served by a central agency, and quite a few schools are in locales lacking a Bureau of Jewish Education.

Two other attempts were made in the second half of the twentieth century to pin down the numbers of students in supplementary schools. A census of Jewish students in the diaspora conducted in 1981/2 enumerated 267,665 students. ${ }^{7}$ And in the 1950 s, a sample of communities was surveyed to arrive at enrollment data: by projecting from the sample communities, the survey claimed an enrollment of 491,000 students in supplementary schools. ${ }^{8}$

It is difficult to compare the findings of the current census with earlier reports primarily because the latter are based on projections from sample schools and the current report is based on an extensive list of schools and their enrollments. By providing the complete list of schools it reached, this census aims to serve as a benchmark that others may build upon in future efforts to enumerate enrollments in supplementary Jewish schools.

How do supplementary school enrollments compare to the total number of children receiving a Jewish education? The day school census conducted by Marvin Schick in 2003-2004 enumerated 172,447 children enrolled in grades $1-12 .{ }^{9}$ Assuming that day school enrollments have held steady since 2003-2004, it is clear that supplementary school enrollments exceed day school enrollments by approximately 58,000 children. ${ }^{10}$

As to other forms of Jewish education, we lack hard numbers for students who are tutored or home-schooled. Anecdotal information suggests the numbers of such students are growing, but they still constitute a very small percentage of Jewish children. ${ }^{11}$
${ }^{6}$ ADCA Newsletter NY: Association of Directors of Central Agencies. No date. (It seems to have appeared in 2002.) Writing in 2001, I offered an estimate of 300,000 students based upon extrapolations from a few limited sources. Talking Dollars and Sense about Jewish Education. NY: AVI CHAI Foundation, August 2001, p. 4. That figure now proves inflated.
${ }^{7}$ Dubb and Della Pergola, p. 33.
${ }^{8}$ Alexander Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engelman, Fewish Education in the United States. NY: American Association for Jewish Education, vol. I, 1959, p. 46.
${ }^{9}$ Schick counted a total number of 205,035 pupils in day schools, but as our study does not include students younger than first graders, we have subtracted 32,588 "4 and 5 year olds" from Schick's numbers to arrive at the grade 1-12 population of day school students. See Marvin Schick, A Census of Jewish Day Schools in the United States (2003-04), pp. 6-7. The combined total of supplementary and day school enrollments identified by the Schick census and this report comes to approximately 402,000 students, a figure larger than the estimated number of enrollments in Jewish educational institutions $(359,000)$ provided by the National Jewish Population Study of 2001-2002. See Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz, The Jewish Education of Jewish Children: Formal Schooling, Early Childhood and Informal Experiences. Report 11. United Jewish Communities, May 2005, p. 7. The NJPS report also claims 211,000 children were in supplementary school programs (p. 8), a figure lower than our estimate of 230,000. Now that a consensus is emerging that the absolute number of U.S. Jews is in the vicinity of 6 million, it would be worthwhile to determine the proportion of children in this population receiving a formal Jewish education and whether the unengaged population is even greater than suggested by the original NJPS estimates.
${ }^{10}$ Both the current census and the day school census reports serve as snapshots that capture enrollment figures for particular school years. Another way to look at enrollment trends is to examine the entire school career of students. Based as it is on school enrollment numbers rather than on the life course of students, this census offers data on the numbers of students enrolled in 2006-2007.
${ }^{11}$ On one enterprising outfit offering tutoring services in greater Los Angeles and spreading to other parts of the country, see Rebecca Spence, "Tutors Tackle Tinseltown: Bar Mitzvah Gives Hollywood Hopefuls a Leg Up," Forward, Jan. 16, 2008. www.forward.com/articles/12476. The article suggests some of the students are not enrolled in any formal educational programs.

## ENROLLMENT BY SCHOOL GRADE

Students enrolled in Jewish supplementary schools cluster between grades four and seven. In fact, nearly 50 percent of all students are enrolled in those grades. This distribution suggests that a large percentage of parents enroll their children primarily in the years leading up to Bar/Bat Mitzvah, often because synagogues have policies requiring enrollment for a minimum of three years prior to celebrating a Bar or Bat Mitzvah. The peak year for enrollments is grade 6 and by the next year, the drop-out phenomenon already is felt, perhaps because some students celebrate their Bar/Bar Mitzvah in the fall of the seventh grade and then quit supplementary school.

Significantly, more children are enrolled in grades one through three than in grades $8-10(56,449$ vs. 34,158$)$.

Table 1 lists the absolute and relative numbers of students in each grade between 1-12. Our data on grade distribution cover 192,210 students out of the total of 212,566 for which enrollment numbers were collected. If anything, these data inflate the percentage of children in grades 8-12. This is so for the following reasons: It is reasonable to assume that smaller schools do not run high school programs. This census also contains data on all community high school programs. In short, most of the missing schools are elementary schools.

It is hard to miss the steep decline in enrollment after 7th grade when most children celebrate a Bar/Bat Mitzvah. More than one-third ( $36 \%$ ) of students drop out after grade 7 and then enrollment continues to plummet, so that by grade 12 only 15 percent of the number of seventh graders are still enrolled. (We have no reason to assume that the decline
results from a far smaller pool of potential Jewish students who are in their teens.) Graph 1 dramatically illustrates the gradual rise in the number of students from grades 1-6, and then the precipitous drop in the high school years.

The post-Bar/Bat Mitzvah drop-out syndrome is an often remarked-upon pattern, usually in the context of families who opt to drop their synagogue membership when their youngest child reaches the age of 13 . Rabbis have been known to lament the role of Bar/Bat Mitzvah as an end point, rather than beginning, to the synagogue involvement of young Jews. These figures dramatize the extent to which supplementary schools have not succeeded in creating a culture of ongoing Jewish study stretching from lower to middle to high school.

Table 1: Enrollment by Grades

|  | Sum | \% of total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 1st grade | 16,047 | $8.35 \%$ |
| 2nd grade | 18,443 | $9.60 \%$ |
| 3rd grade | 21,959 | $11.42 \%$ |
| 4th grade | 22,729 | $11.83 \%$ |
| 5th grade | 23,357 | $12.15 \%$ |
| 6th grade | 24,383 | $12.69 \%$ |
| 7th grade | 23,340 | $12.14 \%$ |
| 8th grade | 14,971 | $7.79 \%$ |
| 9th grade | 10,240 | $5.33 \%$ |
| 10th grade | 8,947 | $4.65 \%$ |
| 11th grade | 4,510 | $2.35 \%$ |
| 12th grade | 3,284 | $1.71 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 9 2 , 2 1 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 . 0 0} \%$ |

Graph 1: Enrollment by Grades


## ENROLLMENT BY AFFILIATION

Not all supplementary schools are made the same. In fact, there are dramatic differences between schools affiliated with the various denominations and ideologies. Here is how the 1,720 schools in our sample divide along lines of affiliation:

Table 2: School Affiliation

| Affiliation | Schools | \% of total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Chabad/Lubavitch | 222 | $12.91 \%$ |
| Community/Pluralistic | 52 | $3.02 \%$ |
| Conservative | 511 | $29.71 \%$ |
| Modern Orthodox | 54 | $3.14 \%$ |
| Reconstructionist | 65 | $3.78 \%$ |
| Reform | 676 | $39.30 \%$ |
| Other or No Affiliation | 140 | $8.14 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 , 7 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 . 0} \%$ |

In order to compress the types of affiliation into manageable categories, we have counted schools that self-identified as Sephardic as Modern Orthodox. Some of the smaller grouping such as Humanistic schools and Renewal schools were counted in the category of "Other or No Affiliation." No more than a dozen schools identified with either.

Thirty-seven schools claimed to have multiple affiliations. In order not to duplicate enrollment figures, denominational data count only the first affiliation mentioned by a school. But the total of schools in each denomination rises somewhat; there are 12 additional schools in our sample that claim a secondary affiliation with Reform; 10 with the Conservative movement; 2 with Modern Orthodoxy; 1 with Reconstructionism; 2 Community/Pluralistic; and 12 with no affiliation. This brings the totals for which enrollment data were collected to 688 schools affiliated with Reform, 521 Conservative schools, 66 Reconstructionist schools, 152 other or non-affiliated, 56 Modern Orthodox, and 54 Community/Pluralistic. (The list of schools on the AVI CHAI website identifies only the first affiliation mentioned by each school.)

Based upon the first affiliation mentioned by each school, Graph 2 illustrates the proportional weight of each type of school.

Graph 2: School Affiliation


This chart demonstrates the extent to which the field of supplementary school education is dominated by Reform and Conservative programs. Their combined schools constitute nearly 70 percent of the total. The paucity of Orthodox schools comes as no surprise, given the preponderance of Orthodox Jews who enroll their children in day schools, a point made evident by the day school censuses. Perhaps most surprising in this graph is the emergence of Chabad schools as players in this arena. In fact, our numbers undercount Chabad schools because we are missing more data on Chabad schools than in any other category. The central office of Chabad claims to have information on the existence of 380 so-called Hebrew schools operating under its banner in the U.S. alone.

Graph 3 (page 12) demonstrates the yawning gap between numbers of schools fielded by each type of movement and the actual numbers of children their schools actually enroll. Schools run by the Reform movement on average are the largest, and accordingly the proportion of students enrolled in schools affiliated with the Reform movement constitutes

Graph 3: Distribution of Enrollments by Affiliation


57 percent of the total, even though only 39 percent of all schools identify as Reform. By contrast, the Chabad share is only 4 percent of the student body even though its schools encompass 13 percent of the total.

The key to this disparity between numbers of schools and numbers of children enrolled lies in school size. Table 3 presents data on the various types of schools and the mean or average size of schools within each affiliation. Schools affiliated with the Reform movement have on average the largest school populations, followed by community schools (many of these are high schools that draw upon numerous congregational schools as their feeders).

When we classify schools of each denomination by size, the disparity becomes even more evident (see Table 4). Over one-fifth of schools under Reform auspices enroll more than 300 students; by comparison, far fewer Conservative and community schools are that large and only a handful of other types of schools enroll over 300 students. Turning to the smaller schools, we find that three-quarters of all Chabad schools have enrollments of fewer than 50 students. Indeed, nearly all Chabad schools enroll less than 100 students, not surprising given the recent entry of Chabad into the supplementary school field. Since Reconstructionist congregations tend to be small, many call themselves bavurot (small fellowships), it is also not surprising that 63 percent of their schools have fewer than 100 students.

The more noteworthy finding about school affiliation concerns the shrinking Conservative supplementary school. The Conservative movement continues to field a significant number of schools, but they tend to be small. Over threefifths of schools identified as Conservative enroll fewer than 100 students. Whereas the largest school identified with the Reform movement claims 1,399 students, the largest school under Conservative auspices claims 547 pupils.

Moreover, the Conservative share of students enrolled in supplementary schools is barely more than one-quarter (26 percent). Compared to the Reform movement, schools under Conservative auspices enroll only 46 percent as many students (121,380 for Reform compared to 55,914 in Conservative schools.) This imbalance is due in part to the high percentage of children from Conservative homes who continue on to community supplementary high schools.

Table 3: School Enrollments by Affiliation

| Affiliation | School | Total Enrollment | $\%$ of Total Enrollment |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average School Size |  |  |  |  |
| Chabad/Lubavitch | 222 | 8,468 | $3.98 \%$ | 38.14 |
| Community/Pluralistic | 52 | 7,750 | $3.65 \%$ | 151.13 |
| Conservative | 511 | 55,915 | $26.30 \%$ | 109.42 |
| Modern Orthodox | 54 | 2,481 | $1.17 \%$ | 45.94 |
| Reconstructionist | 65 | 6,166 | $2.90 \%$ | 94.86 |
| Reform | 676 | 121,380 | $57.10 \%$ | 179.56 |
| Other or No Affiliation | 140 | 10,406 | $4.90 \%$ | 74.33 |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 , 7 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 2 , 5 6 6}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{1 2 3 . 6 6}$ |


| Affiliation | Total Enrollment |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1-50 | 51-100 | 101-200 | 201-300 | 301+ |  |
| Chabad/Lubavitch | $\begin{array}{r} 165 \\ 74.32 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 42 \\ 18.92 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 14 \\ 6.31 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 0.45 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 0 \\ 0.0 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 222 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Community/Pluralistic | $\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ 22.64 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 8 \\ 15.09 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 23 \\ 43.40 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 11.32 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 4 \\ 7.55 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 53 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Conservative | $\begin{array}{r} 193 \\ 37.77 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 121 \\ 23.68 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 105 \\ 20.55 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 53 \\ 10.37 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 39 \\ 7.63 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 511 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Modern Orthodox | $\begin{array}{r} 38 \\ 70.37 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \\ 20.37 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ 5.56 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 3.70 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 0 \\ 0.0 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 54 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Reconstructionist | $\begin{array}{r} 29 \\ 44.62 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ 18.46 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 16 \\ 24.62 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 9.23 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 3.08 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 65 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Reform | $\begin{array}{r} 188 \\ 27.85 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 116 \\ 17.19 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 141 \\ 20.89 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 84 \\ 12.44 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 146 \\ 21.63 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 675 \\ 100 \% \end{array}$ |
| Other or No Affiliation | $\begin{array}{r} 71 \\ 50.71 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 40 \\ 28.57 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 20 \\ 14.29 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 6 \\ 4.29 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ 2.14 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 140 \\ 100 \% \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| Total | $\begin{array}{r} 696 \\ 40.47 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 350 \\ 20.35 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 322 \\ 18.72 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 158 \\ 9.19 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 194 \\ 11.28 \% \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,720 \\ & 100 \% \end{aligned}$ |

If we assume that two-thirds of students enrolled in such schools are Conservative, we arrive at a figure of some 5,000 in community/pluralistic schools who are Conservative.

Enrollments in supplementary schools under Conservative auspices have also declined due to the growing popularity of day school education among many members of Conservative synagogues. Solomon Schechter schools enrolled slightly more than 15,000 students in 2003-2004 compared to 3,500 students in day schools under Reform auspices. In addition, high percentages of students enrolled in community day schools are from Conservative homes. If we assume that twothirds of the nearly 16,000 children ${ }^{12}$ enrolled in community schools come from Conservative homes - i.e., 11,000 students - and then add this figure to the totals of Schechter schools, we arrive at a figure of some 26,000 Conservative children enrolled in day schools between grades $1-12 .{ }^{13}$ Thus, we estimate that 31,000 children from Conservative homes are enrolled in community supplementary schools and day schools. This, in turn, means there are approximately, 87,000 children from Conservative homes enrolled in formal Jewish schooling. The Reform movement enrolls 30 percent more children in its supplementary schools alone, and that does not include the numbers of Reform children in day schools. In short, the enrollment census confirms the decline in the
number of Conservative children relative to Reform. It also suggests that roughly 70 percent of Conservative children who receive a Jewish education are now enrolled in supplementary schools compared to over 95 percent of children from Reform homes who receive a formal Jewish education.

Further light on the growth and decline of school enrollments comes from responses to a survey elicited from a sub-sample of schools. ${ }^{14}$ Respondents were asked whether their enrollments had remained the same or had grown a lot or somewhat, or declined a lot or somewhat over the past 5 years (see Table 5, page 14). Overall, 48 percent claimed they had grown and 41 percent reported a decrease in their enrollments, with the greatest fall off reported by schools that have between 201-300 students and the greatest growth reported by those now numbering 51-100 students.

[^3]Table 5: Decrease or Increase of Enrollment by Denomination ${ }^{15}$

| Affiliation | Compared with five years ago, is overall enrollment at your supplementary school... |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | The same | Slightly higher | Much higher | Slightly lower | Much lowe |  |
| Chabad/Lubavitch | 0.0\% | 38.29\% | 61.71\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 100\% |
| Community/Pluralistic | 8.33\% | 14.58\% | 31.25\% | 22.92\% | 22.92\% | 100\% |
| Conservative | 11.43\% | 18.57\% | 15.31\% | 25.10\% | 29.59\% | 100\% |
| Modern Orthodox | 5.88\% | 13.73\% | 27.45\% | 33.33\% | 19.61\% | 100\% |
| Reconstructionist | 12.50\% | 37.50\% | 18.75\% | 18.75\% | 12.50\% | 100\% |
| Reform | 13.41\% | 26.35\% | 16.18\% | 25.12\% | 18.95\% | 100\% |
| Other or No Affiliation | 6.25\% | 14.84\% | 30.47\% | 24.22\% | 24.22\% | 100\% |
| Total | 10.05\% | 24.46\% | 24.03\% | 21.61\% | 19.85\% | 100\% |

All Chabad schools reported growth, primarily because most were only established within the previous five years. Nearly two-thirds claim their enrollment is now "much higher." Reconstructionist schools also reported growth. Among modern Orthodox schools, by contrast, half of the reporting schools indicated their enrollment had declined. It appears that there is a scant market for supplementary schools in the Orthodox world, whereas Chabad schools operate as outreach institutions to a non-Orthodox clientele.

Among the other types of schools - Reform and community schools - the proportion reporting growth is matched by those reporting decline. But for schools under Conservative auspices, 33 percent report higher enrollment and $55 \%$ claim their enrollments are lower, with $30 \%$ reporting much lower enrollment. Here again, the shrinkage of Conservative enrollments is pronounced, according to the self-reporting of Conservative supplementary schools.

## SCHOOL SIZE

We have already noted the differences in school size across the various movements. Table 6 also illustrates a more fundamental point about the network of Jewish supplementary schools - the majority of schools are small. Forty percent enroll 50 students or fewer and another 20 percent enroll $51-100$ students. Collectively, schools in our sample with

100 or fewer pupils enroll 41,969 children (see Table 7). We know, however, that not all schools reported on their enrollments, and we have good reason to believe the overwhelming majority of those are small schools. When we add our projected total of 18,000 additional students enrolled

Table 6: Number of Schools by School Size

| School Size | Number of Schools | $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $1-50$ | 697 | $40.49 \%$ |
| $51-100$ | 350 | $20.36 \%$ |
| $101-200$ | 322 | $18.73 \%$ |
| $201-300$ | 157 | $9.13 \%$ |
| $301+$ | 194 | $11.29 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 , 7 2 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 . 0 0 \%}$ |

Table 7: Total Enrollment by School Size

| School Size | Total Enrollment | \% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $1-50$ | 16,311 | $7.67 \%$ |
| $51-100$ | 25,658 | $12.07 \%$ |
| $101-200$ | 46,462 | $21.86 \%$ |
| $201-300$ | 38,207 | $17.97 \%$ |
| $301+$ | 85,928 | $40.42 \%$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{2 1 2 , 5 6 6}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 \%}$ |

[^4]in non-reporting schools and assume almost all of these are in small schools, the estimated total of children in small schools comes to nearly 60,000 . This amounts to 26 percent of all students in Jewish supplementary schools.

Graph 4 illustrates the proportions of the total represented by schools of varying sizes; Graph 5 pictures the proportions of students in schools of varying sizes. These pie charts present only the schools for which enrollment data have been collected.

Graph 4: The Proportionate Representation of Different Size Schools


Graph 5: The Proportionate Representation of Student Bodies in Schools of Varying Sizes


School size varies considerably between denominations. Chabad schools tend to be small; over three-quarters report enrollments of under 100 children. This pattern holds true as well for Modern Orthodox schools, which enroll approximately 63 percent of their students in schools with fewer than 100 students. At the other end of the size spectrum, schools under Reform auspices enroll more than half their students in schools with 300 and more children. This is far less the case with Conservative, Reconstructionist and community schools, where the balance of students is distributed more equally among schools of all sizes (see Table 8, page 16).

Finally, we consider the growth and decline of schools of varying sizes over the previous five years. The greatest gains are reported by schools numbering 51-100 students. And the greatest losses occurred among schools now numbering between 201-300 students (see Table 9, page 16).

## HOURS OF INSTRUCTION ${ }^{16}$

A sub-sample of schools was surveyed about their days and hours of instruction. Schools reported an average number of 30 weekly Sunday sessions per year and 33 weeks of sessions on weekdays.

Graph 6 on page 17 compares the numbers of days per week required by schools affiliated with different movements for grades 3,6 and 9 . Over half the schools under Reform, Reconstructionist and Chabad auspices require attendance only once a week for students in grade 3. By contrast, the majority of schools under Conservative auspices require twice a week attendance. These two types of schools are the only ones in
${ }^{16}$ Between 21-33 percent of schools, depending on the grade, run more than one track for students. Multiple tracks offer schools some flexibility with days and hours. In some cases a second track can require fewer hours or more hours of instruction. Alternate tracks also offer the option of different days of the week that work better for students and their parents. And multiple tracks can also be used for different emphases - one track can offer more conventional study and another informal or family education. Schools were invited to report on multiple tracks. The phenomenon of multiple tracks in supplementary schools - the types of tracks and how they work - is a subject worthy of deeper study as programs try to tailor their offerings to the needs of learners and the schedules of their parents.

Total Enrollment

| Affiliation | 1-50 |  | 51-100 |  | 101-200 |  | 201-300 |  | 301+ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | \% | Total | \% | Total | \% | Total | \% | Total | \% |
| Chabad/Lubavitch | 3,506 | 23.71\% | 2,939 | 12.00\% | 1,821 | 4.35\% | 202 | 0.64\% | 0 | 0.00\% |
| Community/Pluralistic | 369 | 1.72\% | 529 | 2.29\% | 3,554 | 7.14\% | 1,259 | 3.18\% | 2,039 | 2.06\% |
| Conservative | 4,971 | 27.73\% | 9,101 | 34.57\% | 14,763 | 32.61\% | 12,919 | 33.76\% | 14,161 | 20.10\% |
| Modern Orthodox | 830 | 5.46\% | 741 | 3.14\% | 398 | 0.93\% | 512 | 1.27\% | 0 | 0.00\% |
| Reconstructionist | 733 | 4.17\% | 985 | 3.43\% | 2,258 | 4.97\% | 1,376 | 3.82\% | 814 | 1.03\% |
| Reform | 4,301 | 27.01\% | 8,432 | 33.14\% | 20,837 | 43.79\% | 20,561 | 53.50\% | 67,249 | 75.26\% |
| Other or No Affiliation | 1,601 | 10.20\% | 2,931 | 11.43\% | 2,831 | 6.21\% | 1,378 | 3.82\% | 1,665 | 1.55\% |

Table 9: Decrease or Increase of School Enrollment by School Size ${ }^{17}$

Compared with five years ago, is overall enrollment at your supplementary school...

| Total Enrollment | The same | Slightly higher | Much higher | Slightly lower |  | Much lower | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1-50$ | $11.33 \%$ | $24.25 \%$ | $20.00 \%$ | $19.65 \%$ | $24.78 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| $51-100$ | $6.80 \%$ | $20.15 \%$ | $34.26 \%$ | $22.42 \%$ | $16.37 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| $101-200$ | $9.83 \%$ | $27.81 \%$ | $23.88 \%$ | $21.07 \%$ | $17.42 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| $201-300$ | $4.35 \%$ | $22.98 \%$ | $14.91 \%$ | $23.60 \%$ | $34.16 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| $301+$ | $19.54 \%$ | $30.46 \%$ | $21.26 \%$ | $25.29 \%$ | $3.45 \%$ | $100 \%$ |  |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 0 . 1 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 4 . 5 6 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 3 . 9 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 1 . 6 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 . 8 4 \%}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 0 \%}$ |  |

which a substantial number of schools require three times a week attendance, and presumably the largest number of contact hours between children and teachers.

Then let us look at the distribution for grade 6: During this peak year immediately preceding Bar/Bat Mitzvah, schools of all types are far more likely to require attendance at least twice a week, with the exception of Chabad. Fewer than ten percent of schools under Conservative auspices require only one day a week attendance. The jump to twice a week is particularly pronounced in schools under Reform auspices. Clearly, supplementary schools are prepared during the critical
year before Bar/Bat Mitzvah to persuade parents to send their children more than once a week.

Especially noteworthy is the sharp decline in expectations by grade 9. The Conservative movement's insistence on attendance at least twice a week, apparent in the third and sixth grades, has nearly disappeared, as has that of communal schools. Few schools of other affiliations require ninth graders to attend more than once a week.
${ }^{17}$ The data in this table are weighted.

When asked whether the number of class hours had changed, more than two-fifths of schools report their school hours changed in the previous five year period. Of those schools reporting increased hours, nearly all were referring to the addition of one or two hours per week. Similarly, among the schools reporting decreased hours, nearly all reported a decline of one or two hours per week. Schools affiliated with
the Reform movement were the most likely to report changes in the number of hours of instruction per week (58 percent). Most schools under Reform auspices that made changes, added an hour or two per week. Fewer than onethird of Conservative schools reported a change, but of those that did, a majority indicated they had decreased their hours.

Graph 6: Days Per Week of Classes by School Affiliation


Grade 6



## SHABBAT PROGRAMMING AND TRACKS

One of the ways Jewish supplementary schools have augmented their offerings has been through mandatory participation in programs offered on Shabbat. The range of such programs and the ways they are counted by schools vary greatly. Some schools actually count Shabbat attendance as part of the formal school program. Indeed, some hold classes on Shabbat afternoons. Others require Shabbat attendance at religious services for a set number of times per year. Still others run informal youth programs directly connected to the school; others have the same types of programs but do not tie them to the school. Because of this variability, data on the number of school hours and special Shabbat programs must be used with great care. We do not know with precision how the programs connect directly to school activities, how often they meet, whether any are mandatory or what proportion of children attend regularly. ${ }^{18}$

Table 10 presents responses from a sub-sample of 458 schools that completed survey questions on Shabbat programming. Schools were asked whether they offer activities for
supplementary school children on the Sabbath — not whether they require attendance. Forty-four percent of responding schools reported they offered no Shabbat programs for supplementary school children. Conservative synagogues followed by Chabad schools were most likely to offer such programs, while schools under Reform auspices were the least likely. (Communal schools by definition are not connected to a synagogue; none offer Shabbat programs.) Conservative and Chabad schools also were the most likely to run youth services. And, Conservative synagogues were most likely to run family religious services and/or family education programs on Shabbat. Shabbat afternoon programs were offered by a small percentage of Chabad and Modern Orthodox synagogues. Since Shabbat programs can serve as a powerful means to engage students and their families, create a setting to learn and practice synagogue skills, and reinforce what is learned in supplementary school, these patterns are of some importance and are worthy of further study.

[^5]Table 10: Shabbat Programs Offered by Schools of the Various Affiliations*

|  | Offer activities on <br> Shabbat morning | Offer activities on <br> Shabbat afternoon | Don't offer activities <br> on Shabbat |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Affiliation | 6 | 2 | 4 | Total |

[^6]
## GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

American Jews have established Jewish supplementary schools in every state. Table 11 on page 20 lists the numbers of schools and the size of the enrollments by state. There are few surprises here: States with the smallest Jewish populations, such as Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Montana, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Utah and West Virginia, have few schools and enroll only a small fraction of the total. States with the largest Jewish populations - California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania - have the most schools. A few states appear to have large numbers of students enrolled in proportion to their share of schools New Jersey and Illinois, for example, and the District of Columbia. Some states have proportionately few students compared to their share of schools, suggesting very small school sizes - e.g., Alaska, Alabama, Arizona, Mississippi, Wisconsin and West Virginia.

When we look at a randomly selected number of growing or shrinking communities of different sizes, we note a wide variation in the percentage of the total population enrolled in Jewish supplementary schools (see Table 12, page 21). In communities such as Phoenix, Chicago and Philadelphia, children in supplementary schools constitute a relatively high percentage of the population. In other areas, such as Broward County, Florida, Las Vegas, and San Francisco they constitute a far smaller percentage of all Jews. It is not immediately apparent why this should be so. It would appear that the low figure in greater New York City is explained by the large number of children attending Jewish day schools. But the variations in these other locales cannot be explained by recourse to day school numbers. Is it that in some locations, smaller percentages are receiving a formal Jewish education or that Jews in those places have a lower birthrate? The answer is not apparent but may warrant further analysis.

Looking at the proportion of children enrolled in schools of various denominations, we find a considerable amount of variation from one community to the next. Chabad's share of the students is particularly high in communities such as Los Angeles and Phoenix and much smaller in places such as Chicago, Atlanta and the Twin Cities. Some of the Chabad variability may be attributable to the more established infrastructure of schools in places such as New York and Chicago, but Atlanta is a boom town and one might expect
a higher enrollment for Chabad schools there. The proportion of students in Conservative-affiliated schools across America holds fairly steady around 30 percent, except in Las Vegas, where the proportion is quite high and in Broward County, Florida where it is quite low. Schools under Reform auspices have cornered much of the supplementary school market in growing communities, such as Atlanta and the San Francisco Bay area, considerably less so in established communities, such as the Twin Cities and Philadelphia (see Table 13, page 21).

As the American Jewish population shifts to new communities, what is the likely impact on the amount of class days and hours required by schools? In order to probe this question, we compared schools in the New York area with those located in the Rocky Mountain states and further West. The former is an area of generally long established schools, whereas the West has far more schools that have been founded over the past two decades. When we examine the number of days 6th graders attend Jewish supplementary schools in the New York area, we find only 15 percent of 6th grade classes meet for only one day per week; by contrast, 29 percent of 6th grade classes in the West meet one day a week. On the upper end, 8 percent of schools in the West require three day a week attendance of 6th graders, compared to 14 percent in the New York area. This suggests that as Jews continue to move, the number of days of attendance required by supplementary school may decline.

Finally, school retention rates vary in different parts of the country. When we compare the drop-out rates after 7th grade, the decline is initially far more precipitous in New York area schools than in other parts of the country (see Table 14, page 22). Nearly 60 percent of children in metropolitan New York leave after the 7th grade, as compared to roughly onethird nationally. Schools in the West are more successful at retaining high school students than are schools in other parts of the country. Why this should be the case is not immediately apparent, but warrants further analysis, as retaining enrollments in the post-Bar/Bat Mitzvah years is a stated goal of most educators and can contribute to strengthening the Jewish identity and knowledge of young Jews. ${ }^{19}$

[^7]| Total Enrollment | Schools | \% | Enrollment | \% | Total Enrollment | Schools | \% | Enrollment | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| AK | 5 | 0.29\% | 123 | 0.06\% | MT | 3 | 0.17\% | 36 | 0.02\% |
| AL | 11 | 0.64\% | 549 | 0.26\% | NC | 23 | 1.34\% | 2,997 | 1.41\% |
| AR | 7 | 0.41\% | 159 | 0.07\% | ND | 2 | 0.12\% | 54 | 0.03\% |
| AZ | 24 | 1.40\% | 3,166 | 1.49\% | NE | 3 | 0.17\% | 216 | 0.10\% |
| CA | 206 | 11.98\% | 26,317 | 12.38\% | NH | 8 | 0.47\% | 426 | 0.20\% |
| CO | 38 | 2.21\% | 2,881 | 1.36\% | NJ | 148 | 8.60\% | 22,007 | 10.35\% |
| CT | 61 | 3.55\% | 6,907 | 3.25\% | NM | 4 | 0.23\% | 365 | 0.17\% |
| DC | 8 | 0.47\% | 2,141 | 1.01\% | NV | 9 | 0.52\% | 672 | 0.32\% |
| DE | 4 | 0.23\% | 372 | 0.18\% | NY | 281 | 16.34\% | 35,760 | 16.82\% |
| FL | 129 | 7.50\% | 16,616 | 7.82\% | OH | 49 | 2.85\% | 6,110 | 2.87\% |
| GA | 26 | 1.51\% | 3,467 | 1.63\% | OK | 4 | 0.23\% | 443 | 0.21\% |
| HI | 1 | 0.06\% | 75 | 0.04\% | OR | 9 | 0.52\% | 1,009 | 0.47\% |
| IA | 9 | 0.52\% | 542 | 0.25\% | PA | 102 | 5.93\% | 13,392 | 6.30\% |
| ID | 3 | 0.17\% | 61 | 0.03\% | RI | 11 | 0.64\% | 853 | 0.40\% |
| IL | 79 | 4.59\% | 13,078 | 6.15\% | SC | 7 | 0.41\% | 384 | 0.18\% |
| IN | 15 | 0.87\% | 980 | 0.46\% | SD | 3 | 0.17\% | 23 | 0.01\% |
| KS | 7 | 0.41\% | 630 | 0.30\% | TN | 8 | 0.47\% | 1,112 | 0.52\% |
| KY | 7 | 0.41\% | 1,341 | 0.63\% | TX | 54 | 3.14\% | 6,421 | 3.02\% |
| LA | 12 | 0.70\% | 540 | 0.25\% | UT | 1 | 0.06\% | 108 | 0.05\% |
| MA | 119 | 6.92\% | 14,168 | 6.67\% | VA | 33 | 1.92\% | 4,544 | 2.14\% |
| MD | 65 | 3.78\% | 8920 | 4.20\% | VT | 5 | 0.29\% | 272 | 0.13\% |
| ME | 5 | 0.29\% | 436 | 0.21\% | WA | 12 | 0.70\% | 1,765 | 0.83\% |
| MI | 32 | 1.86\% | 3,376 | 1.59\% | WI | 19 | 1.10\% | 1,290 | 0.61\% |
| MN | 13 | 0.76\% | 2,162 | 1.02\% | WV | 4 | 0.23\% | 68 | 0.03\% |
| MO | 23 | 1.34\% | 2,851 | 1.34\% | WY* |  |  |  |  |
| MS | 6 | 0.35\% | 91 | 0.04\% |  |  |  |  |  |

* The census did not reach any schools in Wyoming, but it appears that a few schools exist in the state.

Table 12: Number of Schools and Student Enrollment in Twelve Communities

|  | Schools | Total Enrollment | Total Jewish Population* | \% of Total Jewish Population |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Phoenix | 15 | 2,502 | 82,900 | 3.02\% |
| South Palm Beach | 6 | 1,364 | 131,300 | 1.04\% |
| Minneapolis and St. Paul | 10 | 1,531 | 40,200 | 3.81\% |
| Las Vegas | 4 | 543 | 67,500 | 0.80\% |
| Chicago | 58 | 11,596 | 270,500 | 4.29\% |
| Broward | 12 | 2,468 | 233,700 | 1.06\% |
| Atlanta | 15 | 2,759 | 119,800 | 2.30\% |
| NY | 201 | 27,945 | 1,412,000 | 1.98\% |
| LA | 72 | 11,387 | 517,200 | 2.20\% |
| San Francisco Bay area | 27 | 3,977 | 208,600 | 1.91\% |
| Philadelphia | 53 | 9,733 | 206,100 | 4.72\% |
| Cleveland | 19 | 3,057 | 81,500 | 3.75\% |

*Source: www.jewishdatabank.org/loadfilenocheck.asp?filename=FAQs/FAQs_Tables1_And_1a.pdf. All population figures are based on demographic studies conducted over the past dozen years.

Table 13: Total Enrollments in Twelve Communities by Denomination*

| City | Total Enrollment |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Affiliation |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Chabad/ <br> Lubavitch | Community/ Pluralistic | Conservative | Modern <br> Orthodox | Reconstructionis | Reform | Other or No Affiliation |
| Phoenix | 8.1\% | 13.2\% | 13.1\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 63.6\% | 2.0\% |
| South Palm Beach | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 29.6\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 68.9\% | 1.5\% |
| Minneapolis and St. Paul | 0.0\% | 34.0\% | 14.2\% | 5.2\% | 0.3\% | 46.3\% | 0.0\% |
| Las Vegas | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 54.1\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 45.9\% | 0.0\% |
| Chicago | 1.8\% | 0.9\% | 23.5\% | 1.3\% | 3.6\% | 65.8\% | 3.2\% |
| Broward | 7.0\% | 22.3\% | 1.3\% | 0.0\% | 11.7\% | 57.7\% | 0.0\% |
| Atlanta | 2.9\% | 0.0\% | 16.2\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 80.8\% | 0.0\% |
| New York | 5.0\% | 0.1\% | 30.4\% | 1.2\% | 2.2\% | 57.0\% | 4.0\% |
| Los Angeles | 11.6\% | 0.9\% | 28.1\% | 2.1\% | 4.3\% | 52.6\% | 0.4\% |
| San Francisco Bay Area | 1.6\% | 0.5\% | 20.4\% | 0.4\% | 1.0\% | 70.4\% | 5.6\% |
| Philadelphia | 2.9\% | 7.8\% | 35.4\% | 0.8\% | 9.7\% | 40.8\% | 2.7\% |
| Cleveland | 3.7\% | 0.0\% | 28.3\% | 0.0\% | 1.5\% | 59.3\% | 7.2\% |

[^8]

## SCHOOL GOALS

Our survey also asked schools to identify their three top goals from a list of 11 possible options. The school goals listed by the survey were:

- Hebrew reading for participation in religious services
- Teaching about Israel
- Exposing children to the Bible
- Teaching about holidays and rituals
- Giving children positive Jewish experiences
- Teaching children to engage in Tikkun Olam
- Preparing children for the Bar/Bat Mitzvah
- Engaging children in family education along with their parents
- Preparing children to live as decent (menschlich) people
- Inspiring children to observe Jewish religious rituals

When school responses were weighted to take into account their size and relative denominational strength, and when first choices were given heavier weight, the most highly rated items in rank order were:

- Giving children positive Jewish experiences (31 percent)
- Hebrew reading for participation in religious services (18 percent)
- Teaching about holidays and rituals (11 percent)
- Preparing children to live as decent (menschlich) people (10 percent)
- Inspiring children to observe Jewish religious rituals (9 percent)
- Preparing children for Bar/Bat Mitzvah (7 percent)

All the other items scored under 5 percent.

The low priority schools assigned to Bar/Bat Mitzvah preparation is particularly noteworthy. Parents may ascribe importance to this training, but schools are focused on other goals. Significantly, the most commonly cited of these goals is experiential. Many schools are acutely conscious of their role in addressing the affective. They strive to give children positive Jewish experiences. As to cognitive learning, Hebrew reading for prayer ranks high and so does teaching about Jewish holidays and religious practices.

When we examine how the various types of schools set their goals, we find important differences by affiliation. (See Graph 7.) Schools affiliated with the Conservative movement are the most likely to give priority to Hebrew reading for prayer and place the least emphasis on positive Jewish experiences. Chabad schools choose the latter above all else. Reconstructionist and Community schools stress decent behavior more than the other schools. And schools under Reform auspices seem to have virtually the same goals as unaffiliated schools. ${ }^{20}$
${ }^{20}$ Our brief survey instrument did not allow for an exploration of how schools try to achieve these goals. The survey yielded one suggestive datum in this regard concerning curricula employed in supplementary schools. Nearly half (46 percent) claimed to devise their own curricula. Twenty-nine percent base their curriculum on materials produced by the Reform movement and another 15 percent on publications of Behrman House and Torah Aura Books. Merely two percent of schools use the Conservative curriculum.


## IMPLICATIONS

This census report raises important questions for educators and policy makers:

- Given all we know about the importance of peer influences in the teen years and the value of on-going Jewish learning so that skills and knowledge acquired in childhood are not lost during the teen years for lack of use and continued study, one of the great challenges to the field is to find compelling ways to involve post-Bar/Bat Mitzvah teens in high school programs. Some communities and synagogues seem far more adept at retaining teens than others. And some high school programs manage to involve teens in a compelling mix of text study, Hebrew language classes, social action based on Jewish values and Jewish approaches to the arts. It would be worthwhile to learn from the successful schools so that the pool of adolescents engaged in formal Jewish education can be expanded. ${ }^{21}$
- A bit more than half of the schools involve students in Shabbat programs consisting of youth services or prayer in the main sanctuary and/or family education programs. These schools have come to recognize the opportunity Shabbat provides for heightened learning and Jewish experiences. Because the number of formal school hours remains low, it behooves programs to think creatively about ways to involve young people during non-school
hours. The most obvious time is on Shabbat and on holidays. With some careful planning, time can be used well to reinforce what is learned during school hours and develop synagogue skills that will strengthen the Jewish connections of children as they mature.
- With three-fifths of all schools reporting enrollments of fewer than 100 students, the system clearly has a great many schools with limited resources. These schools are begging for attention. Currently, neither the denominational offices nor other national agencies can give much time or help to small schools. A national resource center and clearing house for such schools could make a great difference by connecting schools to larger centers, offering them guidance through visiting personnel and making other kinds of resources available to them. The Institute for Southern Jewish Life offers an example of how a regional office can help small schools. An initiative to aid small schools either along national or regional lines could make a great difference in improving the quality of small schools and linking students to peers in other communities.

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## Data Collection and Acknowledgements

## DATA COLLECTION

This study reports on the findings of a census of Jewish supplementary school enrollments conducted between April and December 2007. The census was timed to coincide with the conclusion of two other surveys fielded in 2006-07: "Portraits of Jewish Learning" conducted by the Department of Jewish Lifelong Learning of the Union for Reform Judaism and the EJSS conducted by the Jewish Education Services of North America. Both agencies generously shared their data pertaining to school enrollments, which between the two yielded information on approximately 450 unduplicated schools. In the spring of 2007, the research firm of Schulman, Ronca, Bucavalis sent a hardcopy mailing to some 1,400 schools for which data had not been collected as yet. (Their names were gleaned from lists compiled by the EJSS project and other sources.) That mailing offered the option for schools to complete a census form either in hardcopy and mail it back to the firm or to fill it out on-line or by calling to schedule a phone interview. The firm also called schools in several key centers of Jewish population settlement, which had not gathered enrollment data on supplementary schools. The total yield of all this effort was approximately another 450 schools. Simultaneously, through the good offices of the Jewish Education Services of North America, an email request went out to central agencies for Jewish education throughout the United States, soliciting data they had collected on school enrollments. This mailing eventually yielded data from 37 communities.

During the summer of 2007, I identified schools for which we still lacked data and a laborious process of solicitation began that lasted into December of 2007. Data were collected from hundreds of schools via phone and email
communication. All of these methods also yielded hundreds of duplicate sets of data and a master spreadsheet had to be created to manage the growing size of the data set. During this stage of tracking down schools, I was assisted by the education departments of the Union for Reform Judaism, Chabad's Shluchim office, and the education department of the Reconstructionist movement.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Stacy Baker Krantz served as a superb data manager, overseeing the entry of a vast amount of raw information and keeping track of large amounts of information. Ezra Kopelowitz of Research Success in Jerusalem and his assistant, Eitan Melchior, ran the numbers and prepared tables and graphs needed for this report.

I also benefited by consulting with a number of experienced hands. Steven M. Cohen graciously examined the data, suggested ways for me to probe several important
issues, and carefully read the draft of this report. Eli Schaap shared with me his wide-ranging knowledge of the field and data he collected on schools under the auspices of the Reform movement. Marvin Schick, who has extensive experience doing census and survey research with day schools, offered valuable advice and feedback, as did Yossi Prager, Deena Fuchs, Nechama Goldberg and Michael Trapunsky at The AVI CHAI Foundation.

## About the Author

Jack Wertheimer is a professor of American Jewish History at the Jewish Theological Seminary. His most recent edited volume is Family Matters: Fewish Education in an Age of Choice, a volume based on a research project he directed for The AVI CHAI Foundation. (Three of his other reports on Jewish education can be downloaded at www.avichai.org.)

He is currently completing a new report for the foundation on models of Jewish supplementary schools based upon the observation of a team he directed. The project intends to highlight how ten schools of varying affiliations, sizes and locations approach the challenges of supplementary Jewish education.

Notes

Notes

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[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The terminology for this kind of schooling continues to be a source of contentious debate. Jewish educators chafe at the notion that such schooling is supplementary and therefore by definition secondary. The terms religious school, Hebrew school and congregational school fail to do justice to the range of approaches, some of which are decidedly secular in orientation, others do not stress Hebrew language acquisition at all, and not all programs meet under the auspices of a synagogue. Some educators now favor the term "complementary Jewish education" to emphasize its parity with what goes on in public or private schools. As yet, this term has not caught on and tends to mystify more than clarify: What is it complementing? This report will employ the term supplementary education, even as we note its drawbacks as an adequate description.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Marvin Schick, A Census of Jewish Day Schools in the United States (2000) and A Census of Jewish Day Schools in the United States (2003-04). The former offers data on enrollments in 1998-99, the latter on day school student populations in 2003-04. Both can be downloaded at www.avichai.org.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ The unpublished registry was compiled in preparation for several surveys that are part of the Educators in Jewish Schools Study, sponsored by the Jewish Education Services of North America. A report on Educators in Jewish Schools (N.Y.: JESNA, 2008) may be found at www.jesna.org/j/pdfs/EJSS.pdf. The technical report, A North American Study of Educators in Jewish Day and Congregational Schools, by Michael Ben-Avie and Jeffrey Kress may be downloaded at www.educationalchange.org/docs.
    ${ }^{4}$ My thanks to David Behrman of Behrman House Books for sharing with me his sense of the field based on the many schools with which his company deals.
    ${ }^{5}$ Allie A. Dubb and Sergio Della Pergola, First Census of Jewish Schools in the Diaspora 1981/2-1982/3. United States of America. Research Report 4. Institute for Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1986, p. 21. The report claimed there were 1,861 supplementary schools in the US.

[^3]:    ${ }^{12}$ These figures are based on Schick, 2005, pp. 6-7 but only include children in grades 1-12.
    ${ }^{13}$ Based on parent responses, rather than school enrollment figures, the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Study found that 15 percent of day school children were from Conservative homes. This method of calculation arrives at the same total as our estimates based on enrollments in non-Orthodox day schools. For the NJPS total, see Kotler-Berkowitz, p. 17.
    ${ }^{14}$ Only 437 schools responded to the survey question about growth and decline in enrollments. These data were weighted to take school size and denomination into account.

[^4]:    ${ }^{15}$ Note: these are weighted totals, taking denomination and school size into account.

[^5]:    ${ }^{18}$ To illustrate the vagaries of this question, we note that of the 204 schools claiming they do not offer Shabbat activities, 15 still checked off programs they make available on Shabbat.

[^6]:    *Percentages and totals are based on the sub-sample of 458 schools.

[^7]:    ${ }^{19}$ An analysis of the attrition rate at schools of different affiliation, indicates that Orthodox and Chabad schools experience the sharpest decline in grade 8 and the decline in schools under Conservative and Reconstructionist auspices is sharper than ones connected to the Reform movement. We do not know, however, the denominational breakdown of students in community supplementary high schools. It may be that schools under Reform auspices retain their eighth graders whereas Conservative and Reconstructionist schools send their eighth graders to community high schools in high numbers.

[^8]:    *Read across the row

[^9]:    ${ }^{21}$ For a report on community supplementary high schools, see Making 7ewish Education Work: Community 7ewish High Schools - Lessons Learned from Research and Evaluation in the Field. N.Y.: JESNA, 2007.
    www.jesna.org//j/pdfs/pdp1.pdf

