Training for Jewish Leadership and Service--
Working in the Real World

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List of Tables

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Executive Summary

Jewish communal professionals are a unique group of individuals. They have chosen to devote their time and energies to the talk of guiding and facilitating contemporary Jewish life. The effectiveness of Jewish professionals is particularly crucial, because the religious and communal lives of most American Jews are organized around Jewish institutions. For many, perhaps most, in the lay community, Jewish professionals are the critical link to Jewish involvements, and thus to Jewish continuity itself.

However, the challenges confronting rabbis, Jewish educators, and Jewish communal servant today are manifold. Many young professionals have contacted their training institutions on an informal and anecdotal basis and spoken of the great difficulties they face. Some have been discouraged enough to leave Jewish professional leadership altogether.

This report was commissioned by the Wexner Foundation to study systematically the experiences of recently graduated Jewish communal professional. Survey research was conducted on 280 men and women who graduated the major training institution for Jewish professionals in the 1980s. A follow-up series of in-depth interviews was conducted with 16 young professionals, some of whom had left the Jewish professional world.

Areas surveyed included sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, early work experiences which shaped feelings about the Jewish professional world positively and negatively, and aspects of background and professional training which seemed related to successful job performance.

This report reveals that young Jewish professionals often find themselves coping with a working environment which is very different from the one for which they had hoped and trained. Most encounter challenges for which they feel under-prepared. Many employment duties cross the lines of professional training and job descriptions.

Thus, fully 71% of those interviewed said that teaching was part of their professional activities, but only 31% said they had received "good" or "excellent" training in teaching. Similarly, 61% mention less than adequate salaries, feelings of professional fatigue and burnout, and working hours which are "too long."

Aspects of the "real" working world which discouraged Jewish professionals included:

- Unlimited--and unprofessional--expectations are common, obliterating boundaries which might safeguard time and privacy.

- Salaries are frequently low and uncompetitive.

- The Jewish institutional world often does not offer "family friendly" policies such as geographical stability, parental leave, and flex time, with the result that prospective

parents sometimes postpone family formation and sometimes leave the Jewish professions.

- Treacherous political maneuvering, rather than cooperative collaborative efforts, characterizes some working environments in which the more junior professionals are accorded little status.

- Some supervisors spend little time mentoring and supporting young Jewish professionals.

- Minimal Jewish knowledge and commitment is found among most client groups—and sometimes colleagues as well.

However, most of the Jewish professionals interviewed also reported very positive experiences and deep job satisfactions. Without exception, they thought highly of their training institutions. Almost universally, they found it true that they "are making a difference in people's lives," and that they "have warm interpersonal relationships" with their client group.

Many recommended that training programs upgrade their offerings in several areas. Courses in practical activities such as grant writing and fundraising, and in enhancing interpersonal relationships such as counseling, lay-professional relationships, conflict resolution, and working with boards of directors, were frequently mentioned. However, just as frequently mentioned was the inclusion of more courses on Judaic subjects. Perhaps surprisingly, graduates of Judaic-intensive programs and social skill intensive programs both mentioned more Judaic studies as a desirable addition to training programs.

The continuing health and viability of the Jewish community depends to a great extent on its ability to attract and retain outstanding new leaders. This report demonstrates that leadership retention is a complicated task. Just as the community depends on the support of its leadership, its leadership depends on the support of the community.

Some of the problem areas reported here can be best addressed by the institutions which train the next generation of professionals. Others must be confronted by the communal institutions which employ them. Mid-career enrichment and renewal programs for Jewish professionals seem highly desirable. Widespread Jewish communal support is necessary, aiming for systemic change. The community which needs their services must work to enhance the ability of Jewish communal professionals to meet their multiple responsibilities now and in the future.

Introduction

Attracting and retaining excellent Jewish communal leaders is a main goal of the Wexner Foundation. The impetus for comparing the expectations which Jewish communal professionals bring with them to their early jobs with the actual realities they experience also arose from the Jewish professionals themselves. Several Jewish professional schools received written and oral communications from their recent graduates, commenting that they had met unexpected challenges in their chosen fields. Responding to the concerns of young Jewish communal professionals and their training institutions, the Wexner Foundation commissioned this report to explore, in systematic fashion, the actual conditions which contemporary Jewish communal professionals encounter.

The report is based on telephone interviews with 280 persons who completed their Jewish professional training after 1980. The processes of interviewing and data entry and analysis were conducted under the auspices of and with the staff support of the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University (CMJS). The survey instrument, which consists of 132 questions, can be found in Appendix A.

Major training institutions across the United States cooperated with the Wexner Foundation by supplying CMJS with names of students who had graduated approximately ten years (1982-1984) and approximately four years (1988-1990) before the study ensued. Some schools supplied to CMJS lists with telephone numbers; others supplied addresses only; others contacted their graduates and asked them to mail permissions forms to CMJS. The schools also varied widely in the accuracy and currency of their alumni information. The ability of the CMJS research team to contact graduates of a given institution was somewhat limited by these factors. A list of schools which were contacted can be found in Appendix B.

Graduates who agreed to participate were selected for interviewing randomly, with the exception that researchers aimed to adjust for geographical distribution. The rate of outright refusal to participate was exceedingly low; only eight persons of those contacted directly stated that they did not wish to participate in the survey. There was a more substantial rate of uncompleted interviews, due to persons who initially agreed to be interviewed, but subsequently found that professional responsibilities conflicted with the interviewing process.[1]

Respondents were strikingly enthusiastic about participating. Across the spectrum, from respondents who were essentially satisfied with their choice of Jewish professional careers to those who were unhappy, unemployed, or had left the field, there were many supportive comments about the research project. At the completion of each interview, respondents were asked if they would be willing to participate in a more in-depth follow up interviewing process;

[1] The exact number of uncompleted interviews is difficult to compute because it consists of several different categories, not all of which were recorded. Uncompleted interviews consisted of persons who began but did not complete the interviewing process; those who were contacted by voice mail but did not return calls; and those who set up interview times but failed to be available at those times.

the overwhelming majority agreed to participate. The results of in-depth follow-up interviews with 16 participants are found at the end of Section VIII of this report, "Professional Experiences of Respondents."

An Elite With Limited Power

Jewish professionals--rabbis, Jewish educators, and Jewish communal service workers--are often referred to as Jewish communal leaders. They comprise an elite cadre in terms of their knowledge of and commitment to the Jewish people, the Jewish cultural and religious heritage, and the Jewish future.

But despite their leadership status, the powers of Jewish communal leaders are limited. American Jews are a hybrid group who are shaped more by the general values and behaviors of American society than they are by distinctive Jewish traditions. Jewish professionals serve as leaders of individuals in an open society, individuals who can only be called a "community" to the extent that they choose to be part of that community. When Jews have been relatively isolated from the cultures surrounding them, either voluntarily or because of antisemitism, individuals have formed a structurally more cohesive group. In such situations, the leadership cadre has often had significant power over societal norms and over the daily lives of individuals.

However, in the United States today, far from being isolated as a group, American Jews can choose to affiliate or not with a broad spectrum of Jewish religious and communal groups. Even when they affiliate, participants usually have control over the extent to which they subscribe to the norms of the chosen group.

Moreover, Jewish professional leaders have limited power because most religious leaders in the United States have limited power. Limitations on the powers of religious leaders derive not only from the separation of church and state but also from the prominence of "the economic, the political, and the military domains." As one sociologist described this well-established phenomenon at mid-century:

> *No family is as directly powerful in national affairs as any major corporation; no church is as directly powerful in the external biographies of young men in America today as the military establishment ... Religious, educational, and family institutions are not autonomous centers of national power; on the contrary, these decentralized areas are increasingly shaped by the big three, in which developments of decisive and immediate consequence now occur. Families and churches and schools adapt to modern life; governments and armies and corporations shape it ...*[2]

[2] C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 6.

On a structural or institutional level, the impact of government and the economy on the life of an individual is involuntary; the impact of a religious group is voluntary. This fact has given rise to the oft-articulated sentiment that in the United States today every Jew is a Jew by choice.

A shared value system is one factor contributing to the extent to which individual Jews choose to participate in some aspect of Jewish society. Thus Jews may choose to join an Orthodox synagogue or a Reconstructionist Havurah, to participate in Hadassah or The New Israel Fund, to attend activities at the Workmen's Circle or the Jewish Community Center, at least in part because they feel that the value systems guiding these institutions reflect their own.

The search for Jewish institutions which reflect one's own value system or belief system is further complicated by a trend in contemporary American life which legal scholar Stephen L. Carter has recently explored as *The Culture of Disbelief.* Carter suggests that the United States today is an environment which supports and rewards skepticism rather than religious or altruistic belief systems. Carter asserts, "More and more, our culture seems to take the position that believing deeply in the tenets of one's faith represents a kind of mystic irrationality, something that thoughtful public-spirited American citizens would do better to avoid." [3]

The power which enables Jewish communal professionals to lead and serve their constituencies derives not only from institutional structures but also from the constituencies themselves. When constituencies share a value system with their leadership cadre, these shared beliefs legitimate and reinforce the leaders' power. When, however, constituencies do not share a value system with their leaders, the resulting gap in values disrupts and undermines the leaders' power.

The official core belief animating many American Jewish institutions has been well articulated by Jonathan Woocher as "sacred survival":

> *Jewish unity, expressed in the commitment to Jewish continuity, is a signal to the world that Jews will not abandon their self-definition as a distinctive people. It is a basis of strength in the struggle for self-perpetuation ... Jewish community is the vehicle through which the abstract principle of Jewish unity and the values which that unity enshrines are made manifest in contemporary Jewish life ... The polity has come to accept responsibility for the spiritual, as well as physical, well-being of Jews throughout the world.* [4]

However, the constellation of commitments related to meaningful Jewish survival, or "continuity" as it is popularly called today, is shared to greatly varying extents by Jewish

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[3] Stephen L. Carter, *The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion* (New York: Basic Books/A Division of Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 1993), pp. 6-7.

[4] Jonathan S. Woocher, *Sacred Survival: The Civil Religion of American Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 70-71.

individuals living in the United States. The gap between the strong commitment to Jewish continuity among professional leaders, and weaker commitments, apathy, or even hostility among their potential constituent groups, produces friction and frustration.

Jewish professional leaders often enter their fields in order to combat assimilation and to revitalize American Jewish life. Although they realize at the outset that they will be working to reduce the impact of assimilation, many professionals reported that manifestations of assimilation eat away at their own personal and professional vitality. When the individuals and the communities they serve seem apathetic or lacking in communal Jewish will, the professionals often feel as though they are struggling against discouraging odds.

For many Jewish communal professionals, these larger, ideological issues are intertwined with feelings of frustration. They sometimes feel that because Jewish culture is not very important to their clients/congregants/students, they are not treated as well as they should be on many fronts. Jewish professional standards, job status, salary, and work expectations often seem to be negatively affected by the status of Judaism itself within the lives of individual American Jews.

At the same time, many American Jewish professionals find their professional lives immensely gratifying. They find enormous satisfaction in enhancing the personal and Jewish lives of their clients, congregants, and students. They enjoy serving as role models, and often feel that their own spiritual lives are made more meaningful by the work that they do. Their success makes them feel effective, legitimated, and empowered in their leadership positions.

For those Jewish professionals who are essentially satisfied with their professional lives, a sense of calling shapes and nourishes their daily activities. For those who feel disempowered, who find their professional lives to be essentially unsatisfying or frustrating, a failed sense of leadership and calling often colors and embitters their perceptions.

A Demographic Profile Of Respondents

Persons who completed interviews include 117 men (42%) and 163 women (58%). They currently reside in cities of diverse size across the United States. Nearly half of the respondents (47%) described their communities as "very large"; nearly a third (31%) described their communities as "medium size"; and 21% described their communities as "small." In terms of geographical location, 118 respondents live somewhere in the Mid-Atlantic states, including the New York and Baltimore/Washington metropolitan areas; 28 respondents live in New England; 40 respondents live in the Middle West; 60 respondents live in the West or Southwest; and 22 respondents live in the South, including Florida.

Because this survey focused on professionals during the first decade of their careers, the great majority of respondents (87%) fall between the ages of 25 to 44. There was some variation of age by gender. Female respondents tended to be younger and at earlier stages of their careers. Slightly over half of the male respondents (52%) finished their graduate training approximately 10 years before the survey, and slightly less than half (48%) finished their graduate training approximately four years before the survey. On the other hand, 44% of female respondents finished 10 years and 55% finished four years before the survey.

The current professions of respondents fall into the following categories:

- Congregational rabbi, including assistant rabbi, co-rabbi, or rabbi employed in an institutional setting
- Educational or congregational administrator
- Social worker
- Communal agency administrator
- Teacher grades pre-K through 12
- College/university teacher
- Fund-raiser
- Federation/non-fund-raising position
- Political organizations
- No longer works in Jewish communal field

While constructing tables to display the results of this data, issues of statistical representativeness were often at odds with the desirability of indicating differences between occupational and gender groupings. Much of the time, the decision was made to retain the double divisions, so that we could indicate tendencies found both by occupation and gender. As a result, some of the cell sizes are too small to be considered statistically representative, although they may well suggest important tendencies. Throughout the tables, an asterisk (*) will indicate when the overall number of a particular group is fewer than 10 individuals.

Table 1
Professional Schools Attended by Respondents
Frequencies by Type of School and by Gender

Types of Agencies	Men	Women
Rabbinical Seminary	70	44
Programs in Jewish Communal Service	20	42
Schools of Social Work	17	47
Schools of Jewish Education or Hebrew Teacher's Seminaries	5	20
Graduate Schools in Judaic Studies	3	6
Other Types of Schools	2	3
Total	117	163

Table 2
Professional Position Currently Held
Percentages by Gender

Position held	Male	Number	Female	Number
Congregational rabbi	55	64	20	33
Educational, congregational administrator	10	12	13	21
Social worker	4	5	16	26
Administrator - Jewish communal agency	11	13	16	26
Teacher, pre-K--college	3	3	9	14
College teacher	3	4	7	12
Fundraiser	3	4	2	3
Federation, non-fundraiser	5	6	3	4
Political organizer	1	1	1	2
Not in Jewish field	4	5	14	22
Total	99	117	101	163

Marital Status and Family Profile

Marital status patterns for the responding Jewish communal professionals in some ways more nearly resembled patterns in the Jewish community of the 1960s than current patterns revealed by the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey. Nearly 4 out of 5 respondents (78%) are currently married, reminiscent of the 78% of Jewish adults married in the 1970 NJPS--and in contrast to the 64% of Jewish adults married in the 1990 NJPS. Contemporary Jewish life is, however, reflected in the 16% of respondents who are single, compared to 8% in the 1970 NJPS, and 21% in the 1990 NJPS. Rates of divorce reported are low: 5%. Because most of this survey's respondents are young adults, only 1% are widowed.

Marital status varies dramatically by profession and gender. Unlike patterns both today and in the past, survey respondents are much more likely to be married if they are men (90%) than if they are women (70%). As seen in Table 3, the disparity between marriage for men and for women is even more dramatic in certain fields. Virtually all of the male rabbis were married (97%) compared to well under two-thirds of the women (61%). While only 2% of male rabbis had never been married, 33% of female rabbis had never been married.

The disparity between male and female professionals was equally pronounced in regard to family size, as seen in Table 4. Women were twice as likely, at 36%, as men, at 16%, to have no children. Moreover, they had fewer children overall. Nearly two-thirds of the men had three or more children, at 65%, compared to nearly half of the women, at 49%. The difference between family size of men and women was most striking in the rabbinate, where only 8% of the men but 46% of the women had no children; 72% of the male rabbis had 2 or more children, compared to 45% of the females. The lowest proportions of childless women were found among teachers in grades pre-K through 12 (14%), not unexpectedly. Jewish educators' hours of employment are more easily coordinated with child rearing, and are probably the least likely to penalize women for having children in terms of professional advancement. Along the same lines, while one-third (33%) of male teachers reported 3 or more children, half of the female teachers (50%) had comparable family size.

About one-quarter of women working in federations or Jewish communal life in non-fund-raising positions and non-social work positions had children. A very substantial 42% of female social workers and most female fund-raisers reported having no children. Among respondents, percentages of male and female social workers who had three or more children were virtually identical (40% for males and 39% for females).

Table 4 includes both married and unmarried men and women, rather than only married professionals. Marriage and family size are linked in obvious ways. However, limiting our discussion to married individuals would have masked the disparity in stages of family formation between the men and women who were interviewed. It would also have masked the fact that family size is smaller among Jewish professional women--especially female rabbis and Jewish communal workers--than among women of the same age in the overall Jewish population. Studies of fertility rates among Jewish women in the United States have shown that postponing childbearing is liked to small family size, often involving fewer children than the woman had originally planned. Married or not, the family size of Jewish communal professionals is an area for communal concern--especially if Jewish communal institutions have had some hand in discouraging women from having as many children as they might otherwise have preferred.

Family size statistics for Jewish male and female professionals reflect, in part, the somewhat younger age of female professionals. However, they also indicate a real problem in Jewish professional life. It should be stated from the outset that these problems are not unique to the Jewish professions. Other studies make it clear that many professions stigmatize women who bear children and impede their advancement. On the other hand, this issue has a particular salience in the Jewish professional world. It appears that women who are among the most energetic, talented, Jewishly educated, and Jewishly committed, are postponing beginning families. The personal interviews described in Section VIII of this report indicate that the Jewish professional world has created a climate which is not "family friendly." Additional research should be devoted to discover effective means to encourage those Jewish professionals who desire both career and family to pursue both familial and professional goals.

Table 3
Marital Status of Jewish Professionals

Jewish Professional		% Married	% Never Married	% Divorced	% Widowed
Rabbi	male	97	2	2	0
	female	61	33	3	3
Cong. Admin.	male	68	25	20	8
	female	81	19	0	0
Social Worker	male*	40	40	20	0
	female	69	19	12	0
Comm. Admin.	male	92	8	0	0
	female	77	19	4	0
Teacher	male*	68	33	0	0
	female	64	14	21	0
Professor	male*	75	25	0	0
	female	58	25	17	0
Fundraiser	male*	100	0	0	0
	female*	33	67	0	0
Federation	male*	100	0	0	0
	female*	75	25	0	0
Has left Jewish professional work	male*	100	0	0	0
	female	77	14	5	5
All men		90	8	2	1
All women		70	222	7	1

*Fewer than 10 individuals in this group. See page 72.

Table 4
Family Size Levels of Jewish Professionals
Percentage by Profession and Gender

Jewish Profession	Gender	No children	One child	Two children	Three or more
Rabbi	male	8	20	42	30
	female	46	9	33	12
Cong. Administrator	male	33	17	33	17
	female	48	24	10	19
Social Worker	male*	60	0	0	40
	female	42	0	19	39
Comm. Administrator	male	39	23	39	0
	female	27	20	42	12
Teacher	male*	34	0	33	33
	female	14	14	14	50
Professor	male*	25	0	25	50
	female	33	17	42	8
Fundraiser	male*	0	50	0	50
	female*	68	0	33	0
Federation	male*	0	33	50	17
	female*	25	50	25	0
Has left Jewish professional work	male*	0	0	60	40
	female	27	17	23	23

Education of Respondents

Secular Education

The undergraduate educational patterns of the respondents were in some ways reflective of the typical American Jew in the same age range, with the exception that Jewish professionals were more likely to have attended a Jewish-sponsored (8%) or Israeli (3%) university. However, the great majority attended either state schools (39%) or private, non-"Ivy League" colleges (36%). Six percent attended Ivy League universities; 4% attended New York City colleges; and 5% attended other schools.

Table 5
Undergraduate Education of Respondents

Type of University	Percentage
Ivy League	6
Jewish Sponsored	8
State Schools	39
Private, non-Ivy League	36
N.Y. City Colleges	4
Israeli Universities	39
Other Schools	5

Formal and Informal Jewish Education

Respondents' levels of formal and informal Jewish educational experience varied widely by profession and gender. Day school education for all respondents was only slightly higher than average for their age group, at 14%. However, day school attendance was twice as high for men (21%) as for women (9%). This high proportion of day school attendees in professions not formally regarded as "religious" may reflect the increasing attractiveness of jobs in Jewish communal work to observant Jews.

Of wider interest is the fact that Jewish professionals in large proportions send their own children to day school. Thus, although only 14% of the professionals themselves attended day schools, 39% of their children do so.

Table 6a
Jewish Education Respondent Received as Child
Percentages by Type of School and Gender

Type of Jewish School Attended	All	Men	Women
Sunday Only	20	9	28
Hebrew School	59	68	53
Day School	14	21	9
Don't know, refused	7	3	10

Table 6b
Grade Respondent Stopped Formal Jewish Education

Before 7th grade	18
Between 7th and 9th grades	9
Between 9th and 11th grades	34
Through 12th grade	40

Exceptionally high proportions of Jewish professionals belonged to Jewish youth groups and attended Jewish camps. The percentaged who belonged to Jewish youth groups are given in Table 7.

Table 7
Jewish Youth Group Participation of Respondents
Percentages Belonging to Each Youth Group

80% belonged to Jewish youth groups. The groups they belonged to included:	**Percentage**
USY	30
NFTY	21
NCSY	2
Young Judea	5
BBYO	11
B'nai Akiva	3
Other Zionist	4
Other non-Zionist	5

Two-thirds of respondents attended Jewish summer camps (67%). The camping profiles of respondents were relatively high in Jewish community center and movement-based camps, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Jewish Camping Experiences of Respondents
Percentages Attending Each Camp

Camp	Percentage
Ramah	6
USY	9
JCC	14
Brandeis/Bardin	4
Young Judea	2
Morasha	1
Moshava	2
Local Jewish	3
Other Zionist	6
Massad	1
UAHC	16
Other	5
None	33

Involvement with Israel

One of the most dramatic statistics on Jewish professionals centered around the extraordinarily high level of Israel visits. Three times the national average--95%--had taken trips to Israel. Half of them had gone four or more times (50%); and another 19% had gone three times; 15% had gone twice, and only 12% had visited Israel only once.

Moreover, most had visited Israel very early in life. Eight percent had traveled to Israel by the time they were age 12, and 55% went between the ages of 12 and 18. Another 20% visited between the ages of 19 and 21. Table 9 shows that members of certain professions, such as rabbis, fund-raisers, and general federation workers, were especially likely to have visited Israel during their teen years.

Overwhelmingly, respondents said that their initial trips to Israel had been in the form of a family trip, an organized tour, or study abroad. Very few had initially participated in camping programs, kibbutz programs, independent trips, federation missions, or other types of programming.

Over one-third had first been in Israel for a month or less,a third had visited or for two to three months, and nearly one-quarter had first been to Israel for a year trip. At the time of the survey, nearly two-thirds of male respondents but only one-half of female respondents said they had spent periods of a year or more in Israel. However, both male (80%) and female (85%) rabbis were among the most likely to have spent a year or more in Israel. This high percentage of Israel experience is likely related to requirements of some rabbinical programs.

Table 9
Ages of Respondents' First Visit to Israel
Percentages Visiting by Age and Profession

Age at first visit to Israel (Note: Row totals of less than 100% indicate that not all respondents visited Israel.)	**Gender**	**0-11**	**12-18**	**19-24**	**25+**
Rabbi	male	3	48	22	16
	female	0	61	39	0
Congregational or educational administrator	male	8	42	42	8
	female	5	48	19	25
Social Worker	male*	20	20	40	20
	female	0	35	27	27
Communal Administrator	male	15	31	31	16
	female	4	50	35	12
Teacher, nursery to grade 12	male*	0	33	33	33
	female	7	36	29	14
College teacher	male	0	59	50	0
	female	0	58	17	17
Fundraiser	male*	0	25	50	25
	female*	0	100	0	0
Federation worker	male*	17	33	17	33
	female*	0	75	0	0

Junior Congregation

Although impressionistic evidence indicates that Junior Congregation experiences within synagogues were once fairly common in the Jewish educational experience of American children, our respondents were far from universally exposed to this kind of experience. Indeed, fewer than half (47%) of the male respondents and only one-quarter (26%) of female respondents said they had regularly attended Junior Congregation. Of all respondents, those currently working as Congregational or Educational Administrators were the group most likely to have attended Junior Congregation (58% of males, 48% of females).

Jewish Behaviors of Respondents

Profiling the Jewish behaviors of Jewish professionals is useful not only because it adds to our understanding of the lives of these professionals, but also because it allows us to measure the gap between Jewish professionals and the people they serve. Jewish behaviors were measured in this survey through a series of questions about religious, cultural, and communal activities, and also through questions about the Jewish education which professionals provide for their children.

Ritual Observances

Ritual observance among Jewish professionals surveyed was generally more frequent than the Jewish population at large. For example, incidence of fasting on Yom Kippur was almost universal among respondents, compared to 58% among American Jews. Well over half of American Jews (57%) never light Sabbath candles,[5] but among the Jewish professionals surveyed regular candle lighting was almost as frequent as the incidence of fasting on Yom Kippur. Attendance at synagogue services was frequent, with the great majority of respondents attending services at least once a month, and large numbers attending weekly. Even among those least likely to attend at least once a month, such as female social workers (57%) and male communal administrators (54%), the rate of attendance is far greater than that of the average American Jew.

As a group, female rabbis were in some ways far less ritually traditional than male rabbis, which is to be expected given the differences in ritual norms among Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist wings of Judaism. For historical reasons, larger numbers of women who have received rabbinical ordination in the past 15 years are Reform and Reconstructionist than Conservative. None are Orthodox. When the rabbinical population is divided by gender, the male population is disproportionately Orthodox, while the female population is disproportionately Reform. For example, 72% of male rabbis said they eat only kosher meat outside the home,

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[5] Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," *American Jewish Year Book, 1992*, pp. 77-173, p. 173.

compared to 36% of female rabbis, and 75% of male rabbis said they do not handle money on Shabbat, compared to 55% of female rabbis. In many areas, however, the Jewish behaviors of male and female rabbis are almost exactly parallel: lighting of Shabbat candles (100%/97%); Purim observance (100%/100%); Succoth observance (97%/100%); and reading a Jewish newspaper or magazine (98%/96%).

Women who teach Judaica subjects on a college level are more observant than their male colleagues. For example, within our small sample of college teachers, the great majority of female college teachers have separate meat and milk dishes in their homes, compared to only one-quarter of the men. In some other professions, in contrast, gender makes little difference in regard to levels of Jewish observance. For example, ritual observance among administrators of Jewish communal agencies revealed only minimal differences between men and women.

Whether frequency of observance is considered "high" or "low" depends, to a great extent, on the yardstick measurement used. For example, fewer than two-thirds of respondents said they participated in some sort of Israeli Independence Day (*Yom Ha-atzmaut*) celebration. While this is much higher than the population at large, it seems surprisingly low in a population 75% of which visited Israel at least once by age 21. Since these professionals are responsible for enhancing the bonds between American Jews and Israel, such levels of *Yom Ha-atzmaut* observance are perhaps discouraging. The lack of *Yom Ha-atzmaut* observance is particularly striking among congregational rabbis: 25% of male rabbis and 21% of female rabbis reported not celebrating *Yom Ha-atzmaut*, and it is possible that this lack of involvement is reflected in their congregational activities as well.

Respondents were also asked, "Would you describe the role of Israel in your Jewish identity as: very central, central, somewhat important, or not important?" Responses to this question yielded few differences by gender, but suggestive differences by occupation. Persons involved in Jewish education described themselves as an Israel-centered group. For example, congregational and educational administrators and persons teaching in grades pre-K through 12 were much more likely than rabbis to say that Israel was "very central" to their Jewish identity. Indeed, more than one out of five rabbis stated that Israel was only "somewhat important" to their Jewish identity. Only 27% of female rabbis stated that Israel was "very central" to their Jewish identity.

Table 10
Ritual Observances Among Jewish Professionals
Percentages by Profession, Career and Ritual Observed

Ritual	Rabbi		Cong. Admin.		Soc. Work		Agency Admin.		Teacher		College Teacher		Fundraiser		Federation	
	M/F		M/F		M/F		M/F		M/F		M/F		M/F		M/F	
Shabbat Candles	100	97	75	91	60	73	85	85	100	100	75	100	100	67	100	75
No money shabbat	75	55	50	43	40	31	39	39	33	43	0	50	50	33	33	25
Fast Yom Kippur	100	100	100	100	100	92	92	100	100	93	75	100	100	100	100	75
Hanukkah Candles	100	100	100	100	80	92	100	100	100	100	75	100	100	100	100	100
Separate meat/milk dishes	86	64	67	57	40	58	54	54	67	57	25	83	50	83	67	50
Only Kosher meat out	72	36	58	48	40	35	54	46	67	50	50	58	50	33	33	50
Purim Observance	100	100	83	86	80	77	69	77	67	93	100	92	50	33	100	50
Succot Observance	97	100	67	91	80	77	77	69	100	93	100	92	75	33	100	50
Yom Ha-atzmaut	75	79	67	67	40	42	46	58	33	71	75	83	50	67	67	50
Jew. News Magazine	98	100	100	100	100	85	100	96	100	100	100	100	100	100	83	100
Attend Services Monthly or More	100	100	83	100	60	57	54	73	100	86	100	92	75	33	83	50

Table 10--Continued

Ritual	Not in Field M/F		Total--YES M/F	
Shabbat Candles	100	77	93	87
No Money on Shabbat	40	27	59	40
Fast on Yom Kippur	100	87	98	96
Hanukkah Candles	100	91	98	98
Separate Meat/Milk Dishes	60	46	72	58
Only Kosher Meat Out	40	27	62	41
Purim Observance	80	73	91	83
Succot Observance	80	59	89	81
Yom Ha-Atzmaut	60	32	66	61
Jewish News, Magazine	80	96	97	96
Attend Services Monthly or More	80	54	--	--

Jewish Education of the Children of Professionals

As has been noted elsewhere, providing a Jewish education for children has emerged as one of the most universal Jewish behaviors of parents. According to data from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, among children ages 6-18 who are being raised as Jews, 73% receive some formal Jewish education. Changing mores *vis-a-vis* Jewish education for children among committed Jews is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in survey data contrasting respondents' education of their children with the ways in which they themselves were educated. Although, as we indicated, the Jewish professionals in this survey showed a level of day school education close to the national average (14% overall among those with children in the home), they are choosing to provide their own children with day school education in large proportions, 39% overall. In Jewish education, as in other areas of Jewish behavioral norms, the disproportionately large number of Orthodox male rabbis and Reform female rabbis had an impact on the data. Norms in the Orthodox community are very day school-oriented; in the Reform community much less so. Partially for this reason, 59% of the children of male rabbis and 30% of the children of female rabbis are receiving day school education.

It is not only rabbis, however, who are very likely to provide their children with day school education. For example, 39% of both male and female communal administrators, 84% of male and 50% of female federations workers, and 67% of male educators and 36% of female educators provide their children with day-school educations. In general, males in every field are more likely than females to provide a day school education for their children, a fact due partially to the younger ages of the female professionals.

The comparatively high rate of day school attendance among children of persons who have trained for the rabbinate, Jewish education, and Jewish communal service indicates more than any verbal assertions their belief in the relative efficacy of this type of Jewish education.

Table 11
Jewish Education of Respondents' Children
Percentages by Profession and Gender

Profession		None to date	Sunday School only	Supple-mentary school	Day school	Tutor
Cong. Rabbi	male	20	0	20	59	0
	female	58	6	6	30	0
Cong. Admin.	male	50	8	0	42	0
	female	48	0	19	33	0
Social Work	male	40	0	20	40	0
	female	35	15	23	27	0
Commun. Admin.	male	39	0	23	39	0
	female	35	0	27	39	0
Teacher	male	33	0	0	67	0
	female	21	21	21	36	0
College Teacher	male	25	0	50	0	25
	female	42	0	25	33	0
Fund Raiser	male	50	0	0	50	0
	female	68	0	33	0	0
Federation	male	0	0	17	84	0
	female	25	0	25	50	0
Left Field	male	0	40	0	40	20
	female	46	0	18	36	0
Total	male	26	3	17	53	2
	female	42	6	19	33	0

Professional Status and Job Descriptions

Graduates of Jewish professional training institutions tend to move across Jewish professional fields; thus, persons who received rabbinical ordination were sometimes employed as administrators of Jewish communal or educational institutions or as college educators, and persons trained as Jewish educators often moved into communal or educational administrative positions. Among the persons interviewed, current employment included:

- 97 persons employed as rabbis (35%);
- 120 persons employed in the Jewish communal world, (43%) among them:
  - 31 social workers
  - 7 fundraisers
  - 10 staff workers
  - 72 administrators or executives
- 33 persons working primarily as Jewish educators (12%);
- 3 persons working for political organizations; and
- 29 persons who have left Jewish professional occupations (10%).

Persons who trained for the rabbinate have a lower Jewish professional drop-out rate than other training programs. That is, respondents who train in rabbinical training institutions may move to other types of Jewish professional work, but they are much less likely than persons in other Jewish professional training programs to leave the Jewish professional world completely, at least during the first decade after ordination/graduation. As seen previously in Table 1, our survey population had substantial differences along gender lines from profession to profession. Thus, within this survey population, over half the male respondents were congregational rabbis, compared to only one-fifth of the female respondents. Female respondents were four times more likely to be social workers than the males. And, perhaps most significant, among our survey population women were more than three times more likely to have left Jewish professional fields than were men.

Self-Evaluations of Job Satisfaction

Men and women who choose to train for the rabbinate, Jewish communal service, and Jewish education in the contemporary American environment are by definition a self-selected group of people. Within an open American society which now tolerates Jews in virtually all strata of educational, occupational, and social arenas, Jewish professionals have nonetheless chosen to focus their energies on Jewish concerns. They are very often persons with a strong sense of vocation, sometimes referred to as a "calling." Data gathered in this survey underscore the fact that for this particular group of people, job satisfaction cannot be measured only--or even primarily--by financial or status rewards.

Sources of Job Satisfaction

The survey explored sources of job satisfaction in two ways: respondents were asked to react to a series of statements about job satisfaction, specifying whether a given statement was true, somewhat true, mostly not true, or not applicable. They were also asked two open-ended questions: "Now tell me, in your own words, what has most contributed to your feelings of satisfaction and success?" and "In your own words, what would you identify as your most important professional achievement?"
Our data from the closed-ended sequence of questions show that Jewish professionals almost universally articulate their greatest sources of satisfaction on the job in ways which are connected to their calling. They emphasize their ability to 1) make a difference in people's lives, 2) have warm interpersonal relationships, and 3) enhance Jewish continuity in the United States. In the open-ended questions, these altruistic, calling-related sources of satisfaction are fleshed out. Making a difference in people's lives and enhancing Jewish continuity in the United States can mean, for a fund-raiser, "making donors feel good about their giving." For a rabbi, it can mean providing people with counseling which saves a marriage, or serving as a Jewish role model who "turns on" a teenager to more intensive Jewish life.

Overwhelmingly, respondents pointed to altruistic aspects of fulfillment and human connections as yielding their greatest sources of satisfaction. As seen in Table 12, 78% of respondents said that "I feel I am making a difference in people's lives" is a "true" statement about their work, and another 20% said it is "somewhat true." Similarly, 77% said the statement that "I have warm interpersonal relationships with students, clients, congregants, or lay leaders," is a "true" statement and another 17% said it is "somewhat true." 65% of respondents said that "I feel I am enhancing Jewish continuity in the U.S." is a "true" statement, and another 22% said it is "somewhat true." Almost two-thirds of respondents said it is "true" that "I have a strong sense of personal fulfillment," and another 30% said that statement was "somewhat true."
Although no other sources of satisfaction came close to this kind of unanimity, clear patterns did emerge for other important sources of satisfaction. Good working conditions were important: 56% answered "true" and 35% "somewhat true" that their jobs provided opportunities for professional growth; 51% answered "true" and 34% "somewhat true" that their colleagues and co-workers were supportive of their professional development; 50% found it "true" that "My job allows me to make appropriate decisions and to appropriately control my work environment," and another 33% found it "Somewhat true."

Two statements about professional advancement seemed somewhat at odds with each other: Only 16% of respondents found it "true" that "I have opportunities for professional promotions," and yet 45% found it "true" that "My superiors are supportive to my professional growth." These responses may be somewhat complicated by the fact that certain professionals, such as pulpit rabbis, may not have persons clearly demarcated as their superiors. In the middle, 28% said it is "true" that "I feel my salary is relatively appropriate to my work and adequate to my needs."

A relatively modest proportion of respondents had positive responses to the statement, "I am working for the betterment of life in Israel," with 29% finding this statement "true" and 33% finding it "somewhat true." Slightly stronger showings were found for the statement, "I feel I take an active role in the broader U.S. community," 33% "true" and 42% "somewhat true." Only 21% found it "true" but 44% "somewhat true" that "I have time for personal scholarship."

Sources of Satisfaction

Responses to open-ended questions about job satisfaction and achievement yielded a wide range of responses. Indeed, it is striking that questions about satisfaction and achievement evoked a far greater variety of responses than questions about frustration and job burnout. In direct contradiction to Tolstoy's observation that happy families are all the same, while unhappy families are each miserable in their own ways, among Jewish communal professionals happiness seemed to stem from many sources, while unhappiness wells from a few bitter streams. Helping people (29%) and variety in job activities (14%) were the most commonly cited sources of job satisfaction in the open question. In addition, respondents referred to other relational activities such as mentoring other professionals, creating a supportive work environment, seeing service recipients getting help and being happier, helping donors feel good about giving, counseling, and building strong relationships with client/congregational/student groups. Others emphasized their role in enhancing Jewish identity and Jewish behaviors, serving as positive role models, or working with interfaith couples. Scholarly activities such as studying, writing and teaching were important to some. Some also made specific reference to overseas accomplishments, such as making a contribution to worldwide Jewry or helping Israel.

Responses to the question, "In your own words, what would you identify as your most important professional achievement?" also yielded answers which emphasized human relationships such as improving group dynamics by enhancing the ability of community members, clients, congregants, and students to care about each other, to behave in compassionate ways toward each other, to help each other; teaching client/congregational/student groups how to express and tolerate different ideas and yet remain a unified group that can work and learn together; and serving as an effective congregational or organizational administrator, at local or national levels. Others cited the creation of specific types of programs, such as the creation, enhancement or teaching of effective classes for adults, children and teenagers, educational curriculum development, combating assimilation among students, clients, and congregants, combating antisemitism in the community, and facilitating Jewish camping or youth group experiences. A few were especially proud of their scholarly accomplishments. Some referred to work with specific subgroups, such as women or interfaith couples.

The majority of the responses were linked fundamentally to the professionals' sense of vocation or calling. Most of the answers reveal how profoundly Jewish communal professionals **perceive themselves** as persons who are in the process of improving people's lives and revitalizing American Jewish life. Statements about personal ambition, money, and power are few, and

limited to respondents who talked about creating a "good reputation" for their own work or for their institution, or about the high quality of their scholarly output.

When persons enter a field expecting it to yield satisfactions relating to their altruistic goals, goals with a spiritual or interpersonal social service dimension, it appears that they are most satisfied when they feel they are accomplishing these goals. As we will see in the next section, the contrary is true as well. Persons expecting altruistic goal-related emotional rewards in their work often experience much dissatisfaction when these expectations are frustrated.

Sources of Job Dissatisfaction

In the closed-ended sequence of questions about job frustrations, the most frequently cited source of dissatisfaction is the assimilation of Jews in America. Some respondents talked about working hard to increase levels of Jewish connectedness among their clientele--and then having that same clientele react with indifference or even hostility to the possibility of becoming "too Jewish." This sense **that their very calling is irrelevant to the people they serve** exacerbates the frustrations they feel with the professional aspects of what they do. To judge by responses to the list of statements on sources of job dissatisfaction in this survey, assimilatory trends within the American Jewish community are perceived as the greatest single problem facing young Jewish communal professionals today. Thus, responding to the statement "I am discouraged by levels of assimilation in American Jewish life" 45% of respondents answered "true" and another 34% answered "somewhat true."

Personal concerns and working conditions were also frequently cited as sources of dissatisfaction: frustrating salary negotiations (38% "true," 31% "somewhat true"), long working hours (35% "true," 24% "somewhat true"), and difficulty juggling family and job responsibilities (29% "true," 37% "somewhat true").

Table 12
Sources of Job Satisfaction
Percentages of Respondents

	mostly does not apply	not true	somewhat true	true
My job provides opportunities for professional growth.	3%	5%	35%	56%
My colleagues and co-workers are supportive of my professional development.	8	8	34	51
I have time for personal scholarship.	4	31	44	21
I have warm interpersonal relationships with students, clients, congregants, or lay leaders.	4	2	17	77
I have opportunities for professional promotions.	26	26	31	16
My superiors are supportive to my professional growth.	20	8	27	45
I feel I am making a difference in peoples' lives.	1	2	20	78
I feel I am enhancing Jewish continuity in U.S.	8	4	22	65
I feel I take an active role in the broader U.S. community.	7	19	42	33
I am working for the betterment of life in Israel.	17	22	33	29
I feel my salary is relatively appropriate to my work and adequate for my needs.	2	35	36	28
I have a strong sense of personal fulfillment.	2	4	30	64
My job allows me to make appropriate decisions and to appropriately control my work environment.	3	10	33	54

Profiles of Professional Difficulties

Members of differing professions varied dramatically in profiles of job dissatisfaction and frustration, as seen in Table 15. Social workers and teachers were the groups least likely to complain that their working hours are too long; in contrast, rabbis, congregational and educational administrators, and Jewish communal administrators were very likely to see themselves as suffering from long hours. Similarly, lack of privacy was not an issue for most congregational and educational administrators, social workers, communal administrators, or teachers. However, rabbis did find lack of privacy to be a problem.

The following is an overview of profiles of professional difficulties among the survey population:

- Rabbis were more likely than the respondent group as a whole to say that their working hours are too long, that they often feel frustrated with officers or board members, that they have difficulties balancing their responsibilities to job and home, and that they find salary negotiations frustrating or upsetting. They were discouraged by assimilation in American Jewish life.

- Congregational and educational administrators were troubled by long working hours and levels of assimilation in American Jewish life.

- Teachers were the group most profoundly disturbed by levels of assimilation in American Jewish life.

- Social workers were discouraged by antisemitism in the non-Jewish community. They also had a much higher than average incidence of feeling that their salaries are not adequate to their needs or appropriate for their work.

- Communal administrators were the group most likely to say they suffered from feelings of professional fatigue and job "burn-out."

- Fund-raisers were more likely than average to say their salaries are not adequate to their needs or appropriate for their work, and that they found salary negotiations frustrating or upsetting. They were universally troubled by levels of assimilation in American Jewish life.

- Federation workers who are neither executives nor fund-raisers were the group most likely to find salary negotiations frustrating or upsetting. They were also the most likely to report conflict with colleagues.

- College teachers were among the least likely to say they are discouraged by levels of antisemitism in the gentile community. In general, they exhibited about average or somewhat below average levels of frustration in most categories.

Gendered Voices Make a Difference

When gender as well as profession is considered, striking differences between male and female professionals are revealed. For example, with only two exceptions, women were overwhelmingly more likely to state that they had been subjected to gender discrimination. 58% of female rabbis spoke of gender discrimination, compared to only 6% of male rabbis. Similar disparities among professionals complaining of gender discrimination were seen among congregational and educational administrators (43% of women, 6% of men); communal administrators (43% of women, 0% of men); teachers (43% of women, 0% of men); college teachers (42% of women, 0% of men); and federation workers (100% of women, 0% of men). Among social workers, a field dominated by women, at least numerically, 80% of men felt they had suffered gender discrimination, compared to 23% of women. One-third each of male and female fund-raisers felt they had been subjected to gender discrimination. Virtually all of the female federation workers (not fundraisers or executives) reported that they had been subjected to gender discrimination, that they received inadequate pay, and that they found salary negotiations upsetting.

Among most groups, women were far less likely to report feelings of friction and/or frustration with clients, congregants, students, and board members. Only among the fund-raisers were women more likely than men to say they found conflict with others difficult to manage.

Women as a group were somewhat more likely than men to report that their salaries are not adequate for their needs or appropriate for their work. Among teachers and federation workers, the disparities between female and male evaluations of salary satisfaction were the most striking. Only further research can determine how closely these perceptions match actual salary disparities.

Some of the gender differences seemed counter-intuitive. For example, our respondent population includes more female than male drop-outs (in addition to more female than male respondents in general). Nevertheless, women as a group were somewhat less likely than men to report feelings of job frustration or burn-out, except in the cases of fund-raisers and federation workers.

Difficulties in juggling job and home responsibilities were reported by both male and female respondents. Among some groups, men reported more difficulties (rabbis, educational and congregational administrators, college teachers, and federation workers); among other groups, women reported more difficulties in juggling (communal administrators, teachers, and fund-raisers). These differences are probably due to the confluence of a number of factors: family size, household income and household help, for example, surely come into play.

Additional Sources of Difficulty

Responses to the open-ended question, "What contributes most to your feelings of job frustration or burn-out?" indicated that much is troubling today's Jewish communal professionals. Often they are expected to be fund-raisers as well as educators, spiritual leaders, or administrators. Many described situations in which they struggle with overwhelming amounts of work, in which there are few recognized personal boundaries, in which they feel called upon to meet the needs of many and at all times, and in which they simultaneously feel isolated and lacking in appreciation and support.

In addition, in most fields except for the rabbinate and college teaching, standards of professionalism either have not been clearly established or are not universally honored by institutions, and persons who have not received professional training sometimes receive desirable jobs and promotions. Salaries sometimes seem inappropriately low, and professionals must struggle to put together several jobs to make a living.

As a backdrop for these struggles, and as an additional source of embitterment, the community at large seems indifferent to the professional's goals for Jewish continuity. Money and communal support were reported as being inadequate to accomplish what should be mutual goals. The sources of discouragement frequently seem greater than the sum of their parts. Professionals complained that the conditions under which they worked were inappropriate, and also that the community did not share and support their goals. These two types of complaints are often deeply linked in their own minds.

Respondents reported that they were frustrated by the following groups of issues:

- Spending too much time on fund-raising, business administration, or other fiscal matters.
- Unprofessional working conditions; unable to find job appropriate to training, or to find enough hours to make it into a real profession; lack of job stability; lack of personal privacy.
- Lack of appreciation by parental/client group, or by board (lay leaders); inadequate communal, congregational, or parental support.
- Lack of appreciation by superiors (professional).
- Salary too low.
- Too hard to juggle work and family responsibilities.
- Not enough money available for programming to accomplish professional goals.

- Too many work hours demanded and/or no boundaries on time, expected to work all hours of day and night, all days of week.

- Congregants/students/clients/community expects professional to meet all their needs, to be all things to all people. Unrealistic expectations.

- Feelings of personal isolation.

- Jewish community not really interested in Judaism or Jewish values; struggling against insurmountable odds.

Would You Advise a Younger Colleague to Enter Your Field?

Asking a professional whether he or she would advise a younger person to enter the field provides us with some critical insights into the professional's true feelings about the field and its future. In some ways, individuals may be more willing to confront negative feelings when they answer about someone else's future than when they are evaluating their own choices. Responses to this question, both positive and negative, focused both on Jewish leadership as a calling and as a difficult profession.

YES, BECAUSE:

- "You can make a difference to other people. You can change the lives of students/congregants/clients."

- "My profession brings meaning to my own life. It is personally fulfilling. It puts my whole life into a Jewish context."

- "My work gives me a sense of personal spirituality."

- "I am building the Jewish community here and in Israel."

- "Jewish professionals often have flexible hours."

NO, BECAUSE:

- "You have to survive in an unsupported, lonely position."

- "There is little job security."

- "The pay is low."

- "The professional status is low."

- "The skills you gain as a Jewish educator are not transferable to another field. Once you enter this field you are really stuck, unless you invest the time and money to train to be something else."

Table 13
Sources of Job Dissatisfaction
Percentages of All Respondents

	Does not apply	Not true	True	Somewhat true
My working hours are too long.	4%	37%	24%	35%
My work allows me no personal privacy.	3	55	31	10
I often feel friction with congregants/clients/students.	6	61	29	4
I often feel frustrated with officers or board members.	10	38	37	15
I find it difficult to manage conflict with others.	3	62	32	3
I often feel friction with colleagues.	6	67	23	4
I am discouraged by levels of assimilation in American Jewish life.	6	15	34	45
I am discouraged by levels of antisemitism in the gentile community.	7	40	35	18
I often have feelings of professional fatigue or "burn-out."	3	38	41	19
I am subjected to gender discrimination.	8	65	19	8
I find it difficult to balance my responsibilities to my family and to my job.	5	29	37	29
My salary is not adequate to my needs or appropriate for my work.	4	35	38	23
I find salary negotiations frustrating or upsetting.	12	29	21	38

Professional Experiences of Respondents

Professional Training and Current Employment

One of the most basic questions explored in this survey revolved around the professional experiences of persons who had trained in the rabbinate, Jewish education and Jewish communal service. The respondents in this study included 61 men and 71 women who had completed their professional training about 10 years before the survey, and 56 men 90 women who had completed their professional training about four years before the survey.

The work histories of these respondents varied widely by chosen profession and by gender. For example, the vast majority of the 64 male respondents who had studied in rabbinical seminaries were currently employed as congregational or institutional rabbis (87%), while only two-thirds of the 33 female respondents who had studied in rabbinical seminaries were so employed (66%). The remaining women who had studied in rabbinical seminaries were employed as college teachers (14%), congregational or educational administrators (9%), teachers in grades nursery through 12 (7%), or working in federations or Jewish communal administration (4%).

Table 14
Current Positions and Professional Training
Percentages by Training, Current Position and Gender

Trained in a professional school for:												
Currently working as:	**Rabbis**		**Jewish Comm. Service**		**Social Work**		**Judaic Studies**		**Graduate School**		**n**	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**
Rabbi of congregation	87	66	5	0	6	4	20	10	0	0	64	33
Congregational or educational administrator	4	9	25	12	0	4	60	50	0	0	12	21
Social Worker	0	0	0	10	29	45	0	0	0	17	5	26
Communal Administrator	0	2	35	24	24	20	0	20	33	33	13	26
Fundraiser	0	0	15	0	6	4	0	0	0	17	4	3
Federation worker (not administrator or fundraiser)	1	2	0	2	29	4	0	0	0	0	6	4
Teacher (nursery-12)	1	7	0	12	0	4	20	10	33	17	3	14
College teacher	3	14	10	7	0	0	0	5	0	17	4	12
Left Jewish professional work	3	0	10	31	0	13	0	5	33	0	5	22
Political organizer	0	0	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99	0	117	163

Among the 20 male and 42 female respondents who had studied in programs specifically devoted to Jewish communal service, women were three times as likely as men to have left the field altogether. Indeed, more women who trained in Jewish communal service had left the field (31%) than were employed in any one area of Jewish professional life, as seen in the following percentages of current employment among this group of women: Jewish communal administration, 24%; congregational or educational administration, 12%; teachers grades nursery through 12, 12%; social workers, 10%; college teachers, 7%; federation workers, 2%; and political organizations, 2%. In contrast, men who had trained in Jewish communal service were almost twice as likely as women to be employed in administrative positions (60%, compared to 36%); 15% of these men worked as fund-raisers, and 10% as college teachers. Only 10% of men had left the field.

Table 15
Persons Who Have Left Field
Percentages by Training and Gender

Rabbinical School	male	3
	female	0
Jewish Communal Service	male	10
	female	31
Social Work	male	0
	female	13
Hebraic Studies	male	0
	female	5
Graduate School	male	33
	female	5
Other Type of Study	male	0
	female	5
Total	male	5
	female	22

The work histories of the 17 men and the 47 women who had attended schools of social work were similarly diverse. Women were more likely than men to be employed as non-administrative

social workers (45%, compared to 29%); men were far more likely (29%) than women (4%) to have found employment in federations. While none of the male respondents who attended social work school had left the Jewish professional world, 13% of women with similar training no longer had employment in Jewish fields.

Men and women who attended Jewish educators' programs or Hebrew teachers' seminaries differed less from each other than did members of other professions, although there were some differences. By far the largest group of both men (60%) and women (50%) were employed as educational or congregational administrators. Men were twice as likely (40%) as women (20%) to serve as rabbis or as teachers in grades nursery school through 12; none of the men but 20% of the women served in Jewish communal administrative capacities.

Table 16
Current Employment Settings
Frequencies by Type of Employment

Congregational settings	95
Federations	34
Hospitals	25
Jewish supplementary schools	20
Other Jewish organizations	19
Other non-sectarian settings	15
Jewish community centers	11
Colleges or universities	11
Non-sectarian non-profit organizations	10
Hillel Foundations	10
Jewish day schools	7
Jewish family & children's organization	6
Jewish camps	4
Don't know, refused to answer	4
Unemployed	3
Jewish advocacy organizations	3
Zionist organizations	1

Women were thus more likely in general to perceive early work experiences as being nurturing. Indeed, half of the women but only one-third of the men remembered their first work experience as being very nurturing. Nevertheless, women are more likely to eventually leave the field. However, as the next section demonstrates, respondents reported that it is low salaries and perceptions of lack of professional opportunities which drives both women and men out of their chosen fields, rather than yearning for more nurturing environments.

Leaving the Field

About 10% of respondents, including 22 women and 5 men, were no longer employed in Jewish professional fields. Females trained as communal workers (13 women) and social workers (6 women) were by far the group most likely among respondents not to currently be employed in the Jewish world. For both men and women, the decade between ages 25 and 34 was the period during which they made their career change, although this is not surprising in this primarily young adult group. The reasons most often cited for leaving the field were inadequate salaries and the lack of opportunities for professional growth and promotions, and the lack of professional mobility.

Respondents were allowed to cite several reasons for leaving the field. Other reasons cited by respondents for leaving Jewish professional fields included the following general categories.

- Losing a position; being "laid off."
- Family reasons (spouse wanted to move, etc.)
- Jewish community too small or unappealing.
- Too few educational opportunities for children.
- General dissatisfaction.
- Wanted to switch fields.
- Interpersonal conflict; "politics" of the job.
- Low status of job.
- More Jewish educational and social opportunities for children.
- Birth of child(ren).
- Spouse wanted respondent to do something with more "normal" hours and better pay.

- Move to a bigger Jewish community.
- Too much interpersonal conflict in field.

When we compare reasons for job dissatisfaction with reasons for leaving the field, very interesting implications emerge. While the perception that one is isolated or under- appreciated often reduces a sense of well-being and decreased job satisfaction, the forces which actually drive a person out of the Jewish professional world seem to be far more specific and concrete. Thus, the sense that the community does not share the professionals' sense of Jewish commitment seemed to cause respondents to feel depressed or "burnt out," but it was lack of opportunities for professional advancement which was most often cited as the actual reason for leaving Jewish professional fields.

An In-Depth Look at Early Work Experience

Survey research is an excellent technique for discovering the large picture, the outlines of the experiences of large groups of people. However, once those outlines are ascertained, qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews with targeted populations is one of the most effective ways to explore the details and ramifications of particular experiences.

With this in mind, the Wexner Foundation commissioned a supplementary research project, in which 16 persons were interviewed by telephone in a focused discussion of their early work experiences. Persons interviewed included ten persons who had left Jewish professional work and six persons who had experienced unusual success in their early years of Jewish professional work. Some of the most salient outcomes of these interviews are included here, to help elucidate the results of the larger survey.

Leaving a Chosen Field

Four basic areas of discomfort were identified by the persons who had left Jewish professional life. The first and most universal area of dissatisfaction was associated with professional rewards: Jewish professional work was depicted by informants as providing relatively low salaries, low status, and poor working conditions. A man trained in social work but now working for a non-sectarian non-profit agency, for example, said that Jewish agencies try to take advantage of the idealism of Jewish professionals:

> *Agency social workers get very mediocre pay for long hours. The underlying assumption is that you're working for your people, it's a kind of tzedakah. They will always have a high turnover and low quality because of issues of retraining new personnel. If there were decent paying jobs--I would take a small salary cut to work with a Jewish population--but it has to be a living wage.*

In addition he noted, there are many Jewish agencies who no longer serve a primarily Jewish population, thus removing one of the motivations for professionals to put up with depressing working conditions.

Lack of privacy, and few boundaries between professional and personal space and time, was mentioned by many. Ironically, one man who is now a consultant in investment management said that the lack of privacy was often the most severe when working with dedicated and positive lay leaders:

> *It's hard to separate professional from private and social life. That's one of the reasons I left the field. If a volunteer is having a positive experience and they are concerned and they care, they talk to you about community work all the time. They don't give you any distance. You are on all the time, 24 hours a day.*

Moreover, he added, not every lay leader is positive and working for the good of the community, and the personal agendas of "difficult" people enter the working environment:

> *Delineation between the roles of the professional and the volunteer are not clear or defined in Jewish communal service work. You try to set the tone and define differences. Some people have trouble accepting the delineation. Some people are just delightful. Some have their own agendas, and have a difficult time with response to their role, which they see as much broader.*

The rabbinate, which generally offers higher status and financial rewards, was also perceived as intruding on personal time, privacy, and family life. As one ex-congregational rabbi put it: "I was out of the house six or seven nights a week and all weekend. While you try to organize family life for others your own family life suffers. My son's first words were, 'Bye, Abba.'"

One aspect of working conditions which upset many was the perception that lay leaders are regarded as smart and successful and the true leaders, while Jewish professional staff are regarded as the not-very-intelligent gofers who implement what the lay leaders plan. Several of the informants spoke strongly to this point. One man commented:

> *Professional staff are secretaries, support staff to lay people. To call them professionals is a misnomer. Very strong component of lay person being very successful in their own business, competent, giving a lot of money. I guess it's okay if you're working with a very good lay person. But there is no sense of professional competence. They disregard any advice from the professional. That was disappointing and discouraging. Lay people look at professionals as incompetent and professionals look at themselves the same way. Can this be improved? If smarter professionals were recruited and their professional expertise were respected within the culture of the federation that would help a lot. Those who remain in these jobs are satisfied with being gofers. Federation would have to have more confidence in their people and project that confidence.*

Several persons noted that the bottom-line, fundraising mentality, and the brutal hours and depressed salaries and status of all but the most senior professionals in the Jewish communal world creates an environment which is destructive to good working relationships. Their language in describing these conditions was often very strong:

> *People bring all of their emotional, personality, and identity issues around Judaism to Jewish organizational life. The professional is supposed to manipulate all of this without really addressing it in order to keep the organization going and make money. You are supposed to control how people are perceiving things. I saw good, dedicated workers get nailed by their communities. If the ground rules are set up so people don't deal with each other with mutual respect, conflict is inevitable. The professional emphasis on manipulation sets up a destructive chain reaction.*

> *Those of us who chose to be in this field wouldn't be doing it if we didn't care about making the community a better place. It won't get better until there is some realistic expectation around what we owe to the workplace. A 60 to 80 hour week cannot be sustained. I looked at the people in leadership and said, 'I don't want to be that. I want a life.' It makes people greedy. It makes relationships adversarial. It breeds a lack of respect between people.*

Rabbis also noted that the egalitarian ethos prevalent in the United States diminished their impact on congregational decisions:

> *An uncanny thing happens to professionals when they go to a synagogue meeting or board meeting. All of the business acumen and organizational skills are left outside the door. I didn't feel that in the board meetings that my voice had any more effect than anybody else's--sometimes less. This group had an attitude that one of the driving forces was that we were not going to be like our parents' congregation. Clearly the dues thing was part of it. I was interested in empowering the congregation. I would defer to them--mostly a group of lawyers--on some things. But I was the one Jewish professional in the group--not religious authority--who knew about congregational life--but they didn't seem to think I had any special authority about that either. On one hand, I wasn't too concerned about putting the rabbi on a pedestal, but I would have liked a slight elevation.*

The second area of dissatisfaction had to do with family issues: Jewish agencies were described as demanding long hours, including evenings and weekends. Moreover, upward career progress was predicated on frequent moves, which were disruptive to family life.

Many commented that Jewish agencies often did not provide adequate arrangements for maternity or parental leave, and they were slow to provide flexible hours for women during the early parenting years. One woman who currently works part time doing social work for a medical center said that the very notion of what constitutes part time work differs from Jewish

agencies to the outside world. In Jewish agencies, she said, 30 hours--a huge load for a new mother--is considered part-time work, whereas much smaller time commitments are available elsewhere. She continued her comparison of the Jewish world with the non-sectarian non-profit world, and noted:

> *Many large corporations, such as Johnson & Johnson, for example, have wonderful benefits for working mothers, such as flex time for working parents. Even small Jewish family agencies need to look at this. We need family medical leave. People will be more likely to work for agencies and they will be more productive. Working mothers need flexibility so they can do their job effectively and be good mothers.*

The third area of dissatisfaction centered around a perceived lack of Jewishness, Jewish content, or Jewish idealism in Jewish agencies and in the federation world. Several people who trained in programs which were primarily oriented to social workers commented that they found the paucity of Judaic studies "frustrating." They noted that the lack of emphasis on "Judaism" carried over into and in fact was much more obvious in the worlds of federations and Jewish agencies. One woman who had left for family reasons derided associational identification:

> *... in Jewish community centers and federations I've been frustrated by ignorance of Judaism and lack of emphasis on it. The Judaism they teach us is the Judaism of affiliation. The Jewish basketball approach. Secular activities with Jews together.*

A man who has established a successful career in business said his Jewishly intense reasons for entering the field were not matched by many of the professionals he encountered:

> *Israel, Hebrew, Jewish history, culture and philosophy were my motivations for going into this work--but most of my colleagues didn't know anything about this. I don't understand what bought them into it. Most of them didn't know Hebrew, had never been to Israel. We wanted to have a Friday Torah discussion group--people thought I was crazy. If not for these things I would never have considered going into Jewish communal service.*

Adding that Jewish depth is a highly desirable quality in Jewish professionals, and that most training programs do not focus on this specific issue, he suggested, "It's better to get people who have a good background even before they start training. Most programs are so steered toward group work and social work that they really don't get a deep grounding in Judaism."

A fourth issue for many was the experience of faulty interpersonal relationships with mentors, other professionals, or lay leaders, ranging from the merely dissatisfying to the grossly dysfunctional or abusive.

> *A lot of the truth is denied. The degree of dysfunction in the community is huge. When I went to a summer camp the rabbi sexually harassed me. He was very vulgar. My boss*

was relentlessly verbally abusive, always swearing at me on the phone. I think he thought that if he was abusive he would get more out of me, but I was already giving as much as I could.

These men were supposed to be my mentors.

Less disturbing, but still discouraging enough to drive some from their chosen field, were arrogant, careless or competitive superiors:

My first job was as one of two assistants in a large factory congregation, a Reform congregation with 1600 households. I felt like I was stuck in a time warp. The big worship service was on Sunday morning with the old, classical Reform prayer book. I wasn't a good match to the needs of this congregation. The biggest problem was inflexibility. The Rabbi liked things the way they were. It was good enough 30 years ago so it's good enough now. In contrast, around the country other congregations were moving toward more intimate, less formal forms of worship, but this congregation still had large formal services and a choir. The rabbi disliked but 'put up with' Bar and Bat Mitzvah services, but he didn't allow the children's family on the Bimah. He made it clear that children under 14 weren't welcome. The other assistant rabbi and I organized a once a month Friday evening service. It was a big success, and drew many of the more Jewishly committed, younger congregants. When he saw it was a success, the senior rabbi joined us, but didn't attend until it was well under way.

Early Success Stories

While some Jewish professionals found their early years fraught with disappointment, others enjoyed early and repeated satisfaction and success in the Jewish professional world. The differences between these two groups seemed to stem from several sources. First, as the survey data suggested, persons who succeeded easily and early had often been "groomed" for Jewish professional life. They had grown up in "the system"--their parents had been Jewish professionals, or active Jewish lay leaders, or they themselves had been extremely active in synagogue movement camps and youth groups--and they knew what to expect. The complexities of working with lay leaders and other professionals were not a surprise to them, because they had often been part of their earlier personal and professional lives.

Second, the group which did very well often had excellent early mentoring experiences. Some of these experiences took place within the rubric of school and training programs. Those professionals who trained in schools which had internship programs, for example, often had very positive comments about their mentors and professional supervisors as well as their teachers. As one woman recalled:

> *The best mentoring experience I had was in the second year of my training program. My internship program involved my working with the program director at a synagogue. The professional in that position was social worker by training, and she had very good social work skills. I not only had a wonderful supervisory experience, I learned a lot about how to supervise people by working in that program and with that woman.*

Others had positive mentoring experiences on the job, although these were seldom formal mentoring relationships. One synagogue educational programmer remarked that her senior rabbi treats her as a colleague and is most supportive, treating her as part of a professional team. She noted, in contrast, that many of her classmates have had very different types of experiences, in which they are treated as subordinates, in a very disrespectful and demoralizing manner.

One important differentiating factor was a certain level of savvy in selecting positions. The happy and successful group of professionals often were "very picky" about selecting their jobs. They investigated the situations in which they would work, and tried to find working environments which they felt suited them as individuals. They looked for positions with supportive, well-educated, kindly superiors and colleagues, and for professional situations in which there was room for professional growth and development. They seemed to be more aware than most that disastrous positions could be destructive to them as individuals, and they took steps to avoid working in such positions.

A second distinctive characteristic of the successful group was a basically upbeat attitude toward new challenges. When faced with a gap in their working environment, they were likely to take charge and change the environment. As one Jewish educator commented on his deliberate creation of a multifaceted sense of community:

> *One of the things I realized was that in order to be a good leader I needed allies. I created a community advisory board to create allies. One of the problems with Jewish educators is that they have a gallows humor. Many of them see students and parents not as their allies but in opposition to them somehow. They suffer from burnout, they feel a lack of appreciation, but many of them bring it on themselves through lack of imagination. Or some people are just pessimistic; they have low self-esteem.*
>
> *A lot of Jewish educators feel a lack of empowerment. They think they have boards that don't respect them as educators. But also they themselves have little respect for their profession and what they do. I have created a community for myself where there wasn't one before. I empower the lay leaders. I also empower the students and the parents. I put an easel in the hallway where people can see their name, and feel that this is their school. Assemblies have symbolic value and can help to build community. Also I serve pizza on Wednesday nights as part of the high school program. It makes students gather here, creates sense of community. Really exciting. I've been lucky that I can shape these communities.*

Suggestions for Improving Training Programs

Interestingly, both the professionals who have been immensely successful in their early careers in Jewish professional fields and those who left the Jewish fields for which they had trained were almost unanimous in praise of their training programs. They had some important suggestions to make, but most felt that their schooling experiences had been positive and helpful.

The suggestions which were made in the course of the in-depth interviews fit very well within the rubric formed by the survey research. As in the survey research, many talked about more Judaica programming. They wanted these additional Jewish courses to include an interpretive framework to help them synthesize information, not just to give them particular skills.

Social work skills were mentioned often by both interview groups. Jewish educators who succeeded often said that early social work training had been instrumental. Practical skills, as well as Judaic grounding, were considered critical.

Both groups stressed the importance for training programs to recognize that school was often "an ivory tower." They felt that professionals would fare much better in the outside world if they had a better idea of what work in the outside world would involve. While schools often set great store at nurturing future professionals, those professionals emerged into a world where a cold, bottom-line mentality frequently prevailed. Work environments seldom aim to replicate the paternalistic model of many schools. Awareness of these discrepancies made young professionals much more savvy about selecting the first jobs which often set the tone for and affected the longevity of their careers in the Jewish professional world.

The Implications of Jewish Professional "Drop-Out"

As the American Jewish community works its way through the 1990s, both formal research and anecdotal evidence makes it more and more clear that professional excellence is critical to Jewish continuity. For the masses of American Jews, Jewish professionals are the contact point connecting them to Jewish peoplehood and the Jewish heritage. In many communities, there simply are not enough well-trained Jewish professionals available to meet communal needs.

Large amounts of money and effort are devoted to creating and maintaining training programs for Jewish professionals. But some of these professionals, after their training programs are completed, find that inadequate salaries, low communal status, unrealistic professional expectations, unpleasant interpersonal experiences, lack of a supportive or family-friendly environment, or other factors decrease their desire to remain in the fields for which they have trained. They live in an open society, in which they may pursue careers in any sphere they choose. For the community, however, the departure of large numbers of Jewish professionals amounts to a communal tragedy. For this reason, as well as for the simple factor of the waste of educational investment, the problem of Jewish professional "drop-out" is a broad one, affecting far more than the individuals involved.

Formative Experiences of Jewish Professionals

Among the suggestive outcomes which emerged from the Wexner Foundation studies of Wexner Fellowship applicants were patterns of career decision. Persons who choose to devote their professional lives to the Jewish community, if one is to judge by applicants to the Wexner Fellowship program, tend to have one of two basic formative experiences: either one is "groomed" for Jewish leadership by many and varied early experiences in the Jewish world, or one "blooms" in young adulthood as the result of some transforming experience.

We were interested to see whether these two patterns would hold true as well for the cross section of Jewish professionals in our survey. We were also intrigued by the possibility that some pattern of formative experience might be associated with higher rates of retention in Jewish professional life.

An exploration of experiences which led our 280 respondents to become Jewish professionals does in fact reveal a significant pattern. Respondents who are not currently employed in the Jewish professional world are much less likely to have had intensive, multifaceted early participation in Jewish life. They are much less likely than other respondents to have gone to Jewish camps, to have taught at a young age in Jewish schools or youth groups, to have taken Judaica courses as undergraduates, or to have a close relative who works as a Jewish professional.

These data suggest that those who come to Jewish professional life through a personal, transforming experience, rather than being groomed for Jewish professional life through an immersion in Jewish environments and a variety of early experiences, may in fact have shallower roots for their Jewish professional commitments. When dissatisfactions strike, those with deeper roots may choose to change situations within the Jewish professional world, rather than to leave the field altogether. For those whose interest in the field is of more recent origin, however, it appears that it is more feasible to find another venue for their professional aspirations.

Thus, looking at the 22 female respondents who are not currently working as Jewish professionals and comparing their responses with those of all 163 women in the survey, we find that only 55% of women who have left the field took undergraduate Judaica courses, compared to 68% of all women; 46% of them participated early in Jewish educational work, compared with 64% of all women; and only 14% of them had a close personal relative who worked as a Jewish professional, compared to 31% of all women. Jewish camping experiences did not differ much between women who stayed in and those who left the field.

It should be noted that these patterns to some extent reflect professional differences. For example, persons who have gone into social work or federation work tend to have a lower early Jewish experience profile than persons who have become rabbis or Jewish educators. Nevertheless, the overall pattern does seem to indicate that intensive and varied early

experiences in Jewish life enhance the probability that one will weather professional frustrations in Jewish professionalism without leaving the field. It also suggests that mid-career reinforcement techniques may be especially critical for those in "high-risk" groups.

The denominations of respondents are not significantly related to their likelihood of remaining in or leaving Jewish professional fields. The denominational patterns of respondents who have left the field follows the general patterns of respondents fairly closely.

To attract people to Jewish communal professions, the college years seem to be the key target. For respondents in this survey, the college and graduate school years seemed to be the most critical time for deciding on a career in Jewish communal leadership. More than two-thirds of respondents said that the college or graduate school years were the time period during which they made their basic career choices; another quarter said they made these decisions during childhood or adolescence. Only four percent of respondents decided to go into Jewish communal leadership as a mid-life career change.

When asked, "Looking back over your life, at what point do you think it was clear to you that you would probably work professionally for the Jewish community?" respondents answered as follows:

- early in life, 5%;
- during adolescence, 21%;
- during the college years, 33%;
- during graduate school, 36%;
- later in life, or change of careers, 4%;
- don't know, refused, 3%.

Evaluation and Curriculum Suggestions For Professional Schools

Faced with the challenges of working in the "real world," respondents had strong feelings about subject and activity areas which they said their professional training schools should reinforce. Skills in counseling, teaching, and negotiation were reported by many respondents as not being taught especially well.

When asked to evaluate the extent to which they were taught skills in counseling, for example, 62% of the men and 48% of the women rated their training schools as "fair" or "poor." Similarly, instruction in teaching skills was rated fair or poor by 57% of men and 47% of women. Instruction in negotiation skills was rated fair or poor by 77% of men and 69% of women.

As expected, the evaluation of such skills varied widely by profession. For example, the teaching of counseling skills was rated "good" or "excellent" by 22% of male and 25% of female rabbis,

46% of male and 66% of female educational or congregational administrators, 60% of male and 58% of female social workers, and 46% of male and 39% of female communal agency administrators.

In contrast, the teaching of Jewish history and culture was given relatively high ratings by most groups. Overall, 88% of men and 80% of women found instruction in Jewish history and culture to be good or excellent at their professional training schools.

The great majority of respondents did not indicate specific changes they would like to see in their training institutions. However, among those who did request change, it is perhaps surprising that the desire for more classes in Judaica emerged as a leading request when respondents were asked about a wish list of courses and activities which they would like to see added to the curriculum of their original training schools. When asked directly about formal courses which they would like to see added to their training schools' curricula, 15% mentioned the teaching of pragmatic skills such as social work skills, working with clients in a given field, leaning how to run a meeting or implement programs, and dealing with lay leadership, and 15% asked for additional courses in Judaica.

About one in ten men and women suggested courses dealing with business-oriented or administrative skills, and nearly that many were interested in courses dealing with juggling professional and family responsibilities. Other subject areas were cited substantially less often than these, but they included: pragmatic skills such as how to run a meeting, how to implement programs, and how to deal with lay leadership and clients; Judaica; business-oriented courses; professional administrative skills; the structure of the Jewish community, communal organizations, and Jewish demographics; personal career advancement; internship programs; self-evaluation and self-analysis; gender issues, both in textual study and in the workplace; Hebrew; and public relations, communications, and advocacy.

Respondents were also asked about activities which they would like to see added to professional training programs. The most frequently cited activity was the establishing of mentoring relationships within the field as part of the training program, so that while still in school participants could work together with established professionals, gaining a sense of professional realities and establishing a professional network. Other areas in which they expressed a desire for support included: more hands-on, direct job-related experience working with clients; establishing mentoring relationships within the field; working directly with other professionals as part of training program; training in computer skills; programs in the cultural arts; fund-raising skills; career-track skills such as job interviewing, and salary negotiation; creating workshops or ongoing programming for post-graduate education; creating and maintaining social networks for students and alumni; psychological counseling for all students; and retreats or other bonding activities for students.

Conclusion: Preparing for Paradox

Jewish professionals differ in many ways from the "average" American Jew of the same age, as that typical Jew is profiled in the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.[6] As this report has demonstrated, Jewish professionals are more likely to have participated in Jewish youth groups and camps, and to have visited Israel at least once before they reach adulthood.

In a very real sense, certain types of Jewish professionals share a subculture with each other which diverges significantly from the congregants, students, and clients they serve. These disparities between professionals and their constituencies can contribute to conflict in enabling goals and establishing programs. In addition, Jewish professionals differ significantly from each other in terms of the influences which have shaped them and their current lifestyles. These differences can contribute to conflict *between* professional groups, as well as between professionals and lay persons.

It is not possible to erase the differences between Jewish professionals and their client population. Indeed, on some level many Jewish professionals seemed destined to continue to represent vicarious Judaism to their constituencies. However, it is both possible and highly desirable to prepare young Jewish professionals to deal with the paradoxes which define Jewish life in the United States. When respondents were asked for suggestions for courses and/or activities to be added to the programs which trained them, a substantial proportion asked for courses and/or activities which would give professionals in training a more realistic sense of their client group and of the activities which would be required of them.

Diminishing the gaps in knowledge between differing groups of Jewish professions is another matter. Interest in additional courses in pragmatic skills and Judaica crossed occupational lines. Many Jewish communal workers asked for courses which would increase their knowledge of Jewish history, culture, and texts; many rabbis asked for courses which would enhance their skills in counseling and other aspects of social work. While the demands of professional expertise do not leave much free time in any curriculum, Jewish professionals from every type of training program indicated that their professional performance would be improved with more sharing of skills.

Real concerns exist around issues of professional satisfaction and retention. For women, some of these concerns center around issues of "family friendliness" in the Jewish professional world. Female Jewish professionals are building their careers during the years which are the biologically optimal time for family formation as well. In some professions, such as the rabbinate, male colleagues are dramatically more likely to have children during the first decade

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[6] Barry Kosmin, et al. *Highlights of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey*; Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," in *American Jewish Year Book, 1992* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1992), pp. 77-173.

of professional life than are women. Additional targeted research should determine whether decisions not to have children or to postpone childbearing are perceived by women as being completely voluntary, or whether they are being made in the face of anti-child career pressures.

Another area of concern centers around professional support systems in the early years of career development. Professionals in some fields asked for in-school internships or mentoring networks; others asked for mentoring during the first few years in the field.

The idealism of large proportions of Jewish communal professionals was clearly reflected in both the survey and the interview data. Professionals in all three basic Jewish fields feel high levels of job satisfaction when they can establish warm interpersonal relationships with their service group, when they feel they are working for the strengthening of Jewish life in the United States, and when they have a strong sense of personal fulfillment. They were most discouraged in their work by the seemingly sweeping levels of assimilation in American Jewish life and by perceptions of apathy or hostility toward their goals. They were most likely to leave their chosen fields when they felt they were underpaid, overworked, and not likely to fulfill their personal and professional potential.

Policy Recommendations

The data point toward four major areas of policy recommendations:

- A great gap exits between the ideals and goals of carefully trained Jewish professionals and those of many of the persons they work with and whom they serve. Often, this gap comes as a complete surprise, as they leave the nurturing environments of their training schools and enter the "real world" of work. Preparing students for the realities of the work world through courses, mentoring networks, internships, and other practical, hands-on experiences would decrease the shock and professional disruption of this change. It would also be useful for the training school to try to bring about some standardization in the treatment of employees (as some training schools already do, to good effect).

- Increased course offerings in both Judaica and practical skills were requested by professionals surveyed. They indicated that they would function more effectively if they were offered enrichment of programs and cross-professional skill sharing through Judaic-intensive courses and practical skills courses, for rabbinic and Jewish education candidates and for persons in Jewish communal service.

- Men and women both suffered, although in different ways and with somewhat different results, from work environments which do not encourage or enhance family. The Jewish professional world, which give lip service to valuing to the continuity of Jewish family life, must adapt to changing times and promote family enhancement policies, in order to

ensure pro-family work conditions for professionals who wish to begin and to raise families while they advance their careers.

- Networking at every stage of professional careers emerged as an important technique for enhancing career satisfaction. There is a clear need for professional support programs, including mentoring, support networks, and mid-career reinforcement for professionals at periodic intervals during career development.

Appendix A
Survey Instrument

Survey Instrument:

- Jewish communal service
- Rabbis
- Jewish educators

Respondent ID Number / / / / / / / / / /

I'd like to start by reminding you that this questionnaire will not have your name attached to it, and all answers will be anonymous and confidential.

First, for statistical purposes, a few basic questions:

1. How old are you now? / / /

2. Sex: (1) male (2) female

3. What professional position do you currently hold?

4. What is your current marital status? (1) married (2) single-never married (3) divorced

5. What is the religion of your current spouse? (1) Born Jew (2) Convert (3) other religion (4) no religion

6. How many children do you have? (0) none (1) one (2) two (3) three (4) four

7. (If yes), how old are they?

   child 1 2 3 4 age

8. Would you call the size of your current Jewish community: (1) very large (2) medium size, or (3) small?

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about your Jewish education and other Jewish connections before your undergraduate years. These questions are about your formal and informal Jewish educational experiences before you entered college.

9. What type of Jewish school did you attend? (check all that apply): (1) Sunday school only (2) afternoon supplementary (3) day school (4) tutor

10. Number of years attended / / /

11. What grade were you in when you began your formal Jewish schooling? / / /

12. What grade were you in when you stopped taking formal Jewish classes? / / /

13. Did you belong to any Jewish youth groups? (1) yes (2) no

14. Which groups? (1) USY (2) NFTY (3) NCSY (4) YOUNG JUDAEA (5) other

15. For how many years? / / /

16. Did you attend any Jewish summer camps? (1) yes (2) no

17. Which camps? Name of camps, age or grade when attended.

18. Have you ever taken any trip(s) to Israel? (1) yes (2) no

19. How many trips have you made to Israel? (1) one (2) two (3) three (4) four or more

20. How old were you the first time you went to Israel? / / /

21. Was that trip best categorized as (only one category): (1) family trip (2) an organized tour (3) a camping program (4) an independent vacation or trip with friends (5) a study program (6) a Kibbutz experience (7) other (specify)

22. How many weeks or months was that trip? / / / weeks / / / months

23. Have you ever spent a year or more in Israel? (1) yes (2) no

24. Did you, at any time, regularly attend a junior congregation? (1) yes (2) no

Now I'd like to ask you about your undergraduate (college) experiences.

25. What is the highest degree you received? (1) AA (2) BA or BS (3) MA or MS (4) Ph.D. or other degree?

26. Where did you go to college?_____

I'd like you to think about the most significant Jewish aspects of your college years. As I read the following list, please rate each item I mention as: very significant/significant/somewhat significant/ or not significant to your Jewish experience during your college years:

27. The presence of a large number of Jewish students (1) (2) (3) (4)

28. The Jewish Studies Program (1) (2) (3) (4)

29. Extra-curricular programs such as Hillel programs and services (1) (2) (3) (4)

30. An especially influential individual (1) (2) (3) (4)

31. If yes, was that person a: (1) rabbi____ (2) teacher____ (3) fellow student____ (4) Hillel staff____ (5) other_____

32. Did you take Judaic studies courses as an undergraduate? (1) yes (2) no

33. Which courses? _____

34. Were you involved with Hillel or a Jewish college group like Hillel? (1) yes (2) no

35. Describe your involvement. _____

36. Before your graduate training were you:
(A) involved in Jewish education (1) yes (2) no
If yes, what did you do? _____

(B) involved in Jewish camps? (1) yes (2) no
If yes, which ones? _____

(C) involved in some other sector of the Jewish community?
(1) yes (2) no
If yes, how? _____

37. What were the most significant Jewish experiences you had after graduating college?

38. Who or what was the greatest influence in your decision to go into a training program as a Jewish communal professional? _____

39. Is one of your close relatives a Jewish professional? (1) yes (2) no

40. What position(s) did they hold? _____

41. What type of Jewish professional school did you attend? _____

42. Looking back over your life, at what point do you think it was clear to you that you would probably work professionally for the Jewish community? Was it during your childhood, during your teen years, during your undergraduate years, or some time after college?

I'd like to ask you some general questions about yourself and your background.

43. How old were you when you began your graduate training? / / /

44. With which branch of Judaism do you consider yourself identified?

45. With which branch of Judaism did your parents consider themselves identified?

Orthodox	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
Conservative	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
Reform	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
Reconstructionist	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
none	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
other	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)
don't know	self(1)	mother(2)	father(3)

Now I'm going to ask you about ritual observances in your current household. Please answer yes (1) or no (2), indicating which observances you usually or always do:

46. Shabbat candles (1) (2)

47. No money on Shabbat (1) (2)
48. Fast Yom Kippur (1) (2)
49. Hanukkah candles (1) (2)
50. Separate milk and meat dishes (1) (2)
51. Eat only Kosher meat outside of home (1) (2)

Have special observances for:
52. Purim (1) (2)
53. Succoth (1) (2)
54. Yom ha'Atzmaut (1) (2)

55. Do you read Jewish newspapers or magazines? (1) yes (2) no

56. Do you attend Jewish worship services: (1) never (2) a few times a year (3) at least once a month (4) every week (5) daily

57. What type of Jewish education do (did) your children receive(d)? (1) Sunday school only (2) afternoon supplementary (3) day school (4) tutor

58. Would you describe the position of Israel to your sense of Jewish identity as: (4) very central (3) central (2) somewhat important (1) not important

I'd like to ask you some questions now which focus directly on your current professional life.

59. When did you finish your graduate training? / / / /

60. How would you describe the type of institution where you are employed? _____

61. How long have you worked at your present position? / / years or since 19 / /

62. How long were you at your previous position? / / / years.

63. How many jobs have you held since your finishing professional training? _____

64. What has been your primary reason for changing jobs? _____

65. Please indicate your chosen professional career: (Check one only)
(1) Jewish educator (4) Cantor (2) Jewish communal service professional (3) Jewish studies professor (5) Rabbi

66. Are you still working as a Jewish leader, educator, or Jewish communal professional of some type?
(1) yes (2) no

66a. If no, please describe, in your own words, your current job responsibilities. _____

67. During the first 2-3 years of your employment in your field, did your job environment seem very, somewhat, or not at all nurturing, encouraging, and supportive? (1) not at all (2) somewhat (3) very

67a. Did it involve someone who supervised or mentored your work and career progress? Would you rate the helpfulness of that mentoring or supervisory relationship? (4) very helpful (3) somewhat helpful (2) not helpful (1) harmful.

68. Does your current job involve someone who supervises or mentors your work and your career progress? (1) yes (2) no

69. How would you rate the helpfulness of that mentoring or supervisory relationship? (4) very helpful (3) somewhat helpful (2) not helpful (1) harmful

70. Would you advise a younger person to enter the field in which you are now employed? (1) yes (2) no

71. Why? _____

For persons currently employed in a Jewish professional capacity, (question 66), ask questions 72-79. For others, skip to question 80.

Jewish professionals often have very diverse tasks, which sometimes differ considerably from their job descriptions. As I read to you each of the following activities, please tell me whether you spend a great deal of time(1), some time(2), or no time(3) doing the following:

72. administrative duties (1) (2) (3)
73. teaching (1) (2) (3)
74. counseling (1) (2) (3)
75. social work (1) (2) (3)
76. leading groups (1) (2) (3)
77. speaking or lecturing (1) (2) (3)
78. personal supportive activities for clients/congregants/students such as visiting the sick, comforting the bereaved (1) (2) (3)
79. taking an active role, as a Jewish professional, in the broader U.S. community, such as political activism (1) (2) (3)

Which of the following activities do you engage in for professional or personal enrichment or renewal? Please answer yes(1) or no(2):

80. attend classes (1) (2)
81. read professional journals or books (1) (2)
82. attend conferences (1) (2)
83. visit Israel (1) (2)
84. In your own words, describe extracurricular activities which you feel would enhance your sense of professional satisfaction. _____

I'd like to ask you both about the aspects of your job which you find most satisfying and those which cause you some distress. First, let's talk about those things which give you most job satisfaction. As I read the following items, please tell me whether you feel they are true statements about your current job. Please answer: Mostly true (0), Somewhat true (1), Not true (2), or, if you feel this statement really doesn't apply to you, or matter to you, say it does Not Apply (3):

85. My job provides opportunities for professional growth (0) (1) (2) (3)
86. My colleagues and co-workers are supportive of my professional development (0) (1) (2) (3)
87. I have time for personal scholarship (0) (1) (2) (3)
88. I have warm interpersonal relationships with students, clients, congregants or lay leaders (0) (1) (2) (3)
89. I have opportunities for professional promotions (0) (1) (2) (3)

90. My superiors are supportive to my professional growth (0) (1) (2) 3)
91. I feel I am making a difference in peoples lives (0) (1) (2) (3)
92. I feel I am enhancing Jewish continuity in U.S. (0) (1) (2) (3)
93. I feel I take an active role in the broader U.S. community (0) (1) (2) (3)
94. I am working for the betterment of life in Israel (0) (1) (2) (3)
95. I feel my salary is relatively appropriate to my work and adequate for my needs (0) (1) (2) (3)
96. I have a strong sense of personal fulfillment (0) (1) (2) (3)
97. My job allows me to make appropriate decisions and to appropriately control my work environment (0) (1)(2) (3)
98. Now tell me, in your own words, what has most contributed to your feelings of satisfaction and success?

Let's talk a little about dissatisfactions you may have with your current job. Please answer True (0), Somewhat True (1), Not True (2), or Doesn't Apply (3) about the following statements:

99. My working hours are too long (0) (1) (2) (3)
100. My work allows me no personal privacy (0) (1) (2) (3)
101. I often feel friction with congregants/clients/students (0) (1) (2) (3)
102. I often feel frustrated with officers or board members (0) (1) (2) (3)
103. I find it difficult to manage conflict with others (0) (1) (2) (3)
104. I often feel friction with colleagues (0) (1) (2) (3)
105. I am discouraged by levels of assimilation in American Jewish life (0) (1) (2) (3)
106. I am discouraged by levels of antisemitism in the gentile community (0) (1) (2) (3)
107. I often have feelings of professional fatigue or "burn-out" (0) (1) (2) (3)
108. I am subjected to gender discrimination (0) (1) (2) (3)
109. I find it difficult to balance my responsibilities to my family and to my job (0) (1) (2) (3)
110. My salary is not adequate to my needs or appropriate for my work (0) (1) (2) (3)
111. I find salary negotiations frustrating or upsetting (0) (1) (2) (3)
112. Now tell me, in own words, what contributes most to your feelings of job frustration or burn-out?

113. In your own estimation, would you assess your achievements as a Jewish professional on the whole as: (3) very successful, (2) successful, (1) somewhat successful, or (0) unsuccessful?

114. In your own words, what would you identify as your most important professional achievement?

115. How do you think your colleagues would assess your achievements as a Jewish professional: (3) very successful, (2) successful, (1) somewhat successful, or (0) unsuccessful?

I'd like to return now to a brief discussion of your professional training. In your professional school, would you rank as: Excellent (4), Good (3), Fair (2), Poor (1) the following items:

116. quality of classes (1) (2) (3) (4)
117. friendships with classmates (1) (2) (3) (4)
118. overview of Jewish history and culture (1) (2) (3) (4)
119. overview of current issues in Jewish life (1) (2) (3) (4)
120. gave skills in counseling (1) (2) (3) (4)
121. gave skills in teaching (1) (2) (3) (4)

122. gave skills in negotiation/professional advancement (1) (2) (3) (4)
123. How well did the training you received match your current areas of greatest challenge? (1) (2) (3) (4)
124. training in conflict resolution (1) (2) (3) (4)
125. training in dealing with clients, such as congregants, tudent's parents, or members (1) (2) (3) (4)
126. training in giving or receiving supvision (1) (2) (3) (4)
127. training in balancing obligations between family and career (1) (2) (3) (4)
128. What subject areas would you like to have seen added to your school's curriculum?

129. What additional activities would you like to have seen added to your school's curriculum?

For those who answered NO to Question 66 only, questions 130-131.

130. How old were you when you left Jewish professional work? / / /

131. In your own words, please describe your primary reasons for changing fields.

132. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up personal interview which would explore more completely, but still with full confidentiality, the experiences which lead Jewish communal professionals to leave the field? (1) yes (2) no

If yes:
Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

APPENDIX B
SCHOOLS AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS CONTACTED FOR RESPONDENT NAMES

Baltimore Institute for Jewish Communal Service

Gratz College, Melrose Park, PA
Hebrew Education Society

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati
Rabbinical School

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati
Schools of Jewish Communal Service and Jewish Education

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Los Angeles
Schools of Jewish Communal Service and Jewish Education

Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service and Jewish Education,
Brandeis University, Waltham MA

Jewish Theological Seminary of America
Rabbinical Program, NY, NY

Jewish Theological Seminary of American and Columbia University
Program in Jewish Studies and Social Work, NY, NY

Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Wyncote, PA

Spertus College of Judaica, Chicago
Programs in Jewish Communal Service and Jewish Education

University of Judaism, Los Angeles
Programs in Jewish Communal Service and Jewish Education

Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, NY, NY

Yeshiva University Program in Jewish Communal Service, NY, NY