THE JEWISH SECTOR'S WORKFORCE: REPORT OF A SIX-COMMUNITY STUDY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS, cont.

INDEX OF TABLES

INDEX OF FIGURES

Executive Summary

The Jewish sector is the corner of the American economy that employs workers to produce goods and services that sustain Jewish communal life. Much of this work occurs in not-for-profit (NFP) organizations such as synagogues, day schools, community centers, Federations and agencies.

Because American Jewry has chosen a professionalized model for organizing Jewish life, stakeholders in Jewish communities have become attuned to the importance of organizational effectiveness. They have directed attention to issues of management, finance and administration. They have also focused intently on questions of human resources (HR), striving to ensure that organizations in the Jewish sector will be staffed by the best personnel possible.

With over a half-century of experience wrestling with HR issues, communal leaders have amassed significant expertise regarding steps that can be taken to strengthen Jewish organizations' abilities to identify, recruit, develop and retain the types of employees they seek. Here are some of the better known recommendations (cf. Kelner et al., 2004):

- Coordinate recruitment efforts
- Subsidize training
- Offer continuing education
- Foster professional communities
- Periodically rejuvenate commitment
- Rein in unprofessional time demands
- Adopt family-friendly policies

- Improve career ladders
- Eliminate gender bias
- Enhance the status of the profession
- Improve lay/professional relations
- Mentor more
- Supervise better
- Pay competitive salaries

Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher Bernstein Institute for Jewish Philanthropy and Leadership have developed this report in an effort to inform further discussion of human resource policies that can strengthen Jewish organizations. The report describes our conduct and analysis of a survey conducted in six communities across the United States. Data were gathered from over 1,400 workers employed in almost 200 Jewish organizations, synagogues and schools. Our interpretation of the data is informed by interviews and sites visits conducted in the six communities that were part of the survey.

The Jewish sector's workforce

Organizational, Occupational and Demographic Diversity

The boundaries of the Jewish sector are not clear. This report focuses primarily on full-time employees of synagogues, day schools, federations, Jewish community centers, community relations agencies, and local cultural organizations. It excludes organizations such as nursing homes that may be affiliated with the Jewish community, but whose missions are not necessarily

tied to their Jewish sponsorship. In addition, for-profit businesses such as kosher butchers and Jewish cemeteries that serve the Jewish community were not studied.

The Jewish sector incorporates diverse jobs. To enable analysis, workers have been grouped into 11 categories: "Clerical workers" and "operations workers" are found in all types of organizations. The remainder are divided by the specific types of organizations they work in. Synagogue workers are divided into "clergy" and "non-clergy Judaics professionals." Day school staff are divided into "educational administration," "teachers of Judaics," "teachers of other subject matter," and "other educators." Workers in all other organizations are divided into "policy and planning," "financial resource development," and "direct service and education." The largest groups of workers were employed in operations, direct service and education, and day school teaching.

Women are a majority in every job category except the clergy. Women fill between 60% and 96% of the positions in every type of Jewish sector work, except for synagogue clergy, where they are 25% of the total rabbinic positions in the communities we studied.

The Jewish sector's workforce is not only a workforce of Jews. Although Jewish organizations do not seem to be particularly diverse workplaces when compared to others in the United States, they do contain within them a diversity that often goes unacknowledged. Synagogues, day schools and communal organizations in all the places we studied benefit from the efforts of Christians and other non-Jews who devote their energy and talents to the betterment of American Jewish communities. Non-Jewish employees conduct their work at all levels of organizational hierarchies. In the medium and small communities about one in six members of senior leadership teams are not Jewish. The proportion of Jews and non-Jews employed in Jewish sector positions varies according to the job and organizational setting. About one-third of operations workers, day school general studies teachers, and clerical staff are not Jewish.

Recruitment

Education

The large and medium-sized communities we studied are better positioned than the small communities to fill day school teaching positions and the gamut of organizational positions with graduate degree holders. Small communities, however, appear just as capable as their larger counterparts at hiring degreed professionals to be day school administrators and synagogue clergy. One factor differentiating synagogues from other work settings is that they can draw upon the congregational unions' national placement programs to expand their pool of potential applicants.

Undergraduate schooling for Jewish sector workers tends to be local or regional. This was true of large and medium-sized communities, but no patterns were evident in the two smallest communities.

The extent of graduate training varies widely depending on the position and the community. Overall, the proportion of professionals holding advanced degrees ranges from about one-third

(for operations workers) to almost all (for clergy). Comparing across communities, there was a great deal of variability in educational profiles across types of job. The proportion of advanced-degree holders was not necessarily lower in smaller communities.

Among Jews in professional positions, between a fifth and a third were educated at one of the Jewish sector's popular training programs (i.e., seminaries, Jewish communal service programs, etc.) Again, there is wide variability by community.

How mobile is the workforce? How much is hiring local?

Local hiring is a predominant characteristic of all communities, large and small. This is particularly true at the junior and mid-level. The positions most likely to draw from outside the local community are synagogue rabbis and cantors, day school Judaics teachers, and higher level positions in Federations and agencies.

How do people enter the Jewish sector? Do they see themselves as committed to Jewish sector work?

Workers in the Jewish sector do not necessarily identify themselves as Jewish communal professionals. Jewish employees and those working in jobs with more overt Jewish cultural content were the most likely to describe themselves as Jewish communal professionals. Some people are drawn to work in the Jewish sector because of the Jewish mission. Others are drawn by work environments and the structuring of the jobs. These differing orientations highlight the divergent options facing policymakers. Is the field best served by particularistic or universalistic approaches to recruitment? Each has advantages and drawbacks.

Camps, religious schools and youth groups are American Jewry's primary gateway into Jewish sector work, providing Jewish communities with about half of their Jewish personnel. 52% of Jews working in the six Jewish communities started when they were in high school or college. Most were working as camp counselors, religious school teachers or youth group advisors. Although designed to educate children, these organizations have an important unintended consequence as employers of teenagers and young adults.

There is no single model of entry into work in the Jewish sector. Jewish sector professionals are commonly thought to be people whose Judaic commitments have impelled them to dedicate themselves to serve Jewish communities and causes. This notion of work in the Jewish sector envisions it as long-term career commitment, decided upon deliberately at a critical moment in the life-course, usually around the college years. Some follow this path; others do not.

By looking at when people first started working in the Jewish sector, whether they saw their work as a Jewish work or as a job that just happened to be in a Jewish setting, and whether they have come to identify as Jewish sector professionals, we developed a model of seven pathways into Jewish sector work. Each pathway is named to echo that of a biblical personage who exemplifies this route. The following table summarizes the seven paths:

Name	Description	% of work-force	% of all pros	%of Jewish pros	Commonly Working In Which Jobs
Daves	Worked in Jewish settings during high school or college and then decided to pursue a career in the Jewish community; See themselves as Jewish community professionals and their work as Jewish work; Have never really worked outside of the Jewish sector.	17%	20%	25%	Rabbis
Abes	Like Daves, except without the experience of working in the Jewish community during high school or college.	7%	8%	10%	Judaics teachers; Synagogue Judaics; FRD
Ettis	Took a first job in a Jewish organization without thinking of it as a Jewish job, per se, but came to see themselves as Jewish community professionals; They may or may not have had past work experience outside of the Jewish sector.	12%	14%	16%	All job types, especially Judaics teachers
Jethros	Brought skills they gained outside the Jewish sector into Jewish organizations; Did not see themselves as switching into Jewish work, but rather, doing generalist work that just happened to be in a Jewish setting; Have not adopted a new professional identity as Jewish community professionals.	28%	24%	12%	Operations; Clerical; General studies teachers
Moes	Brought skills gained outside the Jewish sector into Jewish organizations. Clear sense of switching into Jewish work; Some come to see themselves as Jewish community professionals; Others do not.	17%	18%	22%	All job types
Jonis	Working in a Jewish organization, with no significant work experience outside of the field, but don't view themselves as Jewish community professionals.	13%	11%	10%	General studies teachers
Mimis	Used to work in Jewish organizations but left the field. Now, for reasons equally unknown, they have returned.	5%	5%	5%	General studies teachers; educational specialists

Mentors, role models, and programs for youth and young adults can play a role attracting people into certain types of Jewish sector work – particularly the rabbinate, and to a lesser but still significant degree, other jobs with clear Judaic content. They have been less relevant in other instances. They have also been relevant primarily for people who have chosen to make an early career commitment to the Jewish sector.

There is a gender gap in the role that mentoring plays. Men were much more likely than women to say that the guidance of role models or mentors sparked their interest in working in the Jewish community. The gender bias in mentoring is a warning sign that points to broader barriers to women's advancement in Jewish organizations. It suggests that even at the early stages, recruitment efforts systematically neglect the potential offered by women.

How do staff rate the Jewish sector as a place to work?

Employees of Jewish organizations described work environments that ranged from mediocre to very good. Respondents were asked a series of questions to assess whether organizations were creating productive, professional and humane work environments that upheld standards of fairness and quality. Most employees had good things to say about their workplaces. Only a small minority gave distinctly negative answers. Nevertheless, if the criterion is *excellence*, there was substantial room for improvement. Although responses overall tended to be favorable, they were often qualified. Emphatically positive responses were far fewer.

Problems were less of human relations – people generally had good things to say about their co-workers and lay leaders – *than of management.* Only a minority of respondents felt that their organizations were doing a very good job giving them the support they need to do their job well, supporting their growth as professionals and making the best use of their talents. They were generally not giving their organizations failing grades, but they were not awarding A's either.

Some workplaces appear to be doing better than others. Workers in synagogues and day schools tended to rate their organizations more highly on a variety of measures that workers in other settings. The lowest ratings tended to be found among workers in Federations.

Lackluster professional environments are seen as harming efficiency, but not necessarily undermining mission success.

Although women are a majority of Jewish sector workers, advantages continue to flow to men. Women made up half or more of the senior leadership teams in all organization-types: 52% in synagogues, 63% in agencies, 67% in Federations and 68% in Jewish day schools. On the other hand, most of the people found in the executive suite were men: 85% of the senior rabbis were male, 60% of the Jewish day school headmasters, 60% of the top agency executives, and five of the six Federation CEOs. Gender-based salary gaps on the order of tens of thousands of dollars operate to the detriment of women in nine of the eleven job categories studied. These differentials persist even when controlling for age, years in organization, graduate degree, supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team.

The Jewish sector does not necessarily lag behind other sectors in professionalism, and may be exceeding them in quality-of-life matters. General comparisons of "the business world" to "Jewish community work" are fraught with conscious and unconscious biases. To minimize the potential for bias, Jewish sector workers with experience outside the Jewish sector were asked to compare their current and previous workplaces. Responses varied widely. Some saw their Jewish organizations as more efficient and more professional in their standards, others saw them as less, but most saw no difference. People who switched into the Jewish sector generally felt that compared to their previous work, their current jobs gave them better relations with their coworkers, greater accommodation of their personal lives, and greater satisfaction in knowing that they are able to do work that makes a difference. This came at the acknowledged price of lower salary.

Retention

Is retention equally problematic across all organization types and job categories?

Estimated turnover rates vary by position, but are higher than expected. In Spring 2004, for our sample of workers, proxy estimates of turnover based on the percentage of Jewish sector employees who had been in their organizations for one year or less ranged from 12% to 29%. These figures *overstate the actual degree turnover* because they represent the filling of vacancies caused both by turnover and by organizational expansion. The highest turnover was found among clerical positions (29%), FRD positions (22%), and general studies teachers (22%). The lowest rates were among synagogue clergy (13%) and day school administration (14%). All of these rates are higher than those found in other studies.

Overall, one out of every three or four employees in Jewish settings has actively explored other job possibilities over the past two years. The actual proportion varies by job type, ranging from 15% to 35%. Between 20% and 56% of the workforce entertained thoughts about leaving the Jewish sector entirely, even if they did not act on these thoughts. Comparative data from other fields are needed to provide objective grounds for evaluating whether these figures are low, average, or high.

Exploring other job possibilities may indicate <u>attrition</u> *out of the Jewish sector or* <u>migration</u> *from one Jewish workplace to another.* In excessive amounts, both can hamper the ability of organizations to efficiently fulfill their missions. Many Jewish organizations stand to benefit from migration, if they are able to develop a competitive advantage over other organizations in the Jewish sector.

Synagogue clergy and day school Judaics teachers were the least likely to consider leaving Jewish sector work, and the least likely to act on these thoughts when they had them. About 20% had looked for work outside of their synagogues and schools, but this was mostly at other Jewish workplaces. Only 2% to 3% actually looked into work possibilities outside of the Jewish sector.

Synagogues and schools tend to face problems caused by migration, not by attrition. Individual Jewish organizations may not be able to retain "the best and brightest" rabbis, cantors and Jewish educators. But this is a problem of specific organizations, not of the Jewish sector as a whole,

which appears well-positioned to hold onto these synagogue- and day-school based clergy and educators.

Attrition, rather than migration, characterizes FRD workers, general studies teachers, direct service workers, operations personnel and clerical staff. Approximately half of these have thought about leaving Jewish sector work, and of these, a further half have acted on such thoughts. Compared to this quarter of employees actively looking for work outside the Jewish sector during the past two years, the proportion looking to migrate to other Jewish organizations is small – 7% at most.

The Judaic content of work explains whether attrition or migration will be the norm. People leaving jobs with clear Judaic content mostly look to remain within the Jewish sector. People leaving jobs where Judaic content is hardly relevant mostly look to leave Jewish sector work. People looking to leave jobs where Judaic content is ambiguous can go either way.

What job-related attitudes are correlated with likely turnover?

Overall job satisfaction is widespread. Nine out of ten professionals in all the various job categories said they were satisfied with their job overall. Over half of the professionals in all job categories but one said they were *very* satisfied. FRD workers were the only professional grouping who did not break the 50% mark on overall satisfaction. These findings align with those of nonprofit sector workers.

The two aspects of job satisfaction most likely to lead people to consider leaving their organization and the Jewish sector are 1) dissatisfaction with advancement opportunities and 2) dissatisfaction with the recognition they receive for their work. Bad relations with supervisors are also implicated in pushing employees to explore better options elsewhere, but not necessarily outside the Jewish sector. Dissatisfaction with other aspects of work also had an influence, but less so. How widespread was dissatisfaction in the three critical areas? Satisfaction with advancement opportunities was, in most instances, low. Satisfaction with recognition was only slightly higher. Satisfaction with supervisor relations was, on the whole, relatively high. In each of these areas, satisfaction was distributed unequally, enjoyed most by clergy and school heads, and least by Judaics teachers.

Dissatisfaction with pay turned out to be a poor predictor of turnover in part because such feelings of dissatisfaction were so widespread.

Depending on the job category, two to three out of every five workers admitted to some feelings of burnout. It was most acute among FRD workers. Those who claimed to feel burnt out were more likely to admit having thought about quitting.

Loyalty to the Jewish sector is no guarantor of retention. A commitment to stay working in the Jewish sector does not typically translate into a commitment to stay working in a specific organization. Organizational loyalty is a much better predictor of likely retention than loyalty to Jewish sector work as such. Employees in jobs with less Judaic content were often more loyal to

their organization than to the Jewish sector. Employees in more Judaic jobs were often more loyal to the Jewish sector than to their organizations.

Assessing recruitment and retention problems

Employees perceptions of recruitment and retention problems

Which aspects of applicant recruitment and staff retention are especially problematic for Jewish organizations? Which are areas of strength? Do all organization types meet with equal success in their recruitment and retention efforts? Do synagogues, day schools, Federations and agencies face unique challenges, or are the issues in each largely the same? To answer these questions, we asked employees for their first-hand report of what they observe in their offices.

Most employees said that their organizations were doing somewhat or very good recruiting qualified applicants and retaining talented staff. Beyond this, there were indications of trouble retaining entry-level employees in all types of organizations, and greater difficulties among Federations recruiting and retaining at all levels.

Overwhelming majorities of synagogue workers said their synagogue was doing a good job recruiting and retaining employees at all levels of the hierarchy. Reports on senior staff were somewhat better than reports on entry-level staff.

Employees of day schools were primarily concerned with retention of entry-level staff and recruitment of senior personnel. They saw recruitment of entry-level and mid-level staff as the least problematic issues their schools faced.

Retention emerged as the major problem in agencies. Over one-third of agency employees said that their organization was not doing well retaining entry-level personnel. Almost one-quarter said the same of mid-level staff. Retention of senior staff was deemed less problematic, along with recruitment at all levels.

Whether in recruitment or retention, or at entry-, mid- or senior levels of the organization, Federation employees were the most likely to report that their organizations were not doing well. Almost half of Federation personnel surveyed said that organization was not doing well retaining entry-level workers.

Although small communities were hardly immune from the problems of retaining entry-level staff, the employees in these settings were less likely to rate their organizations poorly.

Effects of recruitment and retention problems

According to managers, retention problems have a stronger impact on organizational efficiency and mission fulfillment than recruitment problems do.

Members of senior leadership teams in Federations were about three times as likely as those in other work settings to claim that difficulties in recruiting and retaining staff were hindering their organization's ability to run effectively.

Conclusion

The current study offers empirical data on Jewish sector professionals across many diverse job categories and organization types. It is difficult to characterize the Jewish sector workforce as a singular unit, because the experiences of rabbis, teachers, fundraisers, operations workers and others are often different. To the extent that the Jewish sector faces challenges, these are not always spread evenly across the different types of jobs and organizations. In many cases, problems are localized to certain types of organizations or certain categories of jobs. There are pockets of strength in addition to areas of weakness.

The diversity of jobs, organizations, communities and people in the Jewish sector raises important issues for policymakers. Often, because of this diversity, policymakers will find themselves weighing the tradeoffs involved in choosing between generalized versus targeted intervention strategies.

This research points to the importance of each individual workplace in guaranteeing the health of the Jewish sector as a whole. The employing organization is the primary context where issues of recruitment, retention, job satisfaction and job performance are enacted. If organizations help their employees to be productive, recognized and supported, they will be working to the betterment of the communities they serve as well as the Jewish sector overall.

What began as a study of individual professionals has uncovered a set of complex organizational issues that go well beyond matters of recruitment and retention. Over the past two decades, the term "personnel crisis" has been introduced into discussions about the Jewish sector. The term is shorthand. It has helped concisely express a host of not-always-articulated concerns about the broader health of the Jewish sector. Even if the Jewish sector were a model of HR perfection, such concerns might persist. After all, successful recruitment and retention are the necessary, but hardly sufficient, means to a greater end – namely, building organizations that efficiently fulfill their missions. The next challenge for research and policy will be to effect the paradigm shift – to move beyond the focus on personnel (about which much is known) and to grapple with the much more complex questions of organizational effectiveness, which in the Jewish sector, remains uncharted territory.

A REPORT ON THE JEWISH SECTOR'S WORKFORCE

Introduction

On any weekday morning, tens of thousands of workers across the United States make their way to workplaces that are engaged in the business of sustaining Jewish community life. During the day, they plan programs, serve clients, send emails, sign contracts, meet budgets, hold meetings, teach lessons, train interns, type memos, raise money, and more. Although not prescribed by Jewish tradition, these daily activities are indispensable to Jewish life in the modern era.

American Jewry has organized its communal existence around formal institutions staffed by paid employees. These organizations carry out particular responsibilities. They preserve, develop and transmit cultural heritage. They tend to spiritual needs. They protect against material threats. They serve and they lead. Jewish organizations even empower people to create Jewish lives outside of organizations. They provide many of the material and intellectual resources that individuals draw upon when fashioning their own personal forms of Jewish identification.

Because Jewish communal life is organized around a professionalized model with formal workplaces and paid labor, stakeholders in Jewish communities have shown great interest in promoting organizational effectiveness. This has directed attention to matters of management, finance, administration and human resources. The latter is of particular note. One of the enduring themes in discussions about Jewish organizations has been a desire to ensure that they be staffed by the best personnel possible (cf. Kelner, Rabkin, Saxe, & Sheingold, 2004).

With over a half-century of experience wrestling with this issue, communal leaders have amassed significant expertise regarding steps that can be taken to strengthen Jewish organizations' abilities to identify, recruit, develop and retain the types of employees they seek. The following, in no particular order, are fourteen of the most well-known recommendations (cf. Kelner et al., 2004):

- Coordinate recruitment efforts
- Subsidize training
- Offer continuing education
- Foster professional communities
- Periodically rejuvenate commitment
- Rein in unprofessional time demands
- Adopt family-friendly policies

- Improve career ladders
- Eliminate gender bias
- Enhance the status of the profession
- Improve lay/professional relations
- Mentor more
- Supervise better
- Pay competitive salaries

The present report is designed to inform further discussion of human resource policies that can strengthen Jewish organizations. It is based on survey data gathered from over 1,400 individuals working in almost 200 Jewish organizations, synagogues and schools in six communities across the United States. The data are offered to fill current gaps in knowledge, provide points of comparison with figures gathered in earlier studies, and serve as benchmarks for future research

on the employees of Jewish organizations. Our interpretation of the survey data is informed by qualitative fieldwork in each of the communities.

In common parlance, the subjects of this study are said to be working in "the Jewish community." This terminology has several drawbacks. First, it reduces the community to only one of its dimensions, the organizational. Second, its use of the singular draws attention away from the existence of diverse sub-communities. Third, it does nothing to foster the recognition that no matter how schools, synagogues, federations and other organizations differ in their communal roles, they all share one thing in common: They are economic institutions, places of employment and work.

Because of these shortcomings, the present report adopts a different term: "The Jewish sector." Our use of the term "sector" calls attention to the economic character of the constituent organizations, encouraging comparison with the non-profit sector, the private sector other economic arenas. It also suggests that inter-organizational linkages tie these institutions together into some sort of network. Finally, it affirms the *uniqueness* of the role that organizations play in Jewish communal life, while recognizing that there are many other elements of community that are not encompassed by organizations.

The report addresses the following questions:

- What is the nature of the Jewish sector's workforce in the six communities that participated in the study? Who are the workers and what types of positions do they hold?

- How do people enter work in the Jewish sector? What are the various motivations and pathways that lead people into such jobs?

- In their efforts to attract skilled professionals, what competitive advantages and disadvantages do Jewish organizations have vis-à-vis businesses and other non-profits?

- What is the nature of mobility out of jobs, workplaces and the Jewish sector altogether?

- To what extent do retention and/or recruitment constitute problems for Jewish organizations in the six communities? Which organizations and positions are particularly affected? Which are not?

In trying to answer these questions, we will call attention to differences across communities. The six communities included in the study are diverse in terms of their population size, geography, history, degree of institutionalization, patterns of growth, and access to national resources. Particularly for policy-makers at the national level, it is crucial to recognize the diversity of local labor market patterns. Our desire to highlight local variation is balanced by a need to ensure the confidentiality of the communities and their respondents, and to ensure sufficient numbers of cases for statistical analysis. Therefore, this report will often group communities into pairs, based on the size of their annual Federation campaigns. The two small communities in the sample each raise under $5 million annually; the medium ones between $5 million and $15 million, and the

large ones over $15 million. There is a relationship, albeit imperfect, between campaign size and population size.

The data analyzed for this report were collected as part of a study undertaken jointly by Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher-Bernstein Institute for Jewish Philanthropy and Leadership. The study encompassed three components. The first was a review of scholarly research on recruitment and retention in the private, not-for-profit and Jewish sectors (Kelner et al., 2004). This was followed by new data collection in six diverse American Jewish communities. In these communities we conducted in-depth interviews with 101 current Jewish sector professionals. This was supplemented by two focus groups with 15 others, and interviews with three former professionals. The qualitative fieldwork informed the design and analysis of a questionnaire that was delivered via the internet to employees of 196 organizations.

With 1,424 respondents, the survey had an overall response rate of 52%. The rate varies, however by community – from 42% to 74%. It also varies by organization type: 37% for Jewish day schools, 56% for synagogues, 62% for agencies, and 77% for Federations. We attribute the lower response rate in day schools to the fact that, unlike most employees in the other job settings, teachers do not spend their workdays sitting in front of a computer screen. It is important to remember that the current sample represents the population of Jewish sector employees in the six communities we studied,[1] and is not necessarily a representative sample of the entire population of Jewish sector employees in the United States (see Appendix A for details on the study's methodology).

Workforce Diversity in the Jewish Sector

Diversity of work

From the outset of this research, the attempt to impose conceptual order on the diverse jobs available in the Jewish sector has proven challenging. Our initial mandate was to study issues related to the retention and recruitment of "Jewish communal professionals." But who, exactly, should be counted as a Jewish communal professional? Are all jobs in Jewish organizations necessarily Jewish jobs? Are all the Jewish jobs "professions" in their own right? Which organizations should be included and excluded? Do they have to be non-profits? Do their clienteles have to be Jewish? When should we make these judgments as researchers and when should we allow respondents to classify themselves as they see fit?

Our answers to these questions came through a series of decisions made at each phase of this research – from the earliest days of research design, when we first articulated sweeping objectives; through the complex work of data collection, when our ideal concepts met the 196 realities of 196 organizations; to the time spent on analysis, when our familiarity with the dataset revealed to us what terrain we could or could not explore; and into the final days of writing this report, when we had to decide how to best represent the knowledge we have gained.

Typically, these decisions are debated and made by researchers without the readers being any the wiser. This has the advantage or drawback of giving the decisions an aura of facticity – as if it could be no other way. We have chosen to break with this tradition and call attention to the

choices that we have made at different stages of the research in order to make apparent just how much the definition of a "Jewish communal professional" is not as clear-cut as it seems upon first glance. With so much ambiguity, policymakers and observers of American Jewry would be well-served to make explicit their assumptions about who they are talking about when they discuss the personnel situation of Jewish organizations. This will facilitate critical reflection about how to best define their population of interest in order to achieve policy goals.

For present purposes, we have chosen to focus on most full-time employees of synagogues, day schools, Federations, Jewish community centers, community relations agencies, and local cultural organizations in the six Jewish communities studied. We decided to exclude organizations like nursing homes, and to exclude some job categories, like preschool teachers, clinical social workers, and physical education staff at JCCs. Some of these decisions were principled, others pragmatic. Details on the types of organizations and jobs that are included and excluded from this study are provided in Appendix A.

With hundreds of job titles ranging from the common (Assistant Rabbi, Deputy Director of Development) to the idiosyncratic (Storyteller-in-Residence, Environmental Issues Consultant), the first stage of analysis was to find some reasonable way of grouping jobs together so that comparisons would be both manageable and meaningful. Relying both on the job titles provided by the participating organizations and on those provided directly by the respondents, an eleven-category classification scheme was developed (see Table 1). Nine of the eleven categories are organization-specific: Synagogue workers are divided into (1) clergy and (2) non-clergy Judaics professionals. Day school workers are divided into (3) educational administration, (4) teachers of Judaics, (5) teachers of other subject matter, and (6) other educators. Federation, agency and organizational workers are divided into (7) direct service and education professionals, (8) policy and planning professionals, and (9) financial resource development professionals (FRD). The remaining two categories – (10) operations workers and (11) clerical workers – are found in synagogues, day schools and other organizations alike.

In most instances, data are presented separately for the different job categories. At times, we will aggregate them by organization type. In general, however, we will avoid presenting a summary statistic that purports to characterize the entire workforce. The different characteristics and experiences of rabbis, secretaries, teachers and fundraisers are often so great that lumping them together into an imaginary composite called "the average Jewish sector worker" would more often mislead than inform. Only in cases where the variation across job categories is of little statistical or substantive importance will we offer an aggregated statistic for the entire workforce.

Table 1: Job Categories

Organization Type	Job Category	Common Job Titles	Number (in Survey)	Proportion (in Sampling Frame)	Percent Female (in Sampling Frame)
Synagogue	*Clergy*	Senior Rabbi, Associate Rabbi, Cantor	92	6%	25%
	Non-Clergy Judaics Professionals	Education Director, Family Education Director, Youth Director, Preschool Director	98	7%	79%
Jewish Day School	*Educational Administration*	Head of School, Director of Upper/Lower School, Department Chair	75	5%	60%
	Teacher (Judaics)	Hebrew Teacher, Talmud and Tanakh Teacher, Jewish Studies Teacher, Limudei Kodesh Teacher	139	8%	75%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	General Studies Teacher, English Teacher, Math Teacher, Science Teacher	220	17%	78%
	Other Educator	Librarian, Resource Specialist, Counselor	50	3%	86%
Other Organizations	*Direct Service & Education*	Camp Director, Hillel JCSC Fellow, JCC Program Associate, Director of Education	202	14%	72%
	Policy & Planning	CEO, Executive Director, Assistant Director, Regional Director, Planner, Community Relations Associate	49	3%	68%
	Financial Resource Development (FRD)	Campaign Director, Director of Development, Development Associate, Campaign Associate, Endowment Director	55	4%	80%
All Work Settings	*Clerical*	Administrative Assistant, Executive Assistant, Resource Assistant, Secretary	186	13%	96%
	Operations	Accounting Manager, Bookkeeper, Controller, Database Manager, Director of Admissions, Marketing Associate, Membership Director, Office Manager, Operations Director, Synagogue Executive Director	232	16%	71%

Women are a majority in every job category but one. They fill between 60% and 96% of the positions in every type of Jewish sector work except the clergy, where they comprise 25% of the total. All respondents were asked whether they are part of the senior leadership team in their organization. Women made up half or more of the senior leadership teams in all organization-types: 52% in synagogues, 63% in agencies, 67% in Federations and 68% in Jewish day schools. On the other hand, most of the people found in the executive suite were men: 85% of the senior rabbis were male, 60% of the Jewish day school headmasters, 60% of the top agency executives, and five of the six Federation CEOs.

Workers in the six communities ranged in age from 20 years old to 84 years old (see Table 2). The median age ranged from 40 to 51, depending on the job category. Clerical and operations workers were typically older, whereas FRD workers and day school teachers were likely to be younger.

Table 2: Age Distribution

		Total				Female		Male	
		Mean	Median	Min	Max	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Syna-gogue	Clergy	45.0	46	27	66	42.3	41	46.1	48
	Judaics	43.1	44	22	67	43.8	46	40.1	40
Jewish Day School	Educational Admin	47.3	49	25	66	48.1	50	45.9	47
	Teacher (Judaics)	41.9	42	20	59	42.1	44	41.7	41
	Teacher (No Judaics)	42.6	45	21	63	44.1	48	35.5	34.5
	Other Educator	47.5	51	23	75	46.9	49	52.3	56
Organ-ization	Direct Service & Educ	43.7	44	23	66	43.9	45	43.0	43
	Policy & Planning	45.3	48	24	66	45.2	48	45.5	50
	FRD	40.7	40	24	84	40.1	38	42.3	41
All	Clerical	47.6	51	21	74	48.5	52	33.5	30
	Operations	48.0	49	25	75	47.9	49	48.3	51

In years

Diversity of workers

"I have never felt alienated [at work] because of my religion. I have never felt like I was treated less or pushed aside. It might be because of the department and what I do. The majority of the fiscal professionals are non-Jewish. I am not certain why that is, but the majority of us are not.... But I have never felt alienated in any way; as a matter of fact, I have actually gotten in better touch with my own religion [Catholicism] because of where I am." – Anita R., Controller, Federation, Small community

Although Jewish organizations are not among the most diverse workplaces in the United States, they contain within them a diversity that is often unacknowledged. Language is partly to blame for obscuring the existence of religious diversity. When people use the term "Jewish communal workers," they do not necessarily mean to say that the workers themselves are Jewish. But the phrase's ambiguous grammar unintentionally connotes this, and encourages people to think of Jews when they are talking about people working for Jewish organizations.[2] In fact, *the workforce of the Jewish sector is not solely a workforce of Jews*. Synagogues, day schools and communal organizations in all the places we studied benefit from the efforts of Christians and other non-Jews who devote their energy and talents to the betterment of American Jewish communities. They conduct their work at all levels of organizational hierarchies, including the upper echelons. In the small and medium-sized communities, about one in six members of senior leadership teams (16%) are not Jewish.[3]

The proportion of Jews and non-Jews employed in the Jewish sector varies according to the job and organizational setting (see Figure 1). Virtually all those employed in Jewish educational or religious roles are Jewish. In contrast, approximately one-third of general studies teacher in Jewish day schools (32%[4]), clerical workers (37%) and operations professionals (38%) are not Jewish.

Figure 1: Proportion Jewish
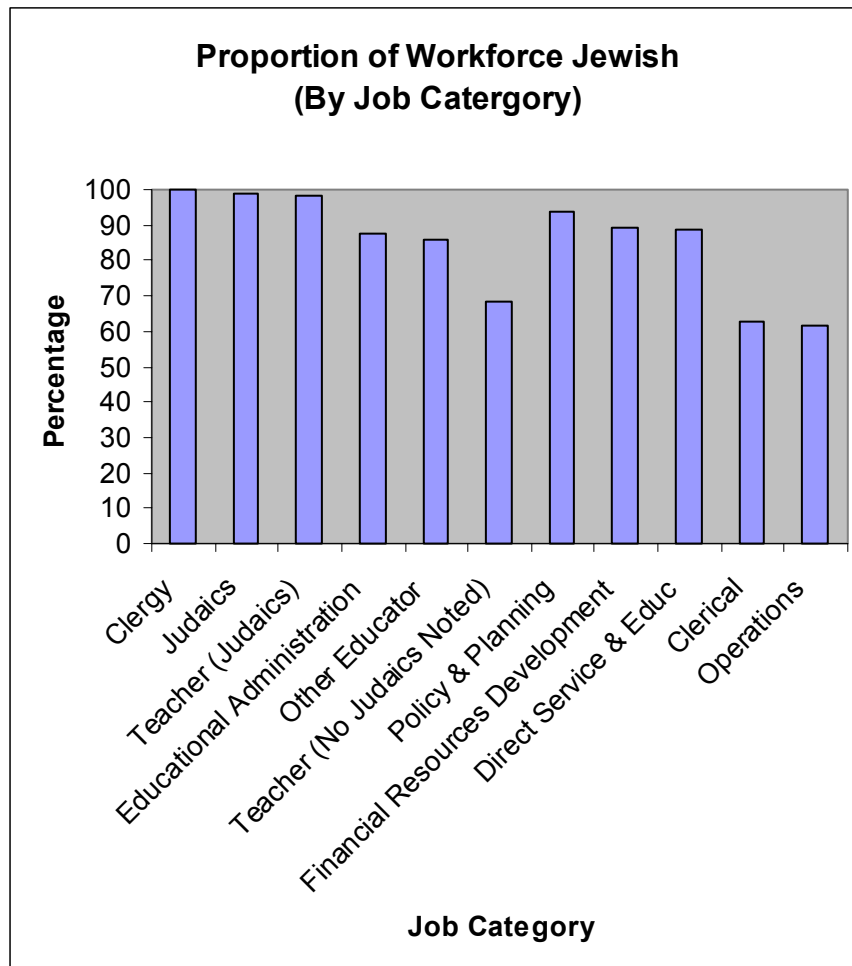
The differences in hiring indicate a significant (but usually taken-for-granted) feature of Jewish sector positions: *The Jewish sector organizes work according to its degree of Judaic content.* Jobs with overt Judaic content are, with only isolated exceptions, exclusively given to Jews. Jobs in which Jewish cultural content is not deemed vital are more receptive to a broader applicant pool.

The question of whether a position has or should have Judaic content is not clear cut, however. Consider fundraising. Is fundraising seen more as a means of securing financial resources (a generic mission) or of building community (a specifically Jewish mission)? Should applicants for financial resource development (FRD) positions be judged on their ability to engage the core constituency by speaking comfortably in a Judaic idiom or should this be irrelevant as a hiring consideration? Questions like these have been debated in the past, and will continue to be so.

Currently, in areas where the Judaic content of the work can be ambiguous, Jewish organizations demonstrate a strong tendency to hire Jews, although not exclusively. Eleven percent of people working in FRD positions across all organization types are non-Jews. Similar or slightly higher

proportions are evidenced for direct service and education positions in Jewish organizations. The proportion in organizational policy and planning is slightly lower.

The proportion of Jews and non-Jews working in the Jewish sector does not always vary consistently with community size. There are different patterns for different jobs. As the community size decreases, the proportion of non-Jewish general studies teachers increases.[5] The change in proportion, from 24% to 46% to 80% (for large, medium and small communities, respectively,) should be read with great caution though, as the size of the base declines sharply from 156, to 41 to only 10, respectively. In other words, the small communities we studied had only a handful of general studies teachers, most of whom were not Jewish. The large communities had a much larger general studies faculty overall, most of whom were Jewish.

A different pattern emerges if we look at operations workers. Here, there is no linear relationship between community size and the proportion of workers who are not Jewish: 32% in the large communities (over a base of 124), 47% in the medium (base = 88), and 43% in the small (base = 14). It is hard to assess the proportions within the 11 job categories, because even in the large communities, the actual number of people involved becomes too small to be meaningful.

Foreign-born workers

The American Jewish sector's workforce also includes a small number of people who were not raised in the United States. Nine percent of Jewish professionals were raised abroad. Notable among these are day school Judaics teachers from Israel. Other countries of origin that have some representation are Canada, South Africa, Argentina and the former Soviet Union. Six percent of members of the senior leadership teams in Jewish workplaces across the six communities were raised abroad.

The presence of foreign-born workers in the American Jewish sector's workforce raises questions about the international flow of Jewish sector labor. There is little we can say about this, as our research addresses the situation in United States alone. If, however, Jewish communities abroad share a sense that their organizations are struggling with issues of personnel retention or recruitment, and if the labor market does indeed transcend geographic boundaries, then future consideration of labor issues in the Jewish sector could benefit from incorporating an international dimension appropriate to the era of globalization.

Recruitment

Educational pathways

<u>Undergraduate attendance</u>

A number of recent efforts to recruit people into careers in the Jewish sector have focused on Jewish college students. Not only are the college years a time when people make career decisions, but American Jews overwhelmingly attend college (Sales et al., Forthcoming). In the current study, 92% of the Jewish professionals surveyed hold at least a bachelor's degree. Almost all the remainder attended college for a period of time.

Examining the undergraduate institutions attended by Jewish professionals[6] in the six communities, two patterns become evident.

1) *Much schooling is local*. In large and medium-sized communities, the proportion of Jewish professionals that took their undergraduate degrees locally ranges from just under one-fifth to about one-third. Many of the remainder are drawn from regional institutions: southern schools in the South, Midwestern schools in the Midwest, northeastern schools in the Northeast.

2) *The only pattern in the two smallest communities is that there is no pattern*. With only a few exceptions, each and every Jewish professional in these two communities attended a different undergraduate college or university. Some of these colleges were regional, but many attended schools across the country.

One implication of these findings is that although national efforts to target recruitment at specific universities may serve the needs of local communities, they are unlikely to do so uniformly. Sizeable Jewish communities in close proximity to the targeted institutions will probably benefit from such efforts more than other communities.

<u>Graduate attendance</u>

People interested the Jewish sector's effectiveness have often encouraged organizations to recruit candidates who have received graduate training, particularly training from specialized programs that prepare them specifically to work in Jewish settings. This professional schooling is valued for its ability to teach skills, provide models of action and thought, foster reflective practice, instill professional identity, and certify expertise, among other things.

Overall, the proportion of professionals holding advanced degrees ranges from 30% (in operations positions) to 95% (in the rabbinate and cantorate). In addition to this variation by position, the proportion holding graduate degrees also varies by community and organization type. Consistent patterns are difficult to discern. Generally, there is no direct relationship between community size and the proportion of professionals holding advanced degrees. The smallest communities seem less likely to fill day school teaching positions and the gamut of

organizational positions with graduate degree holders. But this cannot be said of synagogues or of day school administrators. Nor do we see consistent variation between the large and medium-sized communities.

When comparing across the communities, we often find differences in the educational profiles of various jobs:

Jewish Day Schools: A substantial majority of headmasters, department chairs and others working in educational administration hold advanced degrees (see Table 3). The proportion across the six communities ranges from 77% to 100%. For teachers who do not hold an administrative portfolio, the proportions are lower. They range from 40% to 60% among Judaics teachers in the large and medium-sized communities, dipping to 31% in the small communities.[7] For general studies teachers without administrative portfolios, the range is wider – between 31% and 71% in the large and medium communities, and 25% in the small ones. Most of the degrees earned by day school teachers and administrators are in education, Jewish education, educational administration or teaching. Overall, about one-third of the teachers have an education-related graduate degree.

Table 3: Graduate Degrees Held by Day School Professionals

Nature of Position	Graduate Degree Earned	Total
Educational Administration	*Rabbinic*	**16%**
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	**61%**
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	**6%**
	Other Graduate Training	**30%**
	No Graduate Training	**15%**
	WEIGHTED N	*71*
Judaics Teachers	*Rabbinic*	**17%**
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	**32%**
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	**8%**
	Other Graduate Training	**21%**
	No Graduate Training	**49%**
	WEIGHTED N	*135*
Teachers (No Judaics Noted)	*Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin*	**36%**
	JCS/MSW /MPA/MBA	**6%**
	Other Graduate Training	**19%**
	No Graduate Training	**44%**
	WEIGHTED N	*215*

Like many Jewish sector professionals, teachers and administrators in Jewish day schools face the challenge of having to master a dual skill set (cf. Kelner et al., 2004). They must be capable in the practice of education and knowledgeable in the specific content of their subject matter. In the case of Jewish education, this means Judaic knowledge. In the late 1990s, two important studies of Jewish educational personnel addressed the extent to which teachers and administrators in Jewish schools had received formal training in both general education and Jewish studies (Gamoran, Goldring, Robinson, Tammivaara, & Goodman, 1998; Goldring, Gamoran, & Robinson, 1999). This approach is a useful one, and it is adopted here.[8]

Figure 2: Extent of Professional Training in General Education and Jewish Studies among Day School Personnel

Educational Administration

Formal Preparation in Both Areas 20%

Formal Preparation in Neither Area 13%

Formal Preparation in Judaic Studies Only 11%

Formal Preparation in General Education Only 56%

Judaics Teachers

Formal Preparation in Both Areas 23%

Formal Preparation in Neither Area 30%

Formal Preparation in Judaic Studies Only 19%

Formal Preparation in General Education Only 28%

Teachers (No Judaics Specified)

Formal Preparation in Judaic Studies Only 2%

Formal Preparation in Both Areas 3%

Formal Preparation in Neither Area 41%

Formal Preparation in General Education Only 54%

As seen in Figure 2, 20% of educational administrators and 23% of other Judaics teachers have received degrees or certificates in both education and Jewish studies. They may have earned these at either the undergraduate or graduate level. Thirteen percent of the administrators and 30% of the Judaics teachers are not degreed or certified in either of these fields. To the extent that they have acquired expertise, they have gained it in other ways.

The notion of a dual skill set combining expertise in both pedagogy and Judaics understates the challenge faced by day school administrators. Their work demands a *triple* skill set, because it also requires proficiency in educational administration. Following the presentation developed by Goldring et al. (1999), Figure 3 displays this third dimension. Of the 64 educational administrators in the sample, 12 of them, or 19%, have a graduate degree in educational administration. Only three (5% of the total) have formal training in all three areas.[9] These three individuals were all working in the large communities. No judgment is being made here about

the essentialness of particular credentials. Our interviews suggest that expertise can be gained in ways other than formal schooling.

Figure 3: Extent of Professional Training in General Education, Jewish Studies and Administration among Day School Administrators
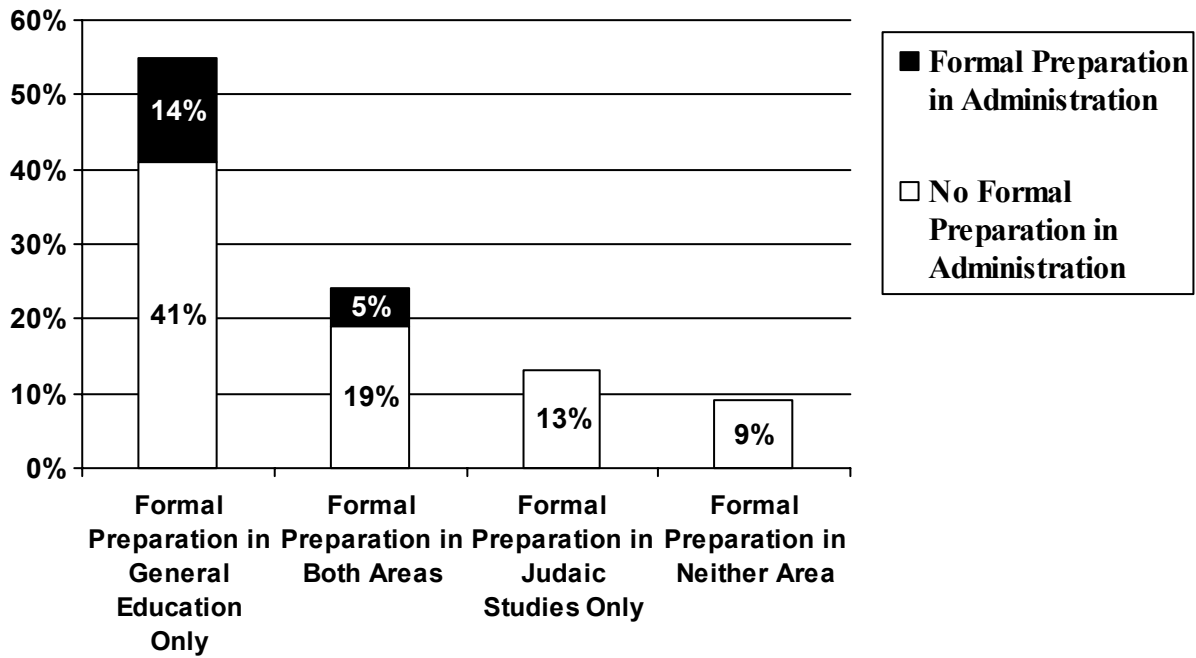
Synagogues: In synagogues, 60% of the non-clergy Judaics professionals hold graduate degrees, again mostly in education (see Table 4).[10] The actual proportion varies by community, but this bears no clear relationship with community size.

Table 4: Graduate Degrees Held by Synagogue Professionals

Nature of Position	Graduate Degree Earned	Total
Clergy	**Rabbinic**	**77%**
	Centurial	**14%**
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	**20%**
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	**2%**
	Other Graduate Training	**36%**
	No Graduate Training[11]	**5%**
	WEIGHTED N	*88*
Non-Clergy Judaics Professionals	**Rabbinic**	6%
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	39%
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	14%
	Other Graduate Training	26%
	No Graduate Training	41%
	WEIGHTED N	*97*

Not all of those trained as rabbis work in congregations. Just under two-thirds of the ordained rabbis in the sample are employed by congregations. Twenty-eight percent work in Jewish day schools and the remaining 10% work in agencies (half of them in Hillel).

Organizations: In large and medium-sized communities, the proportion of organizational policy and planning professionals with advanced degrees ranges from 56% to 85%; of direct service and education professionals, 51% to 71%; and of FRD workers, 36% to 44% (see Table 5). The proportions in the small communities appear to be lower, but the actual number of people in these positions is too small to be definitive. Likewise, in communities of all sizes the actual numbers of policy and planning positions and FRD positions were scant.

Of organizational workers who chose to pursue one or more of the master's degrees typically associated with these jobs, 43% chose an MSW, 43% chose an MBA, 30% chose an MJCS or Jewish communal service certificate, and 4% chose an MPA. When younger and older professionals are compared, younger ones are significantly[12] more likely to hold Jewish communal service degrees.[13] There are no other statistically significant age-related differences.

Table 5: Graduate Degrees Held by Professionals in Other Organizations

Nature of Position	Graduate Degree Earned	Total
Direct Service & Education	Rabbinic	7%
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	23%
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	22%
	Other Graduate Training	29%
	No Graduate Training	38%
	WEIGHTED N	*196*
Policy & Planning	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	10%
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	42%
	Other Graduate Training	25%
	No Graduate Training	34%
	WEIGHTED N	*49*
Financial Resources Development	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	4%
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	24%
	Other Graduate Training	16%
	No Graduate Training	61%
	WEIGHTED N	*55*
Operations Positions (All Organizations, Day Schools and Synagogues Combined)	Rabbinic	1%
	Ed/JewishEd/EdAdmin	5%
	JCS/MSW/MPA/MBA	16%
	Other Graduate Training	10%
	No Graduate Training	70%
	WEIGHTED N	*226*

Jewish Sector Training Institutions (JSTI)

One strategy to foster a sizable, capable and loyal workforce for Jewish institutions entails recruiting people to specialized Jewish sector graduate programs. Some of these offer rabbinical ordination, cantorial investiture, degrees in Jewish education and Jewish communal service, and the like. Others combine concentrations in Judaic studies with degrees in such areas as social work, non-profit management, or education. In light of the important role that these institutions play in supporting the Jewish sector, it is worth looking at the presence or absence of their alumni in the six communities. (The analysis below refers only to alumni of their graduate level programs and does not take into account their role in training undergraduates.)

Among Jews in non-clerical positions, between 20% to 30% received an advanced degree from a Jewish Sector Training Institution (JSTI).[14] The cross-community variation within different types of workplaces breaks down as follows:

Jewish Day Schools: The larger the community, the more it likely it was to hire JSTI alumni as Judaics teachers. In the smallest communities in our study, none of the Judaics teachers surveyed received graduate training at a Jewish sector training institution. In the medium-sized communities, 20% did.[15] In the large communities, 41% did.

Synagogues: Almost all of the men and women serving as congregational clergy attended a JSTI.[16] Non-clergy Judaics professionals in the large northeastern community were over twice as

likely to be JSTI alumni as those in the large and medium communities off the East Coast (39% vs. 11%-16%). We cannot draw conclusions about the non-clergy Judaics professionals in the small communities because the sample did not have a sufficient number of them.

Organizations: In organizational settings, the small communities typically have not hired JSTI graduates.[17] In large and medium-sized communities, 20% to 26% of Jewish professionals working in non-operations positions are graduates of such programs.[18] It is hard to draw conclusions about differences within and across the large and medium-sized communities.

Overall, large and medium-sized communities appear better positioned than small communities to fill day school teaching positions and the array of organizational positions with graduate degree holders and JSTI alumni. A question for policymakers is how to ensure that efforts to increase JSTI enrollment will benefit small communities as well as large ones, peripheral communities as well as central ones.

Although small communities are less likely to hire individuals with graduate degrees to fill their day school classrooms and organizational offices, they appear just as capable as their larger counterparts to hire degreed professionals to serve as day school administrators and synagogue clergy. The unique place of synagogues is noteworthy. One factor differentiating them from other work settings is that they can draw upon the congregational unions' national placement programs to expand their pool of potential applicants.

Workforce mobility and local hiring

"All the great Jewish educators have just happened to come [to this community]. I can't think of one person who was recruited to this city. We have great educators… [but] we shuffle the same people around; there are very few new people." – Ian O., Head of School, Jewish Day School, Medium-sized community

Are large, resource-rich Jewish communities better able than smaller ones to attract job applicants from around the country? Or, perhaps, large communities are self-sufficient enough that they can readily fill job openings with local talent. In short, are some communities more likely to hire locally than others?

It is difficult to discern consistent differences attributable to community size. The ratio of local to non-local hiring was stable across the communities – approximately three to one. Still, we do not know whether the 24% to 29% of employees who were not local hires moved specifically as the result of recruitment to a Jewish sector job, or whether they moved to the area for other reasons and only then began seeking work. Interviews with such professionals suggest that both occur.

Table 6: Proportion of Workers Who Were Non-Local Hires

	COMMUNITY SIZE		
	Large	Medium	Small
Clergy	67%	88%	88%
Judaics	24%	15%	33%
Educational Administration	35%	36%	0%
Teacher (Judaics)	42%	39%	75%
Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	16%	9%	0%
Other Educator	21%	7%	50%
Direct Service & Education	22%	40%	25%
Policy & Planning	21%	14%	0%
Financial Resources Development	16%	38%	0%
Clerical	4%	3%	0%
Operations	7%	7%	15%

In small, medium and large communities alike, certain positions had a greater chance of being filled by people who were not previously living in the area (see Table 6): The vast majority of synagogue clergy were non-local hires. Considerable proportions of day school Judaics teachers were, too. In most Federations and agencies, senior leadership positions were more likely than junior positions to be filled by drawing from outside the community (see Table 7).

Table 7: Proportion of Agency and Federation Workers Hired from Outside the Local Area, by Community Size

		Large	Medium	Small
Agency	**Senior Leadership**	28%	29%	20%
	All Other Employees	10%	17%	0%
Federation	**Senior Leadership**	44%	36%	17%
	All Other Employees	6%	12%	14%

Barring a restructuring of hiring patterns in Jewish communities, local hiring is likely to remain a predominant characteristic across communities. One question this raises for policymakers is how to balance national, regional and local efforts to develop talent and expand applicant pools. National efforts may find their greatest effects among those positions that draw from outside local communities – namely, synagogue rabbis and cantors, Judaics teachers in Jewish day schools, and senior positions in Federations and agencies. Local efforts may be successful in areas that national efforts may under-address, such as synagogue Judaics professionals (non-clergy), junior and mid-level professionals in Federations and agencies, and operations workers in all types of Jewish organizations.

Voices from small communities: The challenges of recruitment

The particular challenges that small communities face in recruiting Jewish sector personnel weigh heavily upon the professionals charged with building organizational staffs. In their conversations with us, they frequently called attention to the impact of the small community context on their efforts. Their reflections on recruitment issues add a certain depth to our understanding that statistics alone cannot provide.

Local Hiring & Serendipitous Arrivals

As one Federation executive commented, "We don't hire off the national market. These are people who were either lay people in the Jewish community or were doing something else in the non-profit community and somehow were attracted to jobs that we advertised." For many rabbis, on the other hand, the denominational movements' placement processes brought them to small communities.

Anecdotal reports suggest that not many non-local hires were actually recruited from other communities in order to fill local Jewish sector jobs. In many cases, these people have ended up moving into the small community for a variety of personal reasons. Some of the non-locals may actually be ex-locals, returning to their roots or pulled back by their social networks. For example, a Federation professional who had grown up in one community and had been away for almost 30 years, explained the decision to return: "My mother is in the nursing home here. I came home. I got tired of where I was living." We also spoke with several professionals who had moved to the area because of their spouse's job and serendipitously arrived at their jobs in the Jewish sector.

Local organizations are on the lookout for newcomers and veterans to fill positions. One Jewish educator quipped, "If you breathe and are a member of synagogue they'll get you to teach."

Small Community Stigmas

People involved in recruitment believe that small communities are seen by outsiders as less attractive for a variety of personal and professional reasons. Both singles and married couples, it appears, can find compelling reasons not to move to small communities:

Citing the constrained marriage market, the head of a small community day school said, "For someone who is single, convincing them to come to this community would be a good sales job." But even if marriage removes this obstacle, it sets up another one, especially if both spouses have careers of their own. As a Federation professional noted, "Moving to a small city is not ideal for a couple. The field becomes narrower if you are looking for someone who is degreed with experience. Most of my friends who have

changed jobs are fairly stable and have issues moving around the country because of their spouse."

Even in the absence of these relationship-based barriers, professional obstacles may work to the detriment of small communities. For example, the Federation executive quoted earlier suggested that there is a stigma among small community Federations. "They won't come here. It's not a compensation issue. It is where they perceive they will learn the most and learn the deepest, and it is not in a Federation this size."

Working with Limited Resources

With limited financial and human resources, organizations in small communities have to make the most of what they have. A day school teacher, who came to the community when her husband took a job in the area, tells the story of how she was hired. "I told [the principal] that I don't have the right degree – that I'm not qualified. She interviewed me and hired me on the spot."

One result of the strained resources is an apparent tendency for positions to expand significantly and quickly – from part-time to full-time, or simply in scope of responsibilities. For example, one woman started in her Federation position as a part-time newspaper editor. Over time, she was asked to do the annual report, manage press releases, and eventually build the website. She has no official job description, but the job is now full time.

Limited resources also affect people's work lives in other ways, reducing their ability to draw on local and national support networks. One professional described the difficulty this poses when tough issues arise. "There aren't a lot of people I can go to. I can talk to [two colleagues in the office]. I don't want to make the decisions myself…. But if I have a serious issue, I'm pretty much on my own." For him, there are very few networking opportunities in the community or outside of it. "I don't go to conferences for financial reasons. We had to cut that out of the budget. I felt I needed to send a message to my community that I'm willing to make those sacrifices."

Choosing to work in the Jewish sector

Identifying as a "Jewish communal professional"

The initial premise of this research was that Jewish sector work is a distinct field, and that those employed in it are professionals. But are these assumptions shared by those working in Jewish organizations? Do they consider themselves to be "Jewish communal professionals?"[19] Do they see their work as "Jewish community work," or are they simply teachers and fundraisers and managers whose work just happens to be done in Jewish organizational settings? Efforts to recruit, train, network and retain personnel are often informed by notions of how workers actually answer these questions or by visions of how they ideally *should* answer them.

Jewish employees were more likely than non-Jewish ones to describe their work as "Jewish community work" and to describe themselves as "Jewish communal professionals" or "Jewish educators." Overall, 88% of Jews described themselves in these terms compared to 25% of non-Jews. Differentials of this sort persisted when we compared Jews and non-Jews within each job category, including clerical staff. When asked whether they saw their first job in a Jewish organization more as Jewish work or more as work that just happened to be in a Jewish setting, non-Jewish employees almost universally described it as the latter.

Among Jews, a person's views on these issues of professional identity were related to the type of job he or she held. Most respondents in every job category self-identified as Jewish communal professionals or Jewish educators. The size of these majorities varied, however, according to the degree of explicit Judaic content in the job. It was lowest among clerical workers and operations workers, at 63% and 77% respectively. For all other job categories, it was above 80%.

What are we to make of the conceptual distinction between jobs where Judaic content is obvious and jobs where it is ambiguous? For policymakers trying to shape the Jewish sector's workforce, these not-clearly-Judaic jobs suggest difficult questions: "How Judaic should Jewish organizations be?" "What are the advantages and disadvantages of defining jobs in Jewish or generic terms?" On one hand, defining a field as a specialized body of Jewish knowledge can have a direct bearing on the community-building and educational aspects of organizations' missions. It can also enhance value-coherence within the organization. In terms of HR management, it can create feeder systems from universities to workplaces, enhance field-wide retention though positive incentives and negative barriers, and encourage the transfer of information across a nationwide knowledge-community. On the other hand, emphasizing Judaic knowledge may artificially limit the applicant pool, reduce diversity, reward cultural competence rather than technical skill, and create barriers to alternative forms of knowledge and expertise.

There is a tension between more particularistic visions of the Jewish sector and more universalistic ones. Both offer things that make Jewish organizations desirable places to work. The fact that Christians and others unmotivated by Jewish commitments choose to work in the Jewish sector indicates that it is not impossible for Jewish organizations to compete successfully in the broader American labor market. Competitiveness in this arena depends in large measure

on the ability to promise and deliver workplaces that are attractive to talented professionals from all backgrounds and walks of life.

Entering the Jewish sector

There is no single model of entry into Jewish sector work. One well-known formulation distinguishes the "groomed" from the "bloomed" (Sarna, 1995). Individuals in the former group were raised with an expectation that they might enter Jewish sector work, whereas those in the latter discovered the field on their own later in life. Each formed only a quarter of the worker population studied, which means that the plurality actually fell somewhere between the two poles, partly groomed and partly bloomed.

Competing with the awareness that there are diverse pathways into Jewish work is a deeply-rooted image of Jewish sector professionals as people whose Judaic commitments have impelled them to pursue "careers" that are "in the service of the Jewish people." Such ideas typically envisage work in terms of long-term career commitments decided upon deliberately at critical moments in the life-course.

Part of the reason that this popular image resonates so strongly is that it reflects an important aspect of the reality of Jewish sector work, particularly the reality of those who have risen to lead Jewish organizations. However, beyond its ability to represent what *is*, this image resonates because it offers an ideal vision of what *should be* – a vision that has been institutionalized by hiring organizations, training institutions and professional associations alike.

There are, however, other models. Using the data gathered from the 1,400 individuals working in nearly 200 Jewish settings across the six communities, we propose a typology of entry into Jewish sector work. This typology is used to analyze different Jewish sector settings and jobs, demonstrating how different models of entry are more prevalent in some places than others. We also discuss how these different pathways relate to whether people's professional identities become wrapped up in the fact that their work serves Jewish communities.

Three key dimensions bear on decisions to pursue work in a Jewish setting: 1) Timing of entry, 2) perceptions of the work and 3) professional identity. The combination of these three yields a typology of entry into the Jewish sector.

Timing of Entry: Time of first employment in the Jewish sector is a crucial issue in communal attempts to recruit and retain personnel. Strategies to target different populations often take into account age or point in the life-cycle. The notion of a discrete point of entry is somewhat misleading, however, as some people begin working in Jewish settings as volunteers or part-time employees, or re-enter jobs in the Jewish sector after having left the field. Taking into account this fluid notion of entry, Jewish sector workers can be divided into four groups:

*Teen Labor***.** These are the 32% of Jews in Jewish work who first entered the sector through part-time or summer jobs held during their high school and college years, *and who have continued in Jewish sector work ever since*. If we include those who left Jewish work for some period of time before returning, the majority (52%) of Jews working in our six Jewish communities started

when they were in high school or college. Most of those who held jobs as teens were camp counselors (35% of all Jewish workers) and/or religious school teachers (27%) and/or youth group advisors (14%). Not many held internships (5%).

We regard this finding as especially significant. *Camps, religious schools and youth groups are American Jewry's primary gateway into Jewish sector work, providing Jewish communities with about half of their Jewish personnel.* Although designed as educational venues to socialize children, these organizations have a substantial, perhaps unintended, consequence for American Jewish life through their role as employers of teenagers and young adults.

*First Jobbers***.** These are people who did not work in a Jewish setting during their high school or college years, but who took a Jewish sector job upon first entering the post-college labor market. If they have had job experience outside of the Jewish sector, it is of little note, lasting less than one year. Essentially, they first started working in the Jewish sector upon completing college or graduate school, and have remained in the field. They are 10% of the Jewish sector's workforce.

*Transitioners***.** These are the 53% of all Jewish sector workers (Jewish and non-Jewish) who entered the Jewish sector after having amassed professional experience in other settings (46%), or after having spent much of their adult life out of the workforce raising a family (7%).[20] Among those who made a transition from jobs outside the Jewish sector, we can distinguish among those who are bringing their previously-gained expertise into similar work in a Jewish setting, those who are leaving careers of one type to adopt careers of a very different type, and those who are changing jobs because they are not yet established in a career. Think of a 53-year-old accountant who becomes the CFO of a Jewish organization, a 34-year-old attorney who becomes a congregational rabbi, and a 25-year-old advertising associate who becomes a program director at a JCC.

*Re-entrants***.** These people are few (5% overall), but their pattern is interesting. More than any other group, this one undermines the notion of a defined point of entry into Jewish sector work. Re-entrants are people who worked post-college in the Jewish sector, left it to work in the private sector or in a non-Jewish not-for-profit or school, and later returned to the Jewish sector. Are they floating from job to job, finding their way home, sculpting individualistic careers, or something else? Whatever the case, the circuitous pathways force us to wonder whether people who are recruited in are really in, and whether people who have dropped out are really fully out.

The distribution of these four types of entry across the different types of jobs in the Jewish sector is presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Timing of Entry into Jewish Sector

		Teen Labor	First Jobbers	Transitioners	Re-Entrants
Synagogue	**Clergy**	66%	13%	20%	1%
	Judaics	39%	20%	36%	5%
Jewish Day School	**Educational Administration**	27%	13%	59%	1%
	Teacher (Judaics)	46%	30%	22%	2%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	19%	15%	58%	9%
	Other Educator	18%	10%	61%	10%
Organization	**Direct Service & Education**	32%	16%	47%	5%
	Policy & Planning	29%	12%	55%	4%
	Financial Resources Development	24%	24%	48%	4%
All	**Clerical**	10%	18%	70%	3%
	Operations	10%	10%	75%	6%

Perceptions of the Work: Some jobs in Jewish institutions are clearly seen as Jewish jobs. Others are less so. For example, we asked people, "To be effective in a job like yours, how important is it to be knowledgeable about Jewish heritage?" All of the clergy answered "Very much," but only a third of the FRD workers did so. Still, even the FRD workers might see their work as Jewish work inasmuch as it is intended to benefit Jewish communities.

As researchers, we tried to limit our assumptions about what is and is not a "Jewish" job and let the workers define it for themselves. To create the typology of entry into Jewish sector work, we relied on a question that asked employees whether they saw their first job in the Jewish sector as a Jewish job or as a generic job that just happened to be in a Jewish setting.[21] The answers to this question were diverse (see Table 9). For example, none of the non-Jews working in FRD viewed their initial work in Jewish settings as a "Jewish job." Three-quarters of the Jewish FRD workers did.

Many people enter the Jewish sector with a desire to work in a Jewish field, or at least with a feeling that the field they are entering is explicitly Jewish. Many, however, do not. This may affect their expectations for the position, their expectations about the workplace environment, their likelihood of adopting a professional identity as a Jewish sector professional, and their chances of remaining in the organization or field.

Table 9: First Jewish Sector Job was not Jewish Work, but Just Happened to be in the Jewish Sector

		Jews	Gentiles	All
Synagogue	**Clergy**	2%	N/A	2%
	Judaics	9%	N/A	10%
Jewish Day School	**Educational Administration**	31%	100%	38%
	Teacher (Judaics)	16%	N/A	16%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	30%	97%	51%
	Other Educator	36%	100%	46%
Organization	**Direct Service & Education**	23%	83%	30%
	Policy & Planning	22%	100%	28%
	Financial Resources Development	27%	100%	35%
All	**Clerical**	38%	95%	61%
	Operations	33%	97%	58%

% who saw their first job in a Jewish setting as just a job (4 & 5), with no Jewish content whatsoever

Professional Identity: The way that individuals perceive their workplace is related to the way they view themselves as workers. Aspirations to identify as a Jewish communal professional – expressed, perhaps, in the more specific terms of aspiring to become a rabbi, a Jewish educator, etc. – can and do launch careers in Jewish sector work. It is well known that in addition to the specific skills they teach, graduate programs socialize their students into the norms and values of a profession, helping them to acquire a professional identity that is shared with others like them. In the workplace itself, professional identity is a constantly evolving matter, emerging out of the real-life experiences that people have interacting with others inside and outside of their organizations. Good experiences and bad experiences, perfect fits and mismatches, inspiring mentors and negative role models – all of these help to reshape continuously how people see themselves as professionals. Working in a Jewish setting may foster among people an identification with this field of endeavor, or it may alienate people of enthusiasm and good will (cf. Belzer, 2004).

To gauge professional identity directly, we asked how strongly respondents agreed or disagreed with the statements, "I see myself as a Jewish communal professional," and "I see myself as a Jewish educator." The responses to these questions were described earlier on page 19.

A typology of Jewish sector entry and commitment

By arraying workers in Jewish organizations along these three dimensions – Timing of Entry, Perceptions of the Work, and Professional Identity – a classification scheme can be developed that will help us think more clearly and creatively about the nature of entry into the Jewish sector. We offer it with the caveat that, like all typologies, it implies a greater determinacy than actually exists.

Combining the three dimensions of entry time, workforce perceptions and professional identity gives us a 16-cell matrix that we have further collapsed into seven groups.[22] Each of these groups represents a certain pathway of entry and commitment in the Jewish sector workforce. The name of each group was chosen to echo that of biblical personage who exemplifies this pathway.

Daves
- *Worked in Jewish settings during high school or college and then decided to pursue a career in the Jewish sector.*
- *See themselves as Jewish communal professionals and their work as Jewish work.*
- *Have little to no work-experience outside of the Jewish sector.*

Percent of entire workforce: 17%
Percent of all professionals: 20%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 25%
Female to Male Ratio: 1.5:1

When counting only Jews in professional positions, Daves form the plurality. They are typically thought of as the archetype of Jewish sector professionals. Having begun working in the Jewish sector during their adolescent years as summer camp counselors or as part-time workers with religious schools or youth groups, the Daves are named to recall the story of King David. In his youth, David entered the service of his Jewish community on a part-time basis to fight Goliath. This early experience was the beginning of his distinguished career as a Jewish leader. Among current Jewish professionals, Daves are most prominent among synagogue clergy, 61% of whom fall into this category.

"I wanted to have a career path."

Rabbi Craig T. spent his high school and college years working at a Reform summer camp, where he interacted closely with rabbis. The experience was formative, and led him to his first full-time job as a congregational youth advisor. "I like what synagogues do," he realized, but he wanted to "have a bigger effect, a longer effect on people's lives." Just as important, "I wanted to have a career path, and this [youth advising] wasn't a career path." Craig settled on the rabbinate despite being unsure whether he would enjoy handling life-cycle events and negotiating synagogue politics.

In his fifth year of rabbinical school, Craig "harkened back to [his] camp experience" and "considered very seriously" the possibility of working as a camp director. However, after "vague" and "non-committal" conversations with people in Jewish camping, he was "unclear if there would be a job waiting." He eventually chose the pulpit, where he now enjoys being "challenged" and continually having opportunities "to grow and learn new things."

Abes
- *Decided to pursue careers in Jewish organizations in spite of having had no Jewish sector employment during high school or college.*
- *See themselves as Jewish communal professionals and their work as Jewish work.*
- *Have little to no work-experience outside of the Jewish sector.*

Percent of entire workforce: 7%
Percent of all professionals: 8%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 10%
Female to Male Ratio: 2:1

The prototypical Abe is a college senior reading *What Color is Your Parachute?* and deciding that what she really wants is to work as a Judaic studies teacher or to take a job in a place like a Federation where she can do something good for the Jewish people and live a Jewish lifestyle through her work. The Abes are named to recall the story of the patriarch Abraham. Like Abraham, their decision to follow their hearts into a life of Jewish labor was not born of previous experiences of that sort. Rather it seems the result of a deliberate decision, perhaps a calling, made at a key moment in the life-cycle. Abes are disproportionately found among Judaics teachers, synagogue Judaics workers and FRD workers.

"I kind of got that tap on the shoulder from the Hillel director."

Allison V., a senior Federation professional had "always been active in Jewish community life" – president of her synagogue youth group chapter and active in Hillel and a Jewish sorority. But she had never worked for pay in a Jewish organization during her high school or college years, and "never considered" building a career in the Jewish sector. "My undergraduate degree was in psychology, but I knew I wasn't going into that field." While "aimlessly interviewing" during her senior year of college, her Hillel director asked her if she had "considered Jewish communal service?" Alison had not. "Who'd have thought I'd get paid to do this for a living?"

The Hillel director put Allison in touch with the local Federation, and eventually, she enrolled in a graduate program in Jewish communal service. "I went into this really naively," but "it was a relief to me that someone was giving me guidance. He really knew me well enough…to know that it would be natural to go into this type of Jewish communal service."

For her first job, she interviewed for a position in the Federation where she now works. In weighing her offers, she chose this position, because "it seemed like home. I had a great connection with the other professionals and with interviewer, who was warm and cordial…. [It] seemed like a natural fit."

Ettis
- *Took a first job in a Jewish organization without thinking of it as a Jewish job,* per se*, but came to see themselves as Jewish communal professionals.*
- *May or may not have had past work experience outside of the Jewish sector.*

Percent of entire workforce: 12%
Percent of all professionals: 14%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 16%
Female to Male Ratio: 4:1

More than any other groups, Ettis fell into Jewish sector work and got hooked. This group's name is inspired by Queen Esther, who in the biblical narrative took the position of Queen of Persia without perceiving it as a Jewish job, *per se*. Only later did she use her position to serve her Jewish community. In doing so, she came to see herself and her role differently. Today, Ettis are found in all career areas, but especially teaching Judaics in Jewish day schools.

"I get it now! This is what I want to do."

Emily K.'s family "would never have imagined" that she would end up working for a Jewish organization doing financial resource development. If she was anything like her college friends, neither did she. "None of my friends had any idea what these possibilities were. Even people who did Hillel and camp don't know the breadth of the Jewish community and jobs in it."

When Emily graduated from college, she sent her résumé to an employment agency, indifferent to the type of company she would join. Her last name looked Jewish, and so they sent her to a Jewish organization as an administrative assistant. After six months, she was promoted and given the opportunity to travel to Israel. When she came back, she remembers thinking, "I get it now! I want to be part of the Jewish community…. This is what I want to do."

Though she had considered going back to school to get a graduate degree, Emily decided instead to keep working and see where her job would take her. A Masters in Jewish Communal Service couldn't hurt, she thought, but "you can also do the job without that degree." She felt that graduates of these programs "come out thinking they know how to do everything." Based on her experience, the "learn as you go" approach seemed better suited to her and her work.

At one point, feeling the effects of burnout, Emily considered leaving her job. "There are other things I could be passionate about," such as the United Way, but "if the right position came up, I could see myself in another position in the Jewish community." No matter what, though, Emily would want a job where she could "attach emotion to what [she] was doing."

Emily says her parents still don't "get it like I get it," but they are proud of her.

Jethros
- *Brought skills they gained outside the Jewish sector into Jewish organizations.*
- *Did not see themselves as switching into Jewish work, but rather, doing generalist work that just happened to be in a Jewish setting.*
- *Have not adopted a new professional identity as Jewish communal professionals.*

Percent of entire workforce: 28%
Percent of all professionals: 24%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 12%
Female to Male Ratio: 3.7:1

Perhaps the most under-recognized, under-appreciated segment of the Jewish sector workforce, Jethros are the largest single group of employees, both overall and among professionals only. More often than not, they are Christians helping to make American Jewish life flourish by applying the expertise they gained in other sectors. Others bring with them their experience as former homemakers (a number of whom served as volunteers in the organizations that later hired them). Whether Jewish or not, they do not see themselves as Jewish communal professionals, nor do they see their work as particularly Jewish work.

This group is named to recall the story of Jethro, Moses' non-Jewish father-in-law. In the Exodus narrative, Jethro's background in the Midianite priesthood made him a valuable asset to the community of freed Hebrew slaves. As Moses' principal management consultant, he helped Moses establish a middle management level to which he could delegate authority. Like the Jethro of the Exodus story, Jethros today are primarily found handling internal operations. They are also large parts of the clerical and general studies teaching workforce.

"I was looking, saw an ad in the paper, answered it, and thought it was something that fit my background."

After an established career in human resources in the private sector and with a degree in business administration, Vernon O. was on the market – downsized out of his job. His search led him to a position in the HR department of a large Jewish agency.

Vernon has made the switch to the nonprofit sector – not to the field of Jewish communal service. Professionally, he continues to identify himself as an HR man. "I know that by my work in HR, if I help make the environment here better, then I am having an impact on the final outcome." Going back to work in the private sector is less attractive to him now. "How much better is the population because they bought an automotive product?" And what if he were to leave his organization? "I would look first at another nonprofit. I feel better about myself in the work that I'm doing. It is meaningful work. A lot of people benefit from what we do here."

Moes
- *Brought skills they gained outside the Jewish sector into Jewish organizations.*
- *Saw themselves as switching into Jewish work.*
- *Some adopt a new professional identity as Jewish communal professionals, while others do not.*

Percent of entire workforce: 17%
Percent of all professionals: 18%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 22%
Female to Male Ratio: 3:1

Moes are like Jethros, in that they made the transition into the Jewish sector after having gained their professional expertise elsewhere. But they are unlike Jethros in that they came into their new jobs clearly envisioning the work as Jewish work. About two thirds of Moes have come to call themselves Jewish communal professionals. This does not imply a lack of commitment to the field among the remaining third. It might be that the way they feel they can best serve their Jewish community is to bring their outside expertise, and therefore they are reluctant to abandon that pre-existing professional identity and "go native." The caricature of a Moe would be someone who decides, "I have succeeded out in the wide world. Now I want to do something personally meaningful and use my talents to help my Jewish community."

Moes are named to recall Moses, who gained experience in the courts of Egypt and the pastures of Midian before deciding to assume responsibility for his extended family of Hebrew slaves. Moes are distributed rather evenly across the different job types, but one can find a few more than expected working in operations, in organizational policy & planning, and in specialist positions in Jewish day schools.

"[This] would not have been a good first job for me. I wouldn't have understood the complexity of the issues and the various tools and resources that can be used. You learn that. I learned it too, just in a different environment. And I think for me, as a generalist, those other environments are probably more helpful than just being in the system the whole time."

With over two decades of non-profit management experience, Murray R. seemed an ideal candidate to the lay leaders who recruited him into his present position in a community relations agency. It was not the first time he had expressed interest in Jewish sector work. In his younger days, he had considered a career in the rabbinate, inspired by his involvement in a Reform youth group and his enjoyment of learning and public speaking. "After not making that choice," he says, "this was an interesting opportunity to combine my previous nonprofit experience in a Jewish direction."

While this is "a different kind of job" for Murray, "it's all in my spirit of trying to perfect the world." For Murray, there is even some continuity between the values he is working to promote in his current position and those that he was trying to build into other programs he had worked on previously.

As appealing as Jewish sector work is to Murray, he would not have traded his experience in the general non-profit sector. "For me, while Jewish communal service has always been attractive, it would have been limiting to only have that experience." In Murray's opinion, it is precisely his experience working outside of the Jewish sector that enables him to succeed working in it.

Jonis
- *Working in a Jewish organization, with little to work-experience outside of the Jewish sector.*
- *Do not view themselves as Jewish communal professionals.*

Percent of entire workforce: 13%
Percent of all professionals: 11%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 10%
Female to Male Ratio: 2.7:1

There appear to be two pathways into Joni-hood. One is traveled by people who enter Jewish organizations but who do not consider their work as being of Jewish character. Most of the people entering in this manner are general studies teachers in Jewish day schools. These are (or were) young educators whose first teaching job out of college happened to be in a Jewish school, rather than in a public or non-Jewish private school. They do not deem the work itself to be Jewish, nor do they see themselves as Jewish communal professionals. Rather they are teachers of math, science, English, etc., and their professional identities probably reflect this. The fact that their schools happen to be of Jewish character is of incidental importance and is largely irrelevant to professional self-definition. Had they come to the day schools with previous teaching experience, they would have been categorized as Jethros.

The other pathway into this category is traveled by people who do see their positions as being Jewish in character. They are, in large measure, a residual category that is difficult to explain. These Jonis are people who worked as camp counselors, took their first job out of college in a Jewish organization and did work that they considered Jewish work, but in spite of all this do not consider themselves Jewish communal professionals. What are we to make of them? Why do they stay? These Jonis cluster at high end of our indicators of potential attrition. Perhaps a fair number of these people are biding their time or are looking for a way out. Unfortunately, typologies like this deal only with fixed states, and leave the dynamic process of movement unexplored.

The name Joni evokes the story of the reluctant prophet, Jonah. According to the biblical narrative, Jonah eventually got the job done, but his lack of "occupational" commitment created a retention problem that was solved only by trapping him for three days in the bowels of a great fish. Although modern HR departments would look askance at such a policy, the image serves as a reminder of the potential for attrition (whether temporary or permanent) among young recruits with no outside work experience and no commitment to a lifelong career in Jewish sector work.

Mimis

- *Used to work in Jewish organizations but left the field for various reasons. Now, for reasons equally unclear, they have returned.*

Percent of entire workforce: 5%
Percent of all professionals: 5%
Percent of Jewish professionals: 5%
Female to Male Ratio: 4.8:1

Mimi is the name we have chosen to give to those whom earlier we called "re-entrants." Among those who had left their former employment in Jewish organizations only to return at a later date are people who see themselves as Jewish communal professionals and people who do not, people who saw their first jobs in Jewish organizations as Jewish jobs and people who saw them as jobs that just happened to be in a Jewish setting. It is hard to know what prompted the exit and the return.

The name Mimi echoes that of Miriam. When the Exodus narrative first introduces her, Miriam is engaged in the service of her people by watching over young Moses as he was launched down the Nile. Much later in the story, she re-assumes the mantle of communal responsibility, leading the song of praise at the parting of the Red Sea. Current-day Mimis are working disproportionately in Jewish day schools as general studies teachers and specialists.

The distribution of the seven categories of workers across the different types of jobs and organizations is presented in Tables 10 and 11.

Table 10: Typology of Jewish Sector Entry & Commitment by Job Category (Entire Workforce)

		Daves	Abes	Ettis	Jethros	Moes	Jonis	Mimis
Synagogue	**Clergy**	60%	10%	3%	0%	18%	8%	1%
	Judaics	31%	16%	13%	6%	23%	5%	5%
Jewish Day School	**Educational Admin**	20%	9%	15%	23%	23%	8%	1%
	Teacher (Judaics)	32%	22%	28%	0%	10%	5%	2%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	8%	1%	10%	40%	12%	20%	9%
	Other Educator	14%	0%	14%	22%	30%	10%	10%
Organization	**Direct Service & Educ**	23%	8%	13%	20%	19%	10%	5%
	Policy & Planning	18%	6%	18%	14%	29%	10%	4%
	FRD	15%	15%	9%	25%	21%	11%	4%
All	**Clerical**	1%	2%	5%	56%	11%	24%	3%
	Operations	6%	1%	12%	45%	20%	10%	6%

Table 11: Typology of Jewish Sector Entry & Commitment by Job Category (Jews Only)

		Daves	Abes	Ettis	Jethros	Moes	Jonis	Mimis
Synagogue	Clergy	61%	11%	4%	0%	18%	6%	1%
	Judaics	32%	17%	14%	4%	23%	5%	5%
Jewish Day School	Educational Admin	23%	11%	15%	17%	26%	6%	2%
	Teacher (Judaics)	33%	24%	30%	0%	11%	0%	2%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	13%	1%	15%	18%	17%	24%	12%
	Other Educator	17%	0%	12%	14%	36%	10%	12%
Organization	Direct Service & Educ	26%	10%	14%	14%	21%	10%	6%
	Policy & Planning	20%	7%	20%	9%	30%	11%	4%
	FRD	17%	17%	11%	17%	23%	11%	4%
All	Clerical	1%	3%	8%	42%	20%	23%	3%
	Operations	10%	2%	18%	25%	33%	9%	3%

Explicitly Jewish motivations and pathways

"I got into this before I could probably remember that I was alive. I've always been involved in music. There were certain circumstances growing up.... My great-grandfather would take me to his orthodox shul and when we'd walk back I'd imitate the cantor. I'd sing 'Hava Nagila' for a penny, my first paid gig.... I was really nurtured ever since I was a kid. I was made part of the family of leaders ever since I was a kid. It just happened organically." – Alan J., Cantor, Synagogue, Medium-sized community

The motivations that lead people to seek work in the Jewish sector are diverse (see Table 12). In terms of the typology of entry pathways, three-quarters or more of the Daves, Abes and Moes had their interest in Jewish sector work sparked by a *desire to do something Jewish with their lives*. By contrast, half of the Mimis, only one third of the Ettis and Jonis, and less than a fifth of the Jethros felt that spark.

Mentors, role models, and programs for youth and young adults play a role in attracting certain types of people into certain types of jobs. Their relevance is greater among people who have chosen to make early-career commitments to the Jewish sector. There is, however, some evidence that these factors may also have lingering effects that can bring people into Jewish sector work at later stages. Regarding the job types most affected, the clearer the Judaic content of the work, the more relevant Jewish motivations and early experiences appear to have been in drawing people into it. Pulpit work is in a class by itself, much more influenced by Jewish factors than any of the other job categories, even Jewish education.[23]

Jewish youth experiences played a motivating role for many of the Daves, 68% of whom said that participation (not necessarily employment) in Jewish programs for youth and young adults sparked their interest in Jewish sector work. These mattered to only 13% of the Jethros. As for everyone else, they were relevant in 27% to 39% of the cases.

Mentors and role models were essentially irrelevant to Jethros, who entered the Jewish sector after having worked elsewhere and who had not come to identify with the field of Jewish sector work. On the other hand, they affected the decision of approximately half of the Daves and Abes,

who decided early on to pursue a long-term career in the Jewish sector. To use Sarna's term, "grooming" is one of the factors at work here. Daves were the most likely to have had *parents involved in the Jewish sector* as professionals (24%) or as lay leaders (47%). Half of those who had parents working professionally in the Jewish sector identified their parents as mentors or role models. (Viewed in terms of job category, between 40% and 62% of all Jews in professional positions had parents who were either professionals or lay leaders in their Jewish communities.)

Table 12: Impetus to Jewish Work (By Typology)

	To what extent was your interest in working in the Jewish community sparked by...		
	A desire to do something Jewish with life	Your experiences in Jewish programs for youth or young adults	The guidance of mentors or role models
Daves	83%	68%	55%
Abes	78%	33%	45%
Moes	75%	37%	30%
Mimis	49%	39%	25%
Jonis	32%	35%	23%
Ettis	31%	27%	26%
Jethros	17%	13%	8%

% of Jewish employees responding "Very Much"

Grooming is not the entire story, however. Rabbis, teachers and other Jewish sector professionals were much more likely to be cited as mentors than parents were. This is significant for a variety of reasons, among them the finding of a gender gap in the role that mentoring played. Among Daves and Abes – the groups for whom mentors were the most important – men were significantly more likely than women to say that the guidance of role models or mentors sparked their interest in working in the Jewish sector (68% vs. 40%).[24] One reason for this might be the fact that synagogue rabbis were the most frequently mentioned mentors. (Just under half of all Daves – 48% – identified a synagogue rabbi as their mentor). Past employment patterns had made this profession overwhelmingly male. Still, additional causes are also likely, given that gender gaps in the role of mentoring persisted across most job categories.[25] Controlling for age did not eliminate these gaps.

The gender bias in mentoring can serve as a warning sign pointing to broader barriers to women's advancement in Jewish organizations (cf. Cohen, Bronznick, Goldenhar, Israel, & Kelner, 2004). It suggests that even at the early stages, recruitment efforts may systematically neglect the potential offered by women.

If you don't have a rabbi role model it is hard to imagine yourself as clergy. – Jennifer B., Associate Rabbi, Synagogue, Small community

The competitive employment market

In the search for skilled personnel, Jewish organizations compete not only with each other, but with businesses and non-Jewish not-for-profits and schools. If Jewish organizations are able to create productive, supportive environments, they may increase their chances of attracting professionals who can help them achieve their goals.

Few are better positioned to judge the quality of the work environments that Jewish organizations have created than the employees themselves. It is they, after all, who spend the bulk of their waking hours in these environments, day after day. We asked them how much they thought their organizations had succeeded in creating productive, professional and humane work environments that upheld standards of fairness and quality.

Were we to assess their answers by comparing those who generally saw success with those who generally saw failure, we would find that reports were largely positive. Most employees had good things to say about their workplaces. Only a small minority gave categorically negative answers. If, however, our focus was on *excellence*, we would find much room for improvement. Although responses overall tended to be favorable, they were often qualified. Emphatically positive responses were far fewer.

Across the four work settings – synagogues, day schools, Federations and agencies – there was consistency in employees' perceptions of organizational efficiency and mission fulfillment. Asked to rate their organization's success at maintaining efficient operating procedures, three quarters (74% to 77%) gave their employer something lower than the top mark. In spite of this, employees did not necessarily believe that inefficiency ultimately compromised effectiveness. Slightly over half said that their organization was doing a "very good" job fulfilling its mission (the highest rating possible). Only 6% to 8% perceived their organization not to be doing a good job.[26]

Table 13: Employees' Ratings of Organizational Support

	How good a job does your organization do…		
	Giving you the support you need to do your job well	Supporting your growth as a professional*	Making the best use of your talents*
Synagogues	41%	44%	48%
Day Schools	41%	47%	43%
Agencies	36%	32%	37%
Federations	32%	23%	25%

% Responding "Very Good"
* Differences between organizations statistically significant, p<.001

The professionalism of an organization is largely a function of the culture created by management. Ideally, workplaces should help employees help the organization, by enabling them to realize their potential to become the most productive workers they can be. When we asked Jewish sector workers whether their employers were making the best use of their talents, supporting their growth as professionals, and giving them the support they needed to do their jobs well, only a minority – between 23% and 48% – said that their organizations were doing a very good job (see Table 13). Employees of synagogues and day schools tended to rate their workplaces better than employees of agencies. Federations received the lowest ratings.

Professionalism is also reflected in an organization's commitment to eschew bias and discrimination in favor of objective performance-based criteria for evaluation. Women were less likely than men to feel that their organizations were doing a very good job treating male and female employees equally (see Table 14). Still, a majority of women affirmed that their organizations were treating employees the same regardless of gender. In agencies, a lower proportion of women than men felt that their professional growth was being supported. In day schools, the reverse held true.

Table 14: Employees' Ratings of Organizational Equity … (by Gender)

		How good a job does your organization do…	
		Treating male and female employees equally	Supporting your growth as a professional
Synagogues	Women	69%	No Significant Male/Female Difference
	Men	81%	
Day Schools	Women	62%	50%
	Men	74%	37%
Agencies	Women	57%	29%
	Men	82%	41%
Federations	Women	No Significant Male/Female Difference	No Significant Male/Female Difference
	Men		

% Responding "Very Good," all reported differences significant at p<.05 level

Employees were usually sympathetic to their co-workers, although sizable minorities were not. Asked to react to the statement, "Too many of the employees where I work don't do their jobs very well," majorities dissented (see Table 15). Between one-quarter and one-third agreed, few strongly. Again, employees of Federations were the most likely to offer negative assessments.

Table 15: Too Many of the Employees Where I Work Don't Do Their Jobs Very Well

	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Synagogues	53%	25%	18%	4%
Day Schools	53%	25%	19%	4%
Agencies	47%	28%	22%	4%
Federations	33%	33%	28%	6%

Differences between organizations statistically significant, p<.05

The ability to function as a professional depends upon a measure of control over one's work. This is made easier when lines of authority and responsibility are clear. Jewish sector organizations simultaneously vest authority in both professionals and lay people in order to ensure that power rests not only with career officials but also in the hands of other stakeholders in a community. Such a governance system comes with the acknowledged drawback of blurred lines of authority and accountability (Kelner et al., 2004). To what extent does this system cause complications for the sub-group of Jewish sector professionals who say that working with lay leaders is central to their jobs?

When these workers were asked whether their interactions with lay people were more gratifying or frustrating, just over half (53%) said they were somewhat or mostly gratifying. There were no statistically significant differences across organizations. Women were somewhat less likely than men to rate the experience positively (50% vs. 60%). It is up to the reader to decide whether these statistics represent a glass that is half-full or half-empty.

The quality of a work environment is measured not only in terms of its professionalism and productivity, but also in terms of its humaneness. Depending on the job category, approximately 40% to 60% of employees admitted to feelings of burnout. This is not necessarily because hours are long. The median number of hours per week ranges from 38 to 60 (see Table 16). The scheduling of the hours, however, often does not adhere to a five-day workweek with 9-to-5 days. While it is in the nature of congregational rabbis' and cantors' jobs to work weekends, other professionals also find themselves laboring on the Sabbath, Sundays and nights. Majorities of administrators, general studies and Judaics teachers in day schools, along with majorities of non-clergy Judaics professionals in synagogues also report working the night and weekend shift very frequently.

Table 16: Working Hours

	Median Hours per Week Actually Worked[27]	Workload Causes Respondent to Work Nights or Weekends "Very Frequently"
Clergy	60	98%
Judaics	40	60%
Educational Administration	50	59%
Teacher (Judaics)	45	60%
Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	45	56%
Other Educator	40	19%
Direct Service & Education	45	48%
Policy & Planning	45	43%
Financial Resources Development	45	19%
Clerical	38	5%
Operations	42	24%

About half of the employees in synagogues, day schools and agencies said that their employers had managed to do a very good job enabling them to balance professional and personal obligations, and also to create a caring work environment (see Table 17). Federation employees were somewhat less likely to say this. Along with day school teachers, Federation employees

were also the least likely to give positive ratings to their ability to utilize alternative work arrangements like flex-time and telecommuting (28% for Federations and 33% for day schools). Among employees in synagogues and agencies, this proportion was closer to half.

Table 17: Employees' Ratings of Organizational Humaneness

	How good a job does your organization do…		
	Enabling employees to balance professional and personal obligations	**Enabling flexible work arrangements***	**Creating a caring work environment***
Synagogues	50%	52%	48%
Day Schools	51%	33%	52%
Agencies	54%	45%	47%
Federations	42%	28%	32%

% Responding "Very Good"
* Differences between organizations statistically significant, p<.001

Regarding compensation, over 90% of men working in the Jewish sector were the primary or co-equal breadwinners for their families. In almost all job categories, between 50% and 62% of women were. The proportion was even higher for female clergy (81%). In short, the majority of Jewish sector workers, both male and female, bore the primary responsibility for their family's financial well-being, or shared this responsibility equally with a spouse. In light of this fact, how much can they expect to earn? For most job categories, the median salary ranges from $40,000 to $60,000 (see Table 18). Teachers and secretaries earn a median income between $20,000 and $40,000. Day school administrators earn a median income between $60,000 and $80,000. Synagogue clergy earn the most, with a median between $80,000 and $100,000 and 36% earning over $100,000.

Table 18: Income

	Under $20,000	**$20,000 - $39,999**	**$40,000 - $59,999**	**$60,000 - $79,999**	**$80,000 - $99,999**	**$100,000 or more**
Clergy	0%	0%	16%	26%	22%	36%
Judaics	13%	32%	36%	10%	7%	2%
Educational Administration	4%	13%	31%	27%	7%	17%
Teacher (Judaics)	9%	45%	34%	6%	4%	2%
Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	12%	48%	32%	6%	1%	1%
Other Educator	16%	42%	36%	7%	0%	0%
Direct Service & Education	6%	39%	28%	12%	5%	10%
Policy & Planning	4%	26%	23%	13%	13%	21%
Financial Resources Development	0%	22%	33%	19%	19%	7%
Clerical	19%	72%	8%	1%	0%	0%
Operations	9%	35%	31%	11%	9%	6%

Gender gaps in salary operate to the detriment of women in all job categories except clerical work and "other" day school educator positions (e.g., librarians, guidance counselors, etc.) These differentials persist even when controlling for age, years in organization, graduate degree,

supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team (see Figure 4).[28] The gender gaps for all positions are significant at the $p < .05$ level, save that for the clergy, which is significant at the $p < .06$ level.[29]

Figure 4: Gender Gap in Salary (Premium Paid to Men for Being Male)
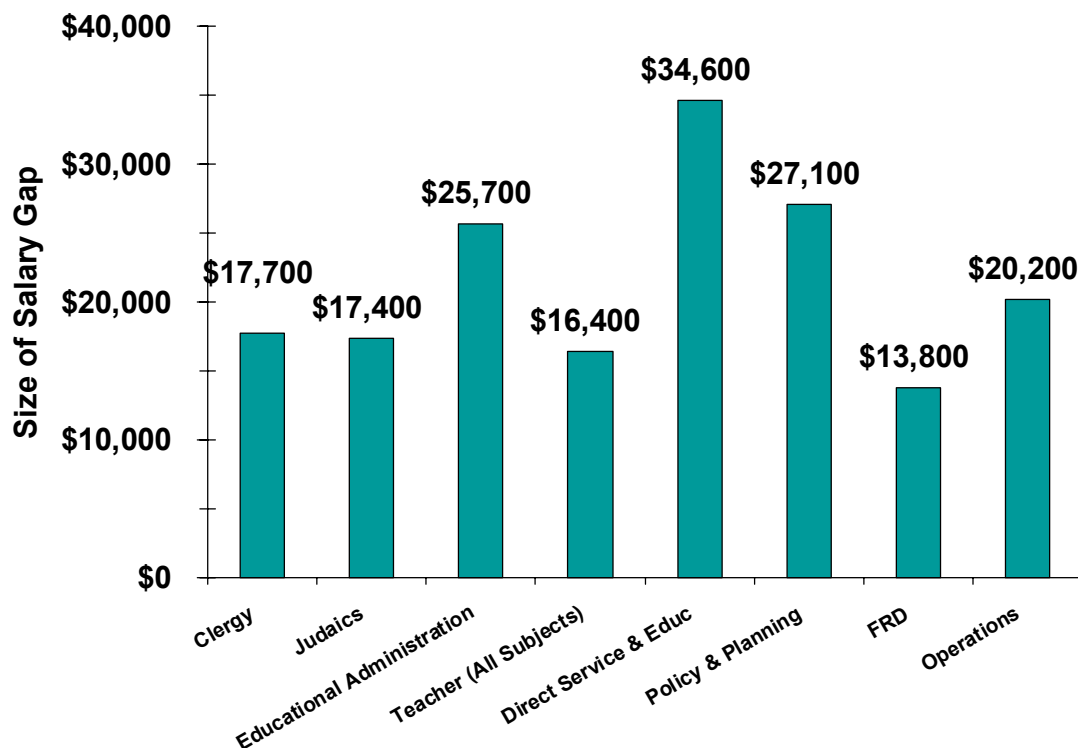
The precision of these estimates is limited by three factors: First, income was reported in ranges rather than as point values. Second, job categorizations combine several different positions under general headings. Third, the data set provides limited information on peoples' positions in the organizational hierarchy. That information which is available has been utilized in producing these estimates. This includes a measure that distinguishes the highest echelon from all other workers, and a measure that distinguishes those in supervisory roles from all other workers.

Comparing the Jewish sector to other sectors

Because Jewish organizations compete for personnel in the broader American labor market, attention should be given to the perceptions held by potential employees about Jewish organizations relative to businesses and non-Jewish not-for-profits and schools. General comparisons of "the business world" to "Jewish community work" are likely to be fraught with conscious and unconscious biases. In an effort to minimize the potential for bias, we focused on

specific comparisons of actual organizations. A short battery of questions were asked of those respondents who had switched into the Jewish sector after having had a career outside it, and who therefore had first-hand knowledge of the settings they were being asked to assess.[30] We asked these people to compare their current workplaces with the non-Jewish organizations where they had spent the bulk of their careers.

Efficiency and standards of quality are matters that affect both organizational success and the potential appeal of workplaces to job-seekers. To what extent are Jewish organizations seen as more efficient or less efficient than businesses and other non-Jewish organizations? To what extent are they seen as holding higher or lower standards of quality?

The plurality of workers with experience in both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations said that their current workplaces in the Jewish sector were just as efficient as their previous workplaces outside it (see Table 19). This proportion was approximately 40%. About a third said that efficiency in Jewish organizations was lower, whereas a quarter, approximately, said it was higher.

As for holding lower or higher standards of quality, there were statistically significant differences among the various types of Jewish organizations. People working in Federations were the most likely to say that compared to where they used to work, their current organizations were more willing to tolerate low-quality work. Just under 40% gave this response. In contrast, the same proportion of workers in Jewish day schools said precisely the opposite: Compared to the previous employers outside of the Jewish sector, the Jewish day schools were *less* likely to tolerate low-quality work. As for synagogues and agencies, about half said there was no difference while the remainder split as to whether the Jewish setting or the non-Jewish setting was the one with lower standards of quality.

Table 19: Relative Comparisons: Is Your Current Organization More…

	Efficient			Willing to tolerate low-quality work*		
	Less	*Same*	*More*	*Less*	*Same*	*More*
Synagogues	38%	41%	21%	24%	55%	21%
Day Schools	35%	40%	25%	39%	38%	23%
Agencies	34%	39%	27%	23%	50%	27%
Federations	33%	39%	29%	19%	43%	39%

* differences between organizations statistically significant, p<.001

On other questions, the people who switched into the Jewish sector generally felt that compared to their previous work, their current jobs gave them better relations with their coworkers, greater accommodation of their personal lives, and greater satisfaction in knowing that they are able to do work that makes a difference. This came at the acknowledged price of lower salary. People who switched into day schools and synagogues were more likely to feel that they had sacrificed benefits packages, whereas people who switched into Federations and agencies were more likely to feel that they had done better in this regard.

The portrait of Jewish sector work that we have painted by asking people to tell us specifically about their own organizations is somewhat at variance with the rhetoric of crisis that has

emerged in the discourse around Jewish organizations. This raises the question of why anecdotal reports tend toward the negative whereas systematic evidence suggests strengths as well as weaknesses?

Retention

Areas of strength and weakness

People leave their jobs for all sorts of reasons. Some have no choice in the matter. They get fired. They get laid off. They get sick. They die. Others do have a choice.[31] Much of this voluntary turnover can be understood as a four-stage process that begins with experiencing negative feelings about the job, then moves to mulling over the possibility of leaving, then follows with translating the thoughts into actions that will prepare the ground for exiting, and finally culminates in the actual resignation (Mobely, 1977). A meta-analysis of hundreds of turnover studies confirmed that the intention to quit is the best overall predictor of turnover, suggesting that employees who have made up their minds to quit will not easily be dissuaded (Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000).

We did not ask the workers in our sample if they intended to quit. But we did ask them if over the past two years they had thought about leaving Jewish sector work for reasons other than retirement. We also had them evaluate their potential options elsewhere. In addition, we asked if during these two years they had taken actual steps to look for work outside their organization and/or outside of the Jewish sector.

Estimated turnover

We begin by offering proxy estimates of turnover based on the proportion of new employees in a workplace (see Table 20). In Spring 2004, the percentage of Jewish sector employees who had been in their organizations for one year or less ranged from 12% to 29%, depending on the position. We have no way of knowing to what degree these new hires were filling vacancies caused by turnover or by organizational expansion. Because these rates probably reflect varying degrees of both, they *overstate the actual degree of turnover* in Jewish organizations.[32]

Table 20: Estimated Turnover

Job Category		Proportion in Organization 1 Year or Less	Proportion in Position 1 Year or Less
Synagogue	Clergy	13%	17%
	Judaics	17%	22%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	14%	29%
	Teacher (Judaics)	18%	30%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	22%	28%
	Other Educator	16%	20%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	12%	20%
	Policy & Planning	18%	29%
	FRD	22%	40%
All	Clerical	29%	33%
	Operations	18%	24%

Clerical positions had the highest proportion of new hires (29%). The next highest was found in FRD positions and day school general studies positions (22%). The rate for day school Judaics teachers was 18%. The proportions for both general studies teachers and Judaics teachers are higher than the 12% figure reported in a 1998 three-community study (Gamoran et al., 1998, pp. 17-18). Likewise all the proportions found here are higher than the 10% figure reported in a 2001 national survey of JCC workers (Schor and Cohen, 2002, p. 12).[33] Among the fields showing the least amount of new hires were the synagogue clergy (13%) and day school administration (14%).

We saw no evidence that turnover rates are related to community size.

Thinking about leaving

Between 20% and 56% of the workforce entertained thoughts about leaving the Jewish sector within the two years prior to responding to the survey (see Table 21). At the high end of the spectrum, approximately half of FRD professionals, general studies teachers, direct service workers, operations personnel and clerical staff had entertained such thoughts. At the low end, one out five synagogue clergy and one out four day school Judaics teachers thought about leaving.[34]

Table 21: Thoughts of Quitting the Jewish Sector

Synagogue	Clergy	20%
	Judaics	45%
Jewish Day School	Educational Admin	41%
	Teacher (Judaics)	25%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	53%
	Other Educator	38%
Organization	Direct Service & Educ	50%
	Policy & Planning	44%
	FRD	56%
All	Clerical	48%
	Operations	48%

Percentage responding "Yes" to the question, "Over the past 2 years (or in the time that you have been at your organization if you have been there for less than 2 years) have you entertained the idea of leaving Jewish community work for reasons other than retirement?"

Some of these differences are explainable by the extent to which people felt they had options elsewhere. Here the proportions are essentially reversed. Fifty percent of the synagogue clergy surveyed said that they had "too few career options outside of the Jewish community to consider leaving the field." The proportions in every other job who felt this way was typically half this. (It ranged from 14% for operations workers to 29% for synagogue Judaics professionals.)

Clergy and Judaics teachers who thought about leaving Jewish work were the least likely to follow through on their musings. We were able to compute a "realization rate" that tells us what proportion of people who considered leaving the Jewish sector actually followed these thoughts with concrete actions (see Table 22). Only 9% of the Judaics teachers who considered leaving actively looked for work outside of the Jewish sector. For synagogue clergy, this realization rate was 17%. For the remainder of the workforce, the rate varied from just under one-third to almost two-thirds.

Table 22: Realization Rate

Synagogue	Clergy	17%
	Judaics	31%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	41%
	Teacher (Judaics)	9%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	50%
	Other Educator	58%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	42%
	Policy & Planning	29%
	Financial Resources Development	48%
All	Clerical	47%
	Operations	50%

The realization rate refers only to those people who were thinking about leaving the Jewish sector. It shows the proportion of these people who acted on their thoughts by actively looking for work outside of the Jewish sector.

Attrition or migration?

To understand the extent of potential turnover in Jewish organizations, consider that, on the whole, *one out of every three or four employees in Jewish settings has recently explored other job possibilities*. Non-clergy Judaics professionals in synagogues were the most likely to have actively looked for work outside of their organizations at some point during the past two years. Policy and planning professionals in Federations, agencies and other organizations were the least likely. Without comparable benchmarks from other fields, it is difficult to know whether we should consider this degree of potential turnover high, average or low.

The implications of these findings depend, in part, on where people were looking for other work. Discussions of turnover in Jewish organizations should distinguish between *attrition* out of the Jewish sector and *migration* from one Jewish workplace to another. From the perspective of an organization that loses a talented employee, it makes little difference if that worker is leaving to take a job in another Jewish setting or leaving Jewish work entirely. Her talents are lost to the organization regardless. For the Jewish sector as a whole, the distinction between attrition and migration is of critical importance. Attrition represents a loss to the sector.[35] Migration, on the other hand, can benefit the Jewish sector by rewarding strong organizations and encouraging troubled ones to adapt. On the negative side, if migration flows are related to factors that organizations cannot control, such as geographic location, the movement of personnel within the Jewish sector can reinforce inequities that favor some organizations over others.

To what extent do the indicators of potential turnover presented above reflect *migration* within the Jewish sector versus *attrition* out of it?

Table 23: Attrition and Migration

		Looked for work outside Jewish sector (Attrition)	Looked for work outside organization but not out of Jewish sector (Migration)	Looked for work outside organization (Total A+M)
Synagogue	**Clergy**	3%	16%	20%
	Judaics	14%	21%	35%
Jewish Day School	**Educational Admin**	17%	11%	28%
	Teacher (Judaics)	2%	17%	20%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	27%	3%	30%
	Other Educator	22%	2%	24%
Organization	**Direct Service & Educ**	21%	7%	28%
	Policy & Planning	13%	2%	15%
	FRD	27%	5%	33%
All	**Clerical**	23%	1%	24%
	Operations	24%	2%	26%

Data refer to the past two years, or to the time that a person was in her current organization if s/he was there less than two years. Figures may not total precisely due to rounding.

The synagogue clergy and day school Judaics teachers who looked for work outside of their organizations overwhelmingly looked elsewhere within the Jewish sector (see Table 23). Synagogue Judaics professionals did not lag far behind. For each of these groups, most of those who were looking to leave their jobs wanted to stay within the Jewish sector. The organizations that were losing these professionals were facing turnover caused by migration, not by attrition. Jewish organizations may not be able to retain "the best and brightest" rabbis, cantors and Jewish educators. But this is a problem of specific organizations, not of the Jewish sector as a whole, which appears well-positioned to hold onto the vast majority of these synagogue- and day-school based clergy and educators.

In every other job category, potential attrition outstripped potential migration.[36] This was so in moderate proportions for day school administrators and organizational direct service and education workers. It was true to the extreme for every other job category considered.[37]

Again, a tripartite division of work explains the findings. People leaving jobs with clear Judaic content mostly look to remain within the Jewish sector. People leaving jobs where Judaic content is hardly relevant mostly look to leave Jewish sector work. People looking to leave jobs with ambiguous Judaic content can go either way.[38]

Table 24: "Poaching"

		Approached by other Jewish organization with job offer in past 2 years
Synagogue	Clergy	43%
	Judaics	46%
Jewish Day School	Educational Admin	56%
	Teacher (Judaics)	42%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	17%
	Other Educator	18%
Organization	Direct Service & Educ	36%
	Policy & Planning	38%
	FRD	45%
All	Clerical	13%
	Operations	19%

Migration risk also suggests that Jewish organizations may threaten to "poach" professionals from other Jewish organizations (see Table 24). The risk of poaching was highest among Jewish day school administrators, over half (56%) of whom were approached by other Jewish organizations with potential job offers. Relatively few day school general studies teachers and education specialists, operations employees and clerical staff were faced with such offers (13% to 19%). Among the remaining job categories, between 36% and 46% were approached with opportunities to move into another Jewish organization.

We can also examine the retention issue from the perspective of the typology introduced earlier. Those with the highest risk of attrition are Mimis, Jonis, and Jethros, a third of whom reported looking for work outside of the Jewish sector. The rest range from 5% (Abes) to 16% (Ettis). When looking at who entertained thoughts of leaving the sector, the groupings are similar, although the proportions are higher (at the low end, 26% of Abes; at the high end, 61% of Mimis.) We also looked at overall commitment to the Jewish sector. A majority of Abes, Daves, and Moes are committed to the field: 69%, 67%, and 54%, respectively, agreed strongly that they felt "a responsibility to Jewish community work to continue in it." Meanwhile, Jethros and Jonis (5% and 16%) were the least likely to express these sentiments, with Mimis and Ettis in the middle (33% and 35%).

How likely were they to be targets of poaching by other Jewish organizations? Abes and Daves were the most likely to be approached by other Jewish organizations (48% and 47%, respectively). Jethros and Jonis were the least likely – only 14% and 19% were approached with offers. Moes, Mimis and Ettis showed a medium risk of poaching: between 30% and 38% were approached with offers.

<u>Section summary</u>

Synagogue clergy and day school Judaics teachers were the least likely to consider leaving the Jewish sector, and the least likely to act on these thoughts when they had them. About 20% had looked for work outside of their synagogues and schools, but this was mostly at other Jewish workplaces. Only 2% to 3% actually looked into work possibilities outside of the Jewish sector. Migration, rather than attrition, was the primary characteristic of these workers, and they were particularly vulnerable to poaching.

Among *financial resource development professionals, general studies teachers, educational specialists, direct service workers, operations personnel and clerical staff*, approximately half thought about leaving Jewish sector work. Of this half, a further half acted on such thoughts. As a result, approximately one-fourth of employees in these fields were actively looking for work outside the Jewish sector during the past two years. Only a tiny fraction – 7% at most – had been looking to migrate to other Jewish organizations. Turnover in these jobs was most likely to represent attrition, not migration.

The remaining job categories fall somewhere between the two poles just described, and can be described as "attrition-lite" or "migration-plus." In the first category were *organizational professionals in policy and planning*. These people thought about leaving the Jewish sector as much as most other professionals, but they were less likely to act on these thoughts. When they did, they tended to look outside of the Jewish sector rather than within it. In contrast, *synagogue professionals in non-clergy Judaics positions and day school professionals in educational administration* were both as likely to consider leaving the Jewish sector as most of the other professionals, and also as likely to actively look for other work. But, even though they professed desires to leave the Jewish sector, the new jobs they actually pursued tended to be within the Jewish fold.

Voices from small communities: The challenges of retention

Broadly speaking, there are two ways that turnover can become problematic for an organization. One is when turnover in a particular position is endemic, and the rapid and repeated departure of workers means that the job is often left unfilled or is being filled by somebody new. Another is when established individuals who play critical roles depart, taking their experience and wisdom with them.

It is the second of these forms that gives the struggle for retention in small communities its particular character. Because so few professionals populate the ranks of the Jewish sector in each small community, the departure of one or two key individuals could represent a significant loss not only to the organization, but to the community as well.

Consider one Federation's tale of upheaval after a period of stability. In general, turnover of senior staff was not a problem. In the words of the Federation director, "Half of our executive staff are long-term employees, five plus years. In some cases considerably longer." But that did not help during the down year when three people retired and two moved away. "Two years ago I had a 50% turnover in my staff. And I largely promoted from within in order to fill vacancies…. That was a rough year." The small size of the organization magnified the impact of each individual departure. With so many going at once, the organization faced a serious dilemma.

Small size exacerbates the impact of turnover in other ways as well. The smaller the organizational field in a community's Jewish sector, the less opportunities exist for local migration. Those seeking advancement in the Jewish sector will find more opportunities in other locales, and those who are committed to remaining in the community may find themselves forced out of Jewish sector work. In the words of a JCC director, "Younger staff want to move up. They want to grow and progress in terms of level of recognition… status and money. And we don't have very many positions to move up to because the senior managers don't move on…. It pushes the [young people] out…. If they are not mobile, they leave the field."

Predicting turnover

Elements of satisfaction

Answers to questions about job satisfaction typically reflect an internal calculus that takes account of various aspects of the work experience (Spector, 2003). Relevant factors might be the office environment, the salary, advancement opportunities, relations with supervisors, as well as other things. It is tempting to try to isolate the aspects of job satisfaction that exert the most influence in pushing employees to leave. Researchers' previous attempts have found that low job satisfaction overall was still a stronger predictor of turnover than any of the facets of satisfaction were (Griffeth et al., 2000). We have found the same in this study. Even so, by disentangling the

separate facets of job satisfaction, we can determine which ones are more strongly correlated with measures of potential turnover.

As we will see, *employees' dissatisfaction with their advancement opportunities and with the recognition they receive for their work are the aspects of job satisfaction that are most likely to lead them to consider leaving their organizations and the Jewish sector.* Bad relations with supervisors are also implicated in pushing employees to explore better options elsewhere.

Table 25: Correlations of Job Satisfaction with Potential Turnover

	Overall satisfaction	Entertained idea of leaving Jewish sector	Actively looked to leave organization	Actively looked to leave Jewish sector
Overall self-rated job satisfaction	1.00	-0.35	-0.34	-0.31
Burnout	-0.37	0.37	0.24	0.20
Satisfaction: Advancement opportunities	0.46	-0.33	-0.34	-0.28
Satisfaction: Amount of recognition received for work	0.48	-0.26	-0.29	-0.24
Satisfaction: Relations with supervisors	0.49	-0.17	-0.27	-0.18
Satisfaction: Supervision	0.45	-0.18	-0.25	-0.15
Satisfaction: Relations with coworkers	0.35	-0.16	-0.21	-0.10
Satisfaction: Respect from community members	0.30	-0.25	-0.20	-0.17
Satisfaction: Salary	0.22	-0.21	-0.19	-0.16
Satisfaction: Benefits (e.g., health, vacation)	0.16	-0.14	-0.09	-0.05

All correlations are statistically significant at the p<.001 level. Correlation coefficients have a possible range from -1 to 1, with 0 representing no relationship, 1 representing a perfect positive correlation, and -1 representing a perfect negative correlation.

Table 25 shows the correlations of various facets of job satisfaction with overall satisfaction, thoughts of leaving Jewish sector work, and active efforts to find new work outside of the organization and outside of the Jewish sector.[39]

The facets of job satisfaction most correlated with overall job satisfaction are those relating to relationships with supervisors (r=.49), recognition (r=.48), advancement opportunities (r=.46) and supervision (.45). Those least correlated regard benefits (r=.16) and pay (r=.22). Satisfaction with the relationships workers have with community members and coworkers fall somewhere in the middle (r=.30 and r=.35, respectively). Three groupings emerge: One concerns material benefits, one concerns the interpersonal environment, and one concerns the ability to work, grow and be recognized as a professional.

Does this imply that people dissatisfied with their professional development are probably more likely to look for other work than people who are dissatisfied with low pay or with bad relations among coworkers? Yes, to a small degree. The correlations between job satisfaction and actively looking for a job outside of the current place of employment are ordered according to the same three groupings. Even at the highest end, though, they are not very strong. A lack of advancement opportunities and a feeling that one's work goes under-recognized are the top satisfaction-related reasons people seek work elsewhere (r = -.34 and r=-.29, respectively). Dissatisfaction with benefits (r=.09)[40] is the bottom satisfaction-related reason. The difference separating the various groupings is not as great when predicting turnover as it was when predicting overall satisfaction. This means that even though pay and benefits are rank-ordered

next to each other at the bottom of the list, they are not very close when you consider the actual size of the correlations. In terms of effect size, pay satisfaction should be grouped with satisfaction with coworkers and community members.

Exit from an organization is not the same as exit from the Jewish sector entirely. To predict this, the tripartite grouping of material issues, interpersonal issues and professional issues is less adequate. Here too, the strongest predictors of looking for work outside the Jewish sector are dissatisfaction with advancement opportunities and recognition. The correlations are lower than before, however (r = .28 and .24, respectively). Supervisor-employee relations, respect from community members, pay and supervision come next, with correlations ranging from .15 to .18.

<u>Levels of satisfaction</u>

Considering that the chances of turnover are higher among workers who are less satisfied, it is worth inquiring into the levels of job satisfaction among Jewish sector workers.

Almost all of the professionals working in the six communities expressed a certain level of satisfaction with their jobs. Between 88% and 99% of professionals in the various job categories said they were "somewhat" or "very satisfied" with their job overall.

Let us apply stricter criteria for assessing satisfaction, and focus only on those who said they were "very satisfied" (see Table 26). For the workforce as a whole, the proportion reporting being very satisfied was 59%. There was little variation across job categories. It was lowest for FRD workers (45%), who were the only professional grouping who did not break the 50% mark on this. For the remainder of the professional workforce, the proportion ranged from 56% to 68%.[41] These findings align with those found in a national study of nonprofit workers generally, in which 58% reported being very satisfied, and 37% reported being somewhat satisfied (Light, 2002). Save for the case of day school teachers, gender was largely irrelevant to feelings of satisfaction.[42]

Table 26: Overall Job Satisfaction

		% Very Satisfied
Synagogue	Clergy	65%
	Judaics	62%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	68%
	Teacher (Judaics)	65%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	63%
	Other Educator	60%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	57%
	Policy & Planning	63%
	FRD	45%
All	Clerical	47%
	Operations	56%

What of the specific aspects of job satisfaction – particularly advancement, recognition and supervisor relations, which were the three facets of job satisfaction most responsible for pushing employees to look for other work? As we will see, satisfaction with advancement opportunities was, in most instances, low. Satisfaction with recognition was only slightly higher. Satisfaction with supervisor relations was, on the whole, relatively high. In each of these areas, satisfaction was distributed unequally, enjoyed most by clergy and school heads, and least by Judaics teachers. We present the findings for the more favorable areas first:

Relations with Supervisors and Co-Workers. Overall, the most widespread areas of job satisfaction regard relationships with coworkers and supervisors (see Table 27). With the exception of day school Judaics teachers and synagogue clergy, approximately two thirds to three fourths of employees are very satisfied with the relationship they have with their supervisors. Even among the day school teachers, where the proportion is lowest, it is still over half.

In terms of the interaction among co-workers, Jewish sector organizations appear to be pleasant places to work. Just under three quarters of workers in all organization types and job categories report that they are very satisfied with the relations they have with their co-workers. Less than 5% in each setting report that they are "not too satisfied" or "not satisfied at all" with coworker relations.

Table 27: Satisfaction with Co-Worker and Supervisor Relations

		Relations with your co-workers	Relations with your supervisor(s)
Synagogue	Clergy	66%	57%
	Judaics	71%	64%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	72%	70%
	Teacher (Judaics)	68%	52%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	78%	67%
	Other Educator	74%	64%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	71%	62%
	Policy & Planning	75%	71%
	FRD	74%	63%
All	Clerical	71%	73%
	Operations	68%	67%

% Very Satisfied

Respect, Supervision and Recognition. About 50% of the workers in most job categories say they are very satisfied with the respect they receive from community members (see Table 28). The proportions are much higher among clergy, day school administrators and policy & planning professionals. For comparison, 49% of workers in the nonprofit sector as a whole report being very satisfied with the public respect for the type of work they do (Light, 2002).

As with respect, about half of all workers say they are very satisfied with the supervision they receive on the job. Satisfaction with supervision is much lower among FRD professionals, however (31%). Day school Judaics teachers and synagogue clergy also report lower levels of satisfaction with the supervision they receive.

We also asked whether people had received any formal supervision over the past twelve months. Between 60% to 80% of general and Judaic studies teachers, clerical and operations workers, and employees in organizational settings like Federations and agencies received supervision. For other professionals in synagogues and day schools, the proportions were less, ranging between 30% to 47%.

Table 28: Satisfaction with Respect and Supervision

		Respect from community members for the work you are doing	The job supervision you receive
Synagogue	Clergy	69%	36%
	Judaics	56%	52%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	69%	52%
	Teacher (Judaics)	49%	40%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	48%	48%
	Other Educator	61%	50%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	58%	48%
	Policy & Planning	70%	50%
	FRD	49%	31%
All	Clerical	54%	47%
	Operations	52%	51%

% Very Satisfied

Recognition. In most job categories, between 30% to 40% of employees are very satisfied with the amount of recognition they receive for their work (see Table 29). Higher proportions of clergy and day school administrators express these sentiments (64% and 52%, respectively). Day school Judaics teachers are the least likely to say that they are very satisfied with the recognition they receive (31%).

Table 29: Satisfaction with Recognition

		The amount of recognition you receive for your work
Synagogue	Clergy	64%
	Judaics	46%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	52%
	Teacher (Judaics)	31%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	35%
	Other Educator	39%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	42%
	Policy & Planning	43%
	FRD	42%
All	Clerical	34%
	Operations	36%

% Very Satisfied

Advancement. There is great diversity in satisfaction with advancement opportunities. Once again, clergy (50%) and day school administrators (44%) are more likely than any other group of workers to say that they are very satisfied (see Table 30). Satisfaction rates drop to about one-third for FRD workers, synagogue Judaics professionals and day school educational specialists; and to one-quarter for day school teachers (Judaic and general studies) and for organizational workers employed in policy & planning or direct service & education. Least likely to be very satisfied with their advancement opportunities are the operations workers (19%) and clerical staff (10%). In the nonprofit sector as a whole, 27% of workers are very satisfied with their opportunities for advancement (Light, 2002).

Table 30: Satisfaction with Advancement Opportunities

		Your opportunity for advancement
Synagogue	Clergy	50%
	Judaics	37%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	44%
	Teacher (Judaics)	27%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	27%
	Other Educator	32%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	26%
	Policy & Planning	26%
	FRD	34%
All	Clerical	10%
	Operations	19%

% Very Satisfied

Satisfaction with advancement opportunities showed a moderate correlation with past promotion within the organization ($r = .37$). An identical correlation was found with anticipated future opportunities for promotion.

Issues of advancement were addressed not only through questions that asked workers to rate their level of satisfaction. Another series of questions asked workers simply to report whether they had had advancement opportunities or foresaw having them in their current organization or elsewhere in the Jewish sector. None of these were meaningfully correlated with indicators of likely turnover.[43]

Promotion opportunities have been made available to a majority (58%) of professionals in day school administration (see Table 31). For most of the remainder, between one-third and one-half have received promotions. Those least likely to have been promoted were clerical workers (15%) and day school teachers and educators (20% to 32%). Across most job categories, the proportions who think that promotions within their organizations will be available to them in the future are lower than the proportions who have received promotions in the past. Employees in

most categories are more likely to see the potential for advancement in other Jewish organization that in their current organization.

Table 31: Advancement Opportunities

		Promotion opportunities have been available at current workplace	Foresee promotion opportunities at current workplace	Foresee advancement opportunities at other local Jewish organizations?	Foresee advancement opportunities at non-local Jewish organizations
Synagogue	Clergy	48%	30%	32%	59%
	Judaics	36%	25%	69%	70%
Jewish Day School	Educational Admin	58%	30%	40%	61%
	Teacher (Judaics)	32%	36%	41%	58%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	27%	26%	30%	26%
	Other Educator	20%	34%	35%	27%
Organization	Direct Service & Educ	43%	29%	46%	54%
	Policy & Planning	48%	19%	40%	57%
	FRD	37%	38%	56%	50%
All	Clerical	15%	12%	22%	20%
	Operations	34%	22%	31%	33%

% saying "Yes"

Large communities have the best chances of using an inter-organization network to retain workers in the local Jewish sector. In every type of organization, workers in the large communities were the most likely to foresee advancement opportunities at local Jewish organizations other than their own (see Table 32). Workers in small communities tended to be the least likely to see such opportunities.

Table 32: Foresee Advancement Opportunities at Other Local Jewish Organizations by Community Size

	Large	Medium	Small
Synagogue	49%	36%	43%
JDS*	42%	24%	16%
Agency*	40%	31%	8%
Federation*	45%	18%	23%

*Differences are statistically significant at the p<.05 level

Salary and Benefits. The lowest rates of satisfaction are found regarding pay (see Table 33). The median income of the workers in the six Jewish communities surveyed here is between $40,000 and $60,000. Although 36% of clergy and 30% of day school administrators say they are very satisfied with the salary they receive, in every other job type, the proportion ranges from about 10% to 20%. Once again, educators and clerical workers are the least satisfied. In the nonprofit sector as a whole, where the median income falls between $50,000 and $75,000, the proportion of workers who are very satisfied with their salary is 24% (Light, 2002).[44]

More people are satisfied with their benefits than with their pay. The highest rates of satisfaction with benefits are found in Federations and other organizations and agencies.

Table 33: Satisfaction with Pay and Benefits

		Your salary	Your job benefits (e.g., health insurance, vacation time)
Synagogue	Clergy	36%	48%
	Judaics	20%	35%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	30%	36%
	Teacher (Judaics)	11%	19%
	Teacher (No Judaics)	15%	25%
	Other Educator	20%	44%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	14%	52%
	Policy & Planning	23%	56%
	FRD	24%	53%
All	Clerical	11%	45%
	Operations	19%	43%

% Very Satisfied

The satisfaction pecking-order

When we examine the components that enter into job satisfaction, we find that clergy and day school administrators are more likely to express satisfaction than are any of the other groups of Jewish sector workers. Of course, their jobs are prestigious, authoritative and few. Policy and planning positions in organizations like Federations are also characterized by relatively high numbers of satisfied professionals.

Day school teachers – particularly the Judaics teachers – are usually the least likely to voice feelings of satisfaction with various aspects of their jobs. However, there is an interesting discrepancy between the measures of specific facets of job satisfaction, and the overall rating that teachers gave. In spite of saying that they are not very satisfied with the pay, or the recognition, or the advancement opportunities, Judaics teachers in day schools suddenly rank second when rating overall job satisfaction. Obviously, other issues that we did not measure are highly salient to the Judaics teachers. We suspect that these have to do with the ability to make a difference in people's lives.

Burnout

Previous research on the caring professions (e.g., social work, nursing and the clergy) has found that burnout is a major cause of turnover. The emotionally taxing nature of work often engenders fatigue, cynicism, and a lack of a sense that one's work is worthwhile (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Mor-Barak, Nissly, & Levin, 2001).

Depending on the job category, two or three out of every five workers in our sample admitted at least some feelings of burnout (see Table 34). Those most likely to say that they felt burnout acutely were people working in FRD (25%), in non-clergy synagogue Judaics positions (19%), and in organizational positions in policy, planning, direct service and education (19%). At the other end of the spectrum, those least likely to experience acute feelings of burnout were day school Judaics teachers (8%) and administrators (7%).

Burnout is more strongly correlated with *thoughts* about quitting than are any of the measures of job satisfaction (r = .37). On the other hand, overall job satisfaction remains a better predictor of turnover *actions*. Expressed feelings of burnout show a .24 correlation with actively seeking work outside of the organization, and a .20 correlation with seeking work outside of the Jewish sector (see Table 25).

Table 34: Sometimes I Think I Am Getting Burned Out In My Job

		Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
Synagogue	**Clergy**	19%	27%	40%	15%
	Judaics	25%	24%	32%	19%
Jewish Day School	**Educational Administration**	29%	25%	40%	7%
	Teacher (Judaics)	30%	18%	44%	8%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	35%	19%	33%	12%
	Other Educator	35%	27%	25%	13%
Organization	**Direct Service & Education**	18%	23%	40%	19%
	Policy & Planning	21%	27%	33%	19%
	Financial Resources Development	11%	31%	33%	25%
All	**Clerical**	28%	26%	33%	13%
	Operations	28%	18%	40%	14%

Organizational and occupational commitment

Turnover in Jewish organizations may indicate migration to another Jewish sector workplace, or attrition out of the Jewish sector entirely. Because questions of retention encompass both organizational and sector-wide dimensions, both will be explored here.

Previous work on employee turnover has found that organizational commitment predicts turnover better than job satisfaction does (Griffeth et al., 2000). Organizational commitment can be thought of in three ways (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993): People may have a *normative commitment* to remain within an organization because of their values or because they feel an obligation to their employer or to their organization's mission. People may also enjoy their job and work environment so much that they develop an *affective commitment* to their workplace. Alternatively, people may feel that even if they would like to leave, the costs associated with this make it more worthwhile to stay put. They can be said to have an *inertial commitment*.[45]

We expand these three notions of organizational commitment to apply them to the Jewish sector as a whole. We call the commitment to working in the Jewish sector "*sectoral commitment,*" and see it, too, as comprised of normative, affective and inertial dimensions.[46]

To what extent are people who are committed to working in the Jewish sector also committed to their current organization? Framed in the converse, to what extent are people who are loyal to their place of employment equally loyal to working for the betterment of Jewish communities? There is a .25 correlation between normative commitment to the Jewish sector and normative commitment to one's employer. This number holds regardless of whether we look at the sample in its entirety or focus solely upon the employees who are Jews in professional positions. The .25 correlation suggests that the two commitments are somewhat related, but far from one in the same.

We find the same thing when we look at affective commitment. If we ask to what extent people who love Jewish sector work are equally enamored of their current workplace, or vice versa, we again find a correlation of nearly identical magnitude.

In contrast, we find a much stronger correlation (r = .57) between feeling stuck in a job and stuck in the Jewish sector (i.e., inertial commitment).

In short, a commitment to the Jewish sector translates into a commitment to an organization only to a small degree. It should come as little surprise, therefore, that it is easier to predict an organization's ability to retain an employee based on the employee's specific commitment to the organization than upon his or her generalized commitment to Jewish sector work (see Table 35). The stronger the normative and affective commitments to a workplace, the less likely workers were to have actively looked for work elsewhere (r = -.40 and r = -.32, respectively.) The relationship between sectoral commitment and not looking for work elsewhere was far less pronounced (r = -.16, for both normative and affective sectoral commitment).

Table 35: Commitment Correlations

		Withdrawal Cognitions	Actively Looked to Leave Organization	Actively Looked to Leave Field
Organizational Commitment	Affective	-0.41	-0.40	-0.32
	Normative	-0.30	-0.32	-0.28
	Inertial	-0.01	-0.07	-0.06
Sectoral Commitment	Normative	-0.28	-0.16	-0.28
	Affective	-0.26	-0.16	-0.27
	Inertial	-0.09	-0.08	-0.14

All correlation coefficients are significant at the p < .05 level

The distribution of normative, affective and inertial commitments across the various job categories is presented in Tables 36 and 37. *Employees in less Judaic jobs were often more loyal to their organization than to the Jewish sector. Employees in more Judaic jobs were often more*

loyal to the Jewish sector than to their organizations. Differences such as these were also evident when contrasting Jethros and Jonis on the one hand, with Moes, Daves and Abes on the other. Ettis and Mimis showed equal loyalties to the field and the organization.

Table 36: Normative and Affective Commitment (by Job Category and Typology)

		Normative Commitment		Affective Commitment	
		Sector	Organization	Sector	Organization
		I feel responsibility to Jewish community work to continue working in it	My current organization deserves my loyalty	I am enthusiastic about Jewish community work	I would be very happy to spend rest of career at my current organization
Synagogue	Clergy	83%	56%	84%	45%
	Judaics	54%	33%	60%	28%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	47%	51%	55%	37%
	Teacher (Judaics)	63%	40%	71%	38%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	25%	32%	26%	27%
	Other Educator	47%	47%	54%	35%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	37%	34%	49%	24%
	Policy & Planning	37%	40%	58%	20%
	Financial Resource Development	39%	20%	51%	14%
All	Clerical	16%	34%	26%	27%
	Operations	19%	37%	30%	28%

% strongly agreeing

Table 37: Inertial Commitment

		Inertial Commitment	
		Sector	Organization
		I have too few career options outside the Jewish community to consider leaving the field	I have too few options outside my current organization to consider leaving it
Synagogue	Clergy	50%	18%
	Judaics	29%	19%
Jewish Day School	Educational Administration	18%	14%
	Teacher (Judaics)	28%	27%
	Teacher (No Judaics Noted)	16%	21%
	Other Educator	15%	15%
Organization	Direct Service & Education	25%	18%
	Policy & Planning	21%	13%
	Financial Resources Development	24%	8%
All	Clerical	18%	25%
	Operations	14%	19%

% Somewhat or Strongly agreeing

Assessing recruitment and retention problems

A degree of turnover is built into the way that Jewish organizations are structured. Small organizational size inherently limits mobility and forces people who want to advance to look elsewhere. This is compounded by the fact that organizational ladders in non-profits (both in and out of the Jewish sector) tend not to proceed along a straight path from mailroom to CEO. In a synagogue, for example, senior rabbinical positions are rarely filled by "promotion.".

Even in cases where career ladders are more developed, this can pose challenges of its own. A study of Jewish day school educators found that the limited opportunities for advancement within the field of teaching encouraged good teachers to move into educational administration. To the extent that this movement occurs within a school, it fills a demand for personnel at the administrative level while creating a demand for new teachers (Gamoran et al., 1998).

Employees perceptions of recruitment and retention challenges

Which aspects of applicant recruitment and staff retention are especially problematic for Jewish organizations? Which are areas of strength? Do all organization types meet with equal success in their recruitment and retention efforts? Do synagogues, day schools, Federations and agencies face unique challenges, or are the issues in each largely the same?

To answer these questions, we turned to the employees – from secretaries to CEOs – and asked them for their first-hand report of what they observe in their offices. The picture that emerges suggests general difficulty retaining entry-level employees, and greater difficulties among Federations than other organizations in recruiting and retaining at all levels.

Each respondent was asked to rate how good a job he thought his organization was doing "attracting qualified candidates" for entry-, mid-, and senior-level positions. [47] Each respondent was also asked to rate the organization's success at "retaining talented employees" at each of these levels in the hierarchy. Respondents were given the option of describing their organization's performance in these six areas as "very good," "somewhat good," "not too good," or "not good at all."

In every area, a majority of employees said that their organizations were doing somewhat or very good. The size of the minorities who responded differently varied from organization-type to organization-type, and from topic to topic. The responses are presented below separately for synagogues, day schools, agencies and Federations.

Synagogues. Synagogue workers were the least likely to cite problems in recruitment and retention. Between 82% and 90% of synagogue employees rated their synagogue as somewhat or very good in recruiting and retaining employees at all levels of the hierarchy (see Figure 5). The things most often cited as not too good or not good at all were recruiting entry-level candidates (18%) and retaining them (16%.) Recruiting and retaining senior level staff were the least likely to be deemed problematic, with only 10% and 11%, respectively, saying that their synagogue was not doing a good job at this.

Figure 5: Recruitment & Retention Problems in Synagogues
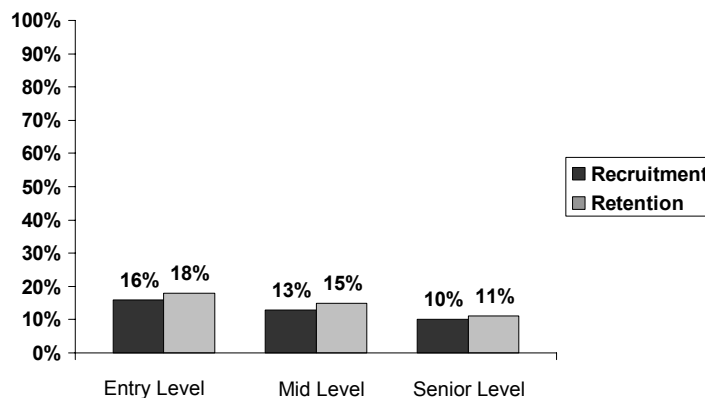
Proportion saying organization is doing "Not too good" or "Not good at all" recruiting qualified applicants or retaining talented employees.

Jewish day schools. Employees of day schools saw the recruitment of entry-level and mid-level staff as the least problematic issues their schools faced (see Figure 6). In both cases, 13% said that their school was not doing a good job. Over twice as many identified the *retention* of entry level staff as a problem (29%). So too was the recruitment of senior level staff (27%.)

Figure 6: Recruitment & Retention Problems in Day Schools

Proportion saying organization is doing "Not too good" or "Not good at all" recruiting qualified applicants or retaining talented employees.

Agencies. Workers in agencies were more likely to say that retention was problematic than to say that recruitment was (see Figure 7). Over one-third of agency employees (35%) said that their

organizations were not doing well retaining entry-level personnel. Almost one-quarter (24%) said the same of mid-level staff. The proportions describing recruitment as problematic were lower: between 14%-17% for all three levels in the hierarchy. Least likely to be cited as problematic was retention of senior staff (12%.)

Figure 7: Recruitment & Retention Problems in Agencies

Proportion saying organization is doing "Not too good" or "Not good at all" recruiting qualified applicants or retaining talented employees.

Federations. Employees of Federations were more likely than employees of day schools, synagogues and agencies to say that their organizations were not doing well recruiting and retaining staff.[48] This pattern held true both for recruitment and for retention at all three levels of the organizational hierarchy. The least problematic area they identified was retention of mid-level employees (see Figure 8). Here, 24% of Federation employees said that their organization was not doing well. (In the other work settings, this proportion was 13%-14%.) Between one-quarter and one-third of Federation employees said that their organizations were not doing a good job recruiting entry-level staff and senior-level staff. Just under one-quarter saw senior staff retention as problematic. The greatest difficulties cited were with retention of personnel in entry-level (47%) and mid-level positions (39%).
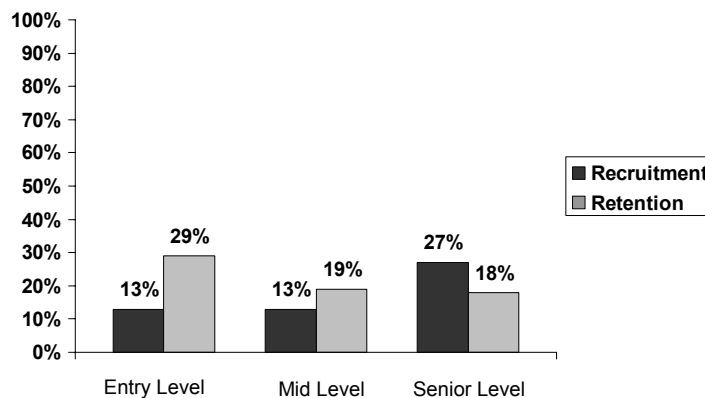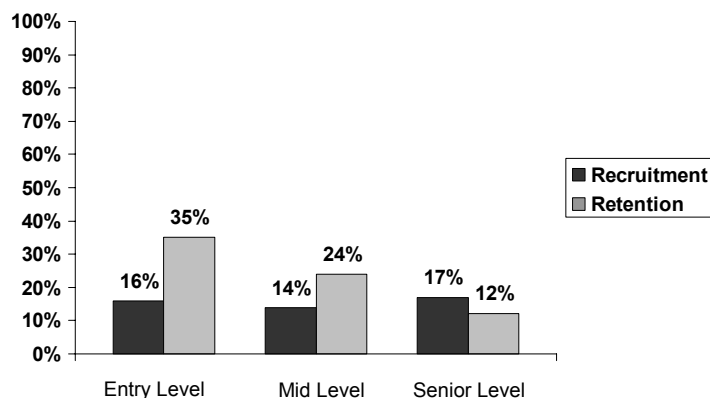
Figure 8: Recruitment & Retention Problems in Federations
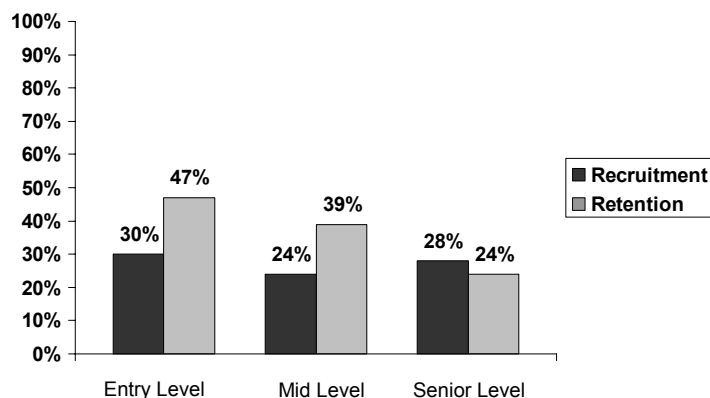
Proportion saying organization is doing "Not too good" or "Not good at all" recruiting qualified applicants or retaining talented employees.

Some caveats are in order. We are attempting to assess organizations' performance in recruitment and retention by asking employees for their judgments. Their perspectives are shaped by their particular vantage points. Although their reports may be accurate, it is also possible that they see issues of retention as particularly problematic because these issues are more visible to them or affect their work more directly than issues of recruitment. Thus, although important, it is true that the employees' perspectives are not the only valid ones. When assessing the recruitment of senior personnel, perhaps it would be better to solicit the views of lay leaders involved in the search process. They, after all, are the ones who know most clearly what they are looking for in a senior executive, and whether candidates with these characteristics have been plentiful or scarce. In short, the data presented here are one set of perspectives that can inform our understanding of the situation, but should not be regarded as the final word on the matter.[49]

Community Variation. Although small communities were hardly immune to the problems of retaining entry-level staff, the employees in these settings were less likely to rate their organizations poorly. Across the six communities, the proportion of Federation employees saying that their organizations were not doing a good job retaining entry-level staff was spread wide, from 11%, at the low end, to 73% at the high end. Respondents in the three largest communities were the most likely to report problems. In synagogues, the spread was narrower (between 0% and 26%). Here, the two largest communities were the most likely to report these retention problems.

Across the six communities, between 9% and 47% of day school employees said that their schools were not doing a good job retaining entry-level staff. This bore no relation to community size. The cross-community range in agencies was 17% to 41%. Here, the ratings were poorest in the medium-sized communities and in one of the large communities.

Effects of recruitment and retention problems

Further evidence of the particular challenges faced by Federations emerged when we asked respondents to assess the impact of recruitment and retention problems on the organization. Members of senior leadership teams in Federations were about three times as likely as those in other work settings to claim that difficulties in recruiting and retaining staff were hindering their organization's ability to run effectively. One-third (31%) saw recruitment as a problem that was having a large impact on organizational effectiveness, and a similar proportion (33%) said the same of retention. In day schools, 12% claimed that recruitment problems were harming organizational effectiveness, and 10% claimed that retention problems were. For agencies, the proportions were 10% and 8%, respectively. For synagogues, 5% and 6%.

Perceptions of recruitment and retention problems are related to perceptions of organizational success. Controlling for organization type, we see that the more that managers feel that retention problems are hampering effectiveness, the worse they rate organizational efficiency ($r = -.39$) and mission fulfillment ($r = -.45$.) The strength of these relationships is somewhat smaller when speaking of recruitment rather than retention ($r = -.17$ and $-.25$, respectively).

Above, we noted that the most common problems in Jewish organizations apparently concern retention of entry-level employees. Here, we note that management's perceptions of retention problems, more than recruitment problems, tend to be the most strongly correlated with actual assessments of organizational efficiency and goal attainment.

Conclusion

The current study offers empirical data on Jewish sector professionals across many diverse job categories and organization types. The findings discussed in this report point to several broad conclusions:

First, throughout this report, we repeatedly have been forced to draw distinctions between the experiences of people working in different types of jobs and in different types of organizations. It has been difficult to speak of the Jewish sector workforce as a singular unit, because the experiences of rabbis, teachers, fundraisers, operations workers and others are so often different. To the extent that the Jewish sector faces challenges, these are not always spread evenly across the different types of jobs and organizations. In many cases, problems are localized to certain types of organizations or certain categories of jobs. There are pockets of strength in addition to areas of weakness.

The attempt to take a comprehensive look at the Jewish sector brings with it a number of advantages. In particular, the comprehensive approach is good at highlighting issues that cut across job types, and pointing to areas where there is less uniformity. Like any research strategy, however, it also has disadvantages. The generalizing thrust of the study made it difficult to tailor questions to address the particular issues of particular career areas. For this, studies of targeted sub-populations, such as teachers or FRD workers, will prove more valuable. Like researchers,

policymakers will have to weigh similar tradeoffs involved in choosing between generalized versus targeted intervention strategies.

A second broad conclusion we can draw regards the diversity of Jewish communities. Although a national labor market exists for some types of positions, some communities have greater access to it than others. Moreover, local hiring is prevalent in each of the six places we studied. This raises in a different way the thorny question of generalized versus targeted approaches. Again, this tension is present both for scholars seeking to study the Jewish sector and for policymakers seeking to intervene in it.

A third conclusion extends the theme of diversity that has been evident at the levels of community, organization type, and job category. Not only is the Jewish sector composed of many different types of work in many different types of settings, but the people who are drawn to these jobs are themselves diverse. They come from a variety of different backgrounds with a variety of different motivations for starting work in Jewish organizations and for staying there. The Jewish sector's breadth enables it to appeal to different people in different ways.

Finally, this research points to the importance of each individual workplace in guaranteeing the health of the Jewish sector as a whole. The employing organization is the primary context where issues of recruitment, retention, job satisfaction and job performance are enacted. If organizations help their employees to be productive, recognized and supported, they will be working to the betterment of the communities they serve as well as the Jewish sector overall.

What began as a study of individual professionals has uncovered a set of complex organizational issues. These go well beyond matters of recruitment and retention. Over the past two decades, the term "personnel crisis" has been introduced into discussions about the Jewish sector (cf. Jewish Life Network, 2001; Mandel et al., 1987; Marker, 2003.) In a sense, the term is shorthand. It has helped people concisely express a host of not-always-articulated concerns about the broader health of the Jewish sector. Even if the Jewish sector were a model of HR perfection, if turnover were nil and if there were ten qualified applicants for every open position, such concerns might persist. After all, successful recruitment and retention are the necessary, but hardly sufficient, means to a greater end – namely, building organizations that efficiently fulfill their missions. The next challenge for research and policy will be to effect the paradigm shift – to move beyond the focus on personnel (about which much is known,) and to grapple with the much more complex questions of organizational effectiveness, which in the Jewish sector, remains uncharted territory.

Appendix A: Methodology

Data were collected in six diverse American communities, large and small, established and new, growing and shrinking. In these communities, to which confidentiality has been promised, we conducted in-depth interviews with 104 current and former Jewish sector professionals, and focus groups with 15 more. This qualitative fieldwork informed the design and analysis of a questionnaire that was delivered via the internet to employees of 196 organizations. With 1,558 respondents, the survey had an overall response rate of ranging from 49% to 53%.

In identifying the communities for inclusion in the study, we considered geography, community size and our likely ability to gain the local buy-in that we needed in order to be able to successfully conduct the study. In particular, we sought communities where the local Jewish Federation would be able and willing to provide assistance as the lead contact organization. Initially, we selected two communities in the South, one in the Midwest, and one in the Northeast. The size of their Jewish populations ranged between 40,000 and 200,000. We later added one Southern and one Midwestern community with Jewish populations under 10,000.

The six communities are not a random sample of American Jewish communities, although they reflect important elements of its diversity. Communities on the West Coast are not represented in the study. The most western community is located east of the Rockies. The decision to use Federation liaisons means that the study also under-represents communities where the Federation has poor relations with other local organizations. That said, even among the six communities we observed, the quality of these relationships displayed some variability.

To help us gain access to the nearly 200 communal institutions represented in this study, each local Federation executive director appointed a staff liaison to work with us. These appointed liaisons included, in some cases, the Federation executive directors and their administrative assistants, and in other cases, the Federation directors of human resources, directors of planning, or special projects staff members.

Interviews and Focus Groups

In each community, we sought to interview a diverse group of professionals, educators, and clergy working in Jewish organizations, synagogues, and day schools. Across the six communities, we interviewed a total of 101 individuals currently employed in Jewish organizations. We also interviewed three former Jewish sector professionals. We conducted two focus groups of congregational school teachers with 15 people in two communities (10 in a medium-sized community – 90% female; 5 in a small community – 80% female). Each interview and focus group subject completed a background information form.

Table 38: Distribution of Interview Subjects across Communities and Place of Employment

	Agency	*Federation*	*JDS*	*Synagogue*	*Former Pros*	*Total*
Large 1	31% (5)	31% (5)	31% (5)	6% (1)	0% (0)	16
Large 2	20% (3)	47% (7)	0% (0)	20% (3)	13% (2)	15
Medium 1	47% (9)	26% (5)	0% (0)	26% (5)	0% (0)	19
Medium 2	29% (4)	36% (5)	14% (2)	21% (3)	0% (0)	14
Small 1	21% (3)	43% (6)	7% (1)	29% (4)	0% (0)	14
Small 2	27% (7)	23% (6)	8% (2)	38% (10)	4% (1)	26
OVERALL	30% (31)	33% (34)	10% (10)	25% (26)	3% (3)	104

Figure 9: Distribution of Interview Subjects across Communities and Place of Employment
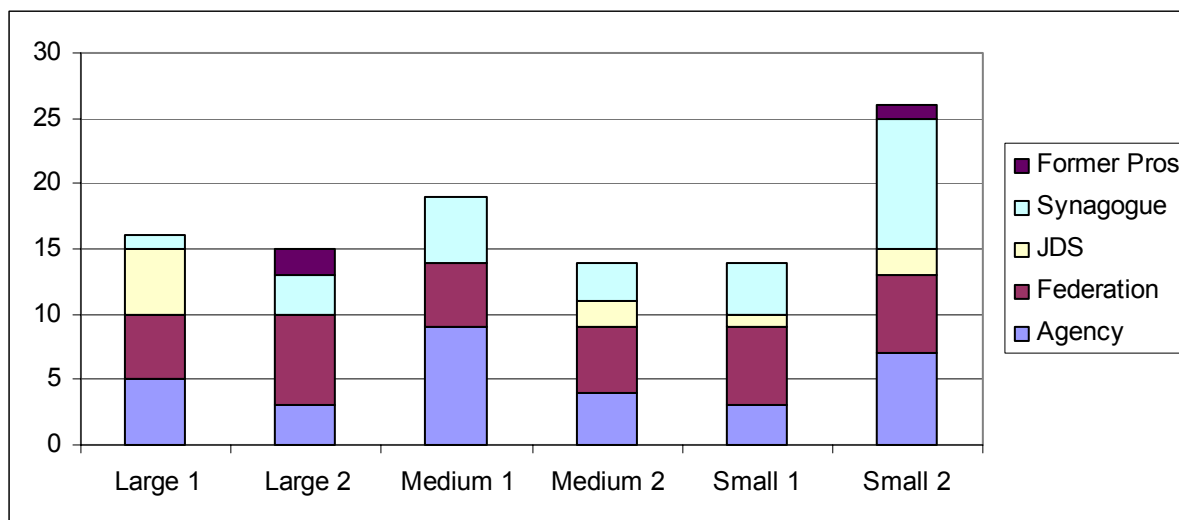
Table 39: Gender Distribution of Interview Subjects by Community

	Female	*Male*
Large 1 (N=15)	62% (10)	38% (6)
Large 2 (N=15)	67% (10)	33% (5)
Medium 1 (N=19)	58% (11)	42% (8)
Medium 2 (N=13)	43% (6)	57% (8)
Small 1 (N=14)	57% (8)	43% (6)
Small 2 (N=26)	58% (15)	42% (11)
OVERALL (N=102)	58% (60)	42% (44)

Interview subjects ranged in age from 24 to 66, with an average age of 44.

Table 40: Age Distribution of Interview Subjects by Community

	Min	*Max*	*Mean*	*Median*
Large 1 (N=15)	27	57	44	46
Large 2 (N=15)	24	57	37	31
Medium 1 (N=19)	25	66	45	46
Medium 2 (N=13)	29	64	49	49
Small 1 (N=14)	28	60	43	40
Small 2 (N=26)	26	62	45	49
OVERALL (N=102)	24	66	44	46

We interviewed professionals with varying lengths of experience in the Jewish sector, from one week on the job to a 40-year career. On average, the interview subjects had 12 years of experience in the Jewish sector. In some communities (particularly the medium-sized ones) we interviewed more seasoned professionals, while in others (e.g., the largest), we concentrated on the junior professionals. Thirty percent of all interview subjects are CEOs, executive directors, heads of school, or senior rabbis. We interviewed one to five such senior professionals in each community. The distribution of Jewish sector work experience among our interview subjects skews towards either extreme of having five or fewer years of experience or 16 or more.

Table 41: Distribution of Interview Subjects across Years of Jewish Communal Work Experience and Community

	0 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	16+
Large 1 (N=14)	21% (3)	36% (5)	21% (3)	21% (3)
Large 2 (N=14)	64% (9)	29% (4)	7% (1)	0% (0)
Medium 1 (N=18)	39% (7)	11% (2)	6% (1)	44% (8)
Medium 2 (N=13)	23% (3)	8% (1)	8% (1)	62% (8)
Small 1 (N=12)	33% (4)	25% (3)	8% (1)	33% (4)
Small 2 (N=25)	36% (9)	12% (3)	24% (6)	28% (7)
OVERALL (N=96)	36% (35)	19% (18)	14% (13)	31% (30)

Of the 104 interview subjects, 99 reported their religion as Jewish and five as Christian. The denominational breakdown is presented in the table below.

Table 42: Distribution of Religious Affiliation of Interview Subjects by Community

	Conserv-ative	*Jewish (Affiliation Not Indicated)*	*Non-Jewish*	*Orthodox*	*Other Jewish*	*Recon-structionist*	*Reform*
Large 1 (N=16)	25% (4)	25% (4)	0% (0)	6% (1)	12% (2)	0% (0)	31% (5)
Large 2 (N=15)	20% (3)	27% (4)	0% (0)	7% (1)	7% (3)	20% (3)	20% (3)
Medium 1 (N=19)	32% (6)	10% (2)	5% (1)	5% (1)	10% (2)	0% (0)	37% (7)
Medium 2 (N=14)	29% (4)	36% (5)	7% (1)	7% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	21% (3)
Small 1 (N=14)	36% (5)	0% (0)	14% (2)	0% (0)	7% (1)	0% (0)	43% (9)
Small 2 (N=26)	31% (8)	19% (5)	4% (1)	4% (1)	15% (4)	0% (0)	27% (7)
OVERALL (N=104)	29% (30)	19% (20)	8% (5)	5% (5)	10% (10)	3% (3)	30% (31)

Nearly 80% percent of the subjects we interviewed were married while only 14% were single. Five were divorced or widowed, while one was partnered. More than half of the subjects had one or two children (1.7, on average), and 19 had three or more.

When asked if they "grew up in this community," 73% of interview subjects reported that they did not. We interviewed the most "homegrown" talent, proportionally, in the two medium-sized communities, where 47% (9 out of 19) and 29%, (4 out of 14) were raised locally. In the large and small communities, this proportion was under 20%.

Survey

We surveyed the population of the paid Jewish sector workforce in the six communities using Computer Assisted Web Interview (CAWI) technology. We defined the population as including the following organizations: the local Jewish Federation, Jewish day schools, Jewish community centers, synagogues, Hillels, Jewish foundations (primarily Jewish-focused funding, started by Jewish families), local Jewish newspapers, and other local Jewish agencies and local affiliates/branches of national Jewish organizations.

The job types that we included in the population were salaried communal professionals (program and administration/management), day school teachers and educators, synagogue educators (except congregational school teachers; see below), clergy (rabbis and cantors), and administrative staff (i.e., secretarial). We included both part-time and full-time staff, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish personnel.

Certain organizations and job types were excluded from the population. We excluded organizations that were operated solely by unpaid volunteers (i.e., that had no paid professional staff) and synagogues without a full-time rabbi or with no other full-time professional staff or clergy besides a rabbi. Also excluded were Jewish family services organizations and Jewish homes for the aged, because we deemed the clinical work and nursing to be a different type of specialization that was unlike that present in the other organizations in our study. We also excluded local affiliates of national organizations with two or fewer staff members, local affiliates of national fundraising organizations (e.g. "American Friends of…" organizations), institutions of higher learning, for-profit organizations (except local Jewish newspapers), and governmental organizations (e.g., Israeli diplomatic offices).

We also excluded certain job categories. While we included early childhood program directors, we did not include early childhood teachers or day care workers. We also excluded volunteers (or unpaid staff), because this is a study of paid members of the workforce. As we learned from our focus groups and other studies dealing with such teachers, most congregational school teachers have primary employment outside of the Jewish sector workforce and teach in a part-time capacity; thus, we excluded them from the sample. Therapists and clinical social workers, as well as health and recreational staff at JCCs, were excluded. In certain cases, however, we followed the recommendation of our community liaisons to invite the management of these organizations to participate in the survey.

Our representation of administrative support staff is incomplete. An initial decision to exclude them from the survey was revisited, but this occurred only after employee lists had already been gathered from the two small communities. Our data on clerical workers therefore refers only to the medium and large communities.

Database

To gather names, we culled Jewish community directories for organization listings and consulted our liaisons in the local Federations for verification. Using the list of organizations, we proceeded to gather the names, job titles and e-mail addresses of all eligible people working in each organization. In some cases, the Federation liaison worked on our behalf to gather the lists of names. In other cases, we contacted the head of each organization directly and requested a "complete, accurate, and up-to-date list." In the cases where e-mail addresses were unavailable, we collected a home or work mailing address and phone number.

Table 43: Organizations Participating in the Study (by community)

	Camp	Day School	Education	Family	Federation	Hillel	JCC	Museum	Newspaper	Synagogue	Youth	Other	Total
Large 1	3	7	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	1	3	43
Large 2		8	2		1	6	3	2		37	3	8	70
Medium 1	1	4	2		2	1	1	1	1	12	1	3	29
Medium 2		5	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	13		5	32
Small 1		1		1	1	1	1			4			9
Small 2		1	1		1		1		1	3			8
TOTAL	4	26	9	3	7	10	9	6	4	89	5	19	191

We included all organizations that fit within the parameters discussed above. However, in one of the large communities, we consulted with a local umbrella organization to devise a sample of the approximately 200 synagogues in the area. In this community, we limited synagogue inclusion to those with a synagogue administrator, which indicated the presence of a staff larger than a single rabbi. The resulting list of synagogues for the sample included roughly the same number of synagogues found in the other large community in this study. Orthodox synagogues are somewhat underrepresented because many of them do not have a staff beyond one rabbi.

Table 44: Proportion of Synagogues in Large Community # 2 by Affiliation in Overall Population and in Research Sample

	Population	*Sample*
Conservative	23%	33%
Not affiliated	22%	20%
Orthodox	31%	10%
Reconstructionist	3%	3%
Reform	21%	35%

We compiled the database between December 2003 and February 2004. The lists we received were complete, accurate, and up-to-date lists of all people working for each organization at that time. In one case where the organization would only provide an incomplete list, we excluded that organization from the database.

While some organizations did not respond to our requests, we gained the participation of the vast majority of organizations in the defined population of each community:

- In both small communities and one of the medium-sized ones, 100% of the eligible organizations provided lists.
- Of the 36 eligible organizations in the other medium-sized community, six did not respond to our requests for lists. These included one Orthodox day school, three branch offices affiliated with national organizations, a kashrut association and an Orthodox synagogue.
- In each of the large communities, 89% of the eligible organizations provided lists. In one of these communities, the organizations that did not respond to our requests included one small Reform congregation, one large Conservative synagogue, two local Jewish news publications, a local Jewish organization, and a community day school. In the other large community, the refusals came from two Orthodox day schools, two Jewish news publications, a local affiliate of a national Jewish agency, and a local education agency. One local affiliate of a national organization refused to provide a complete list, leading us to exclude the organization entirely.

Table 45: Eligible and Participating Organizations by Community

	Eligible	Participating
Large 1	55	89% (49)
Large 2	80	90% (72)
Medium 1	36	83% (30)
Medium 2	41	100% (41)
Small 1	10	100% (10)
Small 2	11	100% (11)
Total[50]	232	95% (212)

Sampling Frame

Employees in the small communities make up only 4% of the sampling frame, ten times less than the proportion accounted for by the largest community. Most of the individuals in the sampling frame are employees of Jewish day schools (41.4%) and agencies (28.3%), while less than a quarter are synagogue employees and only 9% are Federation employees. The two small communities have disproportionately high proportions of Federation employees.

Table 46: Individuals in Sampling Frame by Community

	All Individuals in Frame
Large 1	24% (671)
Large 2	40% (1130)
Medium 1	15% (426)
Medium 2	17% (495)
Small 1	2% (69)
Small 2	2% (48)
TOTAL	100% (2839)

Table 47: Individuals in Sampling Frame by Organization Type

	All Individuals in Frame
Agency	28% (804)
Federation	9% (254)
Jewish Day School	41% (1176)
Synagogue	21% (605)
TOTAL	100% (2839)

Table 48: Sampling Frame by Organization Type and Community

	Agency	Federation	JDS	Synagogue
Large 1	32% (216)	8% (52)	42% (285)	18% (118)
Large 2	22% (251)	9% (100)	45% (509)	24% (270)
Medium 1	35% (150)	9% (37)	39% (168)	17% (71)
Medium 2	31% (155)	8% (39)	38% (189)	23% (112)
Small 1	26% (18)	23% (16)	28% (19)	23% (16)
Small 2	29% (14)	21% (10)	12% (6)	38% (18)
OVERALL	28 (804)	9% (254)	41% (1176)	21% (605)

Table 49: Individuals in Sampling Frame by Sex

Female	71% (2026)
Male	26% (736)
Name is ambiguous	3% (77)
TOTAL	100% (2839)

Timing

On Monday, February 23, 2004, we sent a personalized e-mail to each organization head (e.g., executive director, senior rabbi, head of school) informing them that the survey invitation would be coming soon to their staff's email inbox. A similar advance notification e-mail was sent to the full sampling frame three days later. The first e-mail invitation containing a link to the online survey instrument went out on the following Tuesday morning, March 2. (This happened to be the day of many U.S. presidential primary elections. The coincidence of the timing was not intentional.)

To the 256 people whose e-mail addresses we did not have, we mailed invitations through the U.S. Postal Service. The letter, sent on March 10, invited people to take the survey online using a unique security code. While letters were sent to people in each job category, 73% of them were sent to Jewish day school teachers and other day school personnel. The second medium-sized community and the first large one received the highest proportion of mailed letters with 65% and 19%, respectively. Nine letters were returned with bad addresses.

The first follow-up e-mail went out to all non-respondents with e-mail addresses on Tuesday morning, March 9. The second follow-up e-mail went out to all remaining non-respondents with e-mail addresses early on Sunday morning, March 21. (Texts of mailings are attached below.)

Between March 30 and April 9, our staff placed phone calls to remaining non-respondents in professional positions (i.e., excluding administrative staff/secretaries) and personally invited them to take the online survey. We prioritized low response rate categories of synagogue personnel in the first large community and agency personnel in the first medium-sized community, but called all non-respondents in professional positions.

In the first week with the survey in the field (the four business days, March 2-5 through the weekend, ending March 7), more than half of the individuals in the sampling frame arrived at the web site containing survey instrument. (Not all of these completed the survey at this time; see table below). The completion rate during this first week was about the same as the completion rate after the first week. The survey was taken out of the field on April 9.

Table 50: Total Respondents by Date of Arrival (Login) to Survey

Date	Running Total	Cumulative Percent
Tue Mar 2	545	35.3%
Wed Mar 3	697	45.1%
Thu Mar 4	751	48.6%
Fri Mar 5	785	50.8%
Sat/Sun Mar 6-7	794	51.4%
Mon Mar 8	816	52.8%
Tue Mar 9	1,067	69.0%
Wed Mar 10	1,121	72.5%
Thu Mar 11	1,134	73.4%
Fri Mar 12	1,145	74.1%
Sat/Sun Mar 13-14	1,160	75.0%
Mon Mar 15	1,179	76.3%
Tue Mar 16	1,188	76.8%
Wed Mar 17	1,197	77.4%
Thu Mar 18	1,198	77.5%
Fri Mar 19	1,201	77.7%
Sat-Sun Mar 20-21	1,245	80.5%
Mon Mar 22	1,326	85.8%
Tue Mar 23	1,353	87.5%
Wed Mar 24	1,365	88.3%
Thu Mar 25	1,369	88.6%
Fri Mar 26	1,376	89.0%
Sat/Sun Mar 27-28	1,377	89.1%
Mon Mar 29	1,383	89.5%
Tue Mar 30	1,410	91.2%
Wed Mar 31	1,482	95.9%
Thu Apr 1	1,514	97.9%
Fri Apr 2	1,532	99.1%
Sat/Sun Apr 3-4	1,538	99.5%
Mon Apr 5	1,543	99.8%
Tue April 6	1,543	99.8%
Wed Apr 7	1,544	99.9%
Thu Apr 8	1,546	100.0%

Figure 10: Total Respondents by Date of Arrival (Login) to Survey
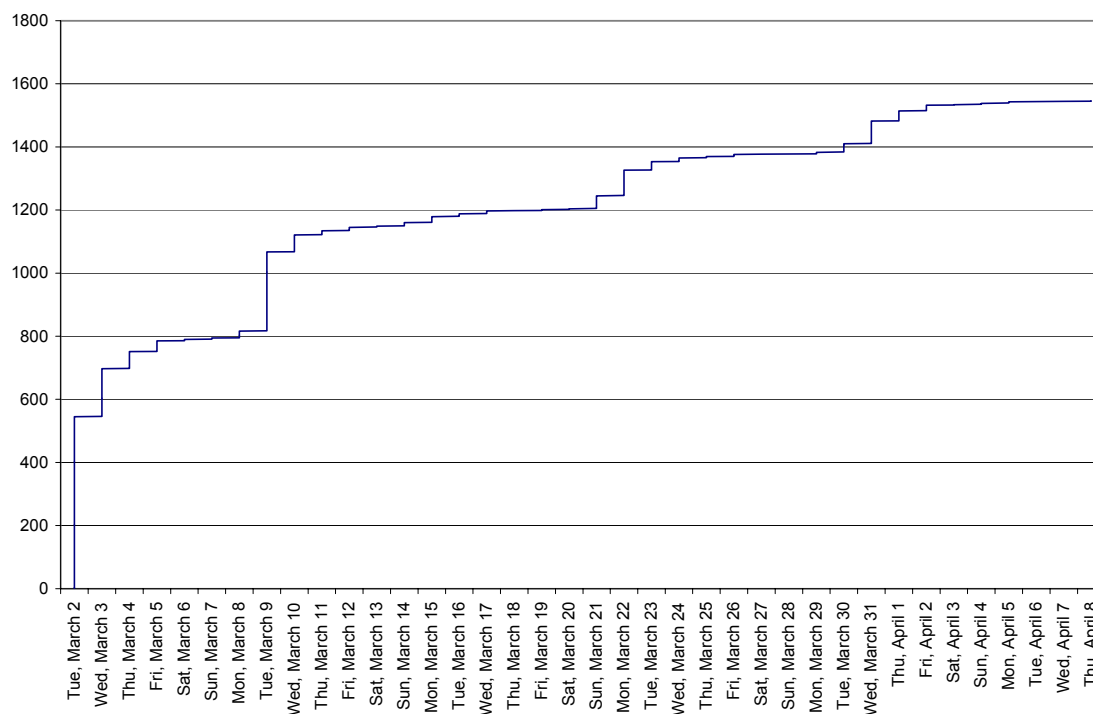
Sample Dispositions

We define the status of a respondent as a "complete" interview based on the number of pages of the survey instrument that the respondent completed. One "critical question" per page served as an indicator of whether or not the page was filled out. In every instance where the critical question was unanswered on a given page, the critical question on the following page was also unanswered. (This was found to be a valid determiner; in only one case was there a respondent who did not answer a critical question on an early page, but did answer it on a subsequent page without completing other questions later). The "critical questions" are:

- Page 1: Highest level of education completed.
- Page 2: Years worked in the for-profit sector (a question that required an answer because it was used by the CAWI system to determine the skip-pattern).
- Page 3: Coworkers are enthusiastic about their work – agree/disagree.
- Page 5: Have received formal supervision in the past 12 months.
- Page 6: Willingness to move for own professional advancement.
- Page 8: Sex.

Most pages were given to everyone, while some pages were given only to those who responded in specific ways to certain questions. The determination of completion excluded the last page of the survey, which was voluntary; Page 4, which was given only to those respondents who

indicated a switch into Jewish sector work from another sector; and Page 7, which was given only to those respondents who indicated having a graduate-level degree.

The following are the categories of respondent status:

- **Complete Interview**: Respondent answered all "critical questions." There are 1,394 such cases.
- **Partial:** A case is considered partial if the respondent logged into the survey and completed pages one, two and three, but not one of the later pages. There are 30 such cases.
- **Break-off:** A case is considered a "break-off" if the respondent logged into the survey but did not complete pages one, two or three. There are such 132 such cases.
- **Hard Refusals:** A case is considered a hard refusal if the respondent contacted us to specifically refuse to participate. There are 23 such cases. (Hard refusals and break-offs are considered together as eligible non-respondents.)
- **Unknown Eligibility**: A case is considered to be of unknown eligibility when there was no response from the invitation to take the survey or if the e-mail or postal letter invitation was returned due to an incorrect address. For any e-mail that bounced or postal letter that was returned, we contacted the organization to correct the address. There were 17 cases where efforts to make corrections were unsuccessful. The eligibility of these cases is unknown, because we have no information to verify their employment status at the time the survey was fielded. There are 1,219 cases where respondents failed to respond to our survey invitations, which did not bounce or get returned. However, while we can estimate that the overwhelming majority were still eligible, it is possible, though unlikely, that some left their jobs before the survey was fielded. We account for this estimate in our response rates below.
- **Not Eligible**: A case is considered not eligible if the respondent was found to no longer meet eligibility criteria (e.g., left the organization before the survey was fielded). There are 17 such cases.

Table 51: Sample Disposition by Community & Overall

	Complete	Partial	Hard Refusals & Break-offs	Unknown Eligibility: Non-Response	Unknown Eligibility: Bounced Email or Returned Post	Not Eligible
Large 1 (N=671)	52.8% (354)	1.2% (8)	6.3% (42)	38.6% (259)	0.9% (6)	0.3% (2)
Large 2 (N=1130)	48.8% (551)	1.3% (15)	6.4% (72)	42.4% (479)	0.4% (5)	0.7% (8)
Medium 1 (N=426)	50.2% (214)	0.9% (4)	4.7% (20)	42% (179)	1.4% (6)	0.7% (3)
Medium 2 (N=495)	39.6% (196)	0.6% (3)	3% (15)	54.5% (270)	1.4% (7)	0.8% (4)
Small 1 (N=69)	72.5% (50)		4.3% (3)	23.2% (16)		
Small 2 (N=48)	60.4% (29)		6.3% (3)	33.3% (16)		
OVERALL (N=2839)	49.1% (1,394)	1.1% (30)	5.4% (155)	42.9% (1219)	0.8% (24)	0.6% (17)

Table 52: Sample Disposition by Organization Type

	Complete	Partial	Hard Refusal or Break-off	Unknown Eligibility: Non-Response	Unknown Eligibility: Bounced Email or Returned Post	Not Eligible
Agency (N = 804)	59.5% (478)	0.8% (6)	5.6% (45)	32.8% (264)	0.6% (5)	0.8% (6)
Federation (N=254)	74.4% (189)	0.8% (2)	3.2% (8)	19.7% (50)	1.2% (3)	0.8% (2)
JDS (N=1176)	34.6% (407)	1.3% (15)	5.7% (66)	57.1% (672)	1% (12)	0.3% (4)
Syna-gogue (N=605)	52.9% (320)	1.2% (7)	5.9% (36)	38.5% (233)	0.7% (4)	0.8% (5)
TOTAL (N=2839)	49.1% (1,394)	1.1% (30)	5.5% (23)	43.8% (1,243)	0.9% (24)	0.6% (17)

Table 53: Sample Disposition by Sex

	Complete	Partial	Hard Refusal or Break-off	Unknown Eligibility	Not Eligible
Female (N=2026)	50.3% (1020)	1% (20)	5.2% (12)	42.7% (866)	0.7% (14)
Male (N=736)	50.4% (371)	1.1% (8)	5.7% (9)	42.4% (312)	0.4% (3)
Name is ambiguous (N=77)	3.9% (3)	2.6% (2)	9.1% (2)	84.4% (65)	
TOTAL (N=2839)	49.1% (1394)	1.1% (30)	5.5% (23)	43.8% (1243)	0.6% (17)

<u>Response Rates</u>

Response rates (RR) do not count ineligible respondents. RR1 counts only complete surveys, while RR2 counts complete and partial surveys. RR3 counts only complete surveys, but it assumes that only 90% (e) of non-respondents with unknown eligibility were actually eligible for the inclusion in the survey. RR4 holds the same assumption and counts partial surveys along with complete surveys. The estimate (e) considers that all lists were provided by each organization head and were verified as complete, accurate and up-to-date at the time lists were collected. Some organizations submitted corrections while the survey was in the field, but it is

unlikely that more than 10% of the sampling frame left their jobs in the short time between the list collection and the survey fielding. RR3 and RR4, therefore, provide a reasonable estimate assuming 10% of non-respondents are actually ineligible. Overall, the response rate is around 50%.

The lower response rates in the second medium-sized community and in the Jewish day schools overall was due, in large measure, to the fact that in this particular community we were unable to secure e-mail addresses for the employees in three day schools. (Respondents without e-mail addresses were sent invitations by post to participate; see above.)

Table 54: Response Rates by Community and Overall

	RR1	RR2	RR3	RR4	e
Large 1	52.9%	54.1%	55.1%	56.3%	0.9
Large 2	49.1%	50.4%	51.3%	52.7%	0.9
Medium 1	50.6%	51.5%	52.9%	53.9%	0.9
Medium 2	39.9%	40.5%	42.3%	43.0%	0.9
Small 1	72.5%	72.5%	74.2%	74.2%	0.9
Small 2	60.4%	60.4%	62.5%	62.5%	0.9
OVERALL	49.4%	50.5%	51.7%	52.8%	0.9

Table 55: Response Rates by Organization Type

	RR1	RR2	RR3	RR4	e
Agency	59.9%	60.7%	62.0%	62.8%	0.9
Federation	75.0%	75.8%	76.6%	77.4%	0.9
JDS	34.7%	36.0%	36.9%	38.2%	0.9
Synagogue	53.3%	54.5%	55.5%	56.7%	0.9

Table 56: Response Rates by Sex

	RR1	RR2	RR3	RR4	e
Female	50.7%	51.3%	53.0%	54.0%	0.9
Male	50.6%	51.5%	52.9%	54.0%	0.9

We took a number of steps designed to increase response rates:

- Emails were sent to organizational heads and to respondents, informing them that an invitation to participate in the study would soon be arriving, and asking them to respond to it when it did arrive. Organization heads were asked to publicize and the survey in their workplace.
- Cash incentives in the form of five $200 prizes were announced and awarded by lottery. Winners were informed in May 2004 that they had won, following the close of the fielding period.
- Follow-up emails were sent to non-respondents.
- Telephone calls were placed to non-respondents, targeting groups with particularly low response rates.

Coding

Free-response answers (i.e., verbatims) were cleaned, coded and entered into the SPSS data set.

Weighting

As there is no national population frame of employees in the Jewish sector, there is no accurate information on the distribution of these employees across gender, age, religion, job type, organization type, community or any other potentially relevant variable on which we might want to weight a sample. We did, however, generally succeed in our effort to compile lists of the entire population of Jewish sector employees (as defined above) in the six communities chosen for the study. We chose to weight respondents to match the distributions of job types, gender and community across the entire six-community population frame. The weighting was done with the QBAL software package (JWDP, 1998-2000), which uses "iterative proportional fitting," (Deming, 1943). This means that, in effect, all the weights were applied simultaneously.

Assessing Response Bias

Those who did not complete the survey may differ in important ways from those who did. Since we do not have information about the attitudes of those people who did not answer the survey, we can try to make an educated guess about their attitudinal profile by reasoning that they would more closely resemble those who completed the survey late rather than those who completed it early. Late arrivals are therefore treated as proxies for non-respondents.

To assess response bias, we compared the 22% of respondents who completed the survey after the second email reminder was sent on March 21 with the 78% who responded earlier. We also compared the final 11% of respondents who completed the survey after the reminder phone calls began on March 30 with the 89% who responded earlier.

Federation workers were much more likely to respond early. Only 9% responded on or after March 21 (vs. 22% overall) and only 4% responded on or after March 30 (vs. 11% overall). In the other work settings, clergy and general studies teachers were the most likely to respond late. Among clergy, 33% responded on or after March 21 and 19% responded on or after March 30. For general studies teachers in day schools, these proportions were 28% and 16%, respectively.

Inasmuch as they did not rush to take the survey, we would expect that late arrivals would be less positive about their work and less committed to the Jewish sector as a field.

Within each job setting, we found that the late arrivals were not less satisfied with their work. If anything there were small differences indicating greater satisfaction. Nor were they less enthusiastic about Jewish sector work or less committed to it. When differences existed, a slightly larger proportion of late arrivals were more enthusiastic and committed.

Table 57: Are Late Arrivals More Negative than Early Arrivals?

		Overall Job Satisfaction[a]	Enthusiastic About Jewish Community Work[b]	Feel A Responsibility to Jewish Community Work to Continue in It[b]
Synagogues	**Early Arrivals** (Before 3/30)	64%	57%	49%
	Late Arrivals (On/After 3/30)	65%	58%	60%
Day Schools	**Early Arrivals** (Before 3/30)	59%	45%	37%
	Late Arrivals (On/After 3/30)	78%	53%	45%
Agencies	**Early Arrivals** (Before 3/30)	54%	42%	31%
	Late Arrivals (On/After 3/30)	62%	47%	31%
Federations	**Early Arrivals** (Before 3/30)	50%	37%	25%
	Late Arrivals (On/After 3/30)	57%	57%	29%

[a] % Very Satisfied
[b] % Strongly Agreeing

These findings offer some grounds for confidence that sample is not biased toward those who hold positive feelings about their jobs and the Jewish sector. They also provide evidence contradicting the hypothesis that Federation employees' lower relative ratings of their organizations is an artifact of response rates (i.e., that the lower response rates in other organizations skewed their samples toward people who were more positive in orientation, whereas the greater coverage of Federation workers succeeded in capturing the unenthusiastic as well as the enthusiastic.)

A Note on the Use of Significance Tests

Were the communities in this study actually chosen in the framework of a stratified random sample of the American Jewish sector as a whole, then significance tests would be an appropriate tool to gauge whether differences observed in the sample can be generalized to the national population of Jewish sector workers overall. The communities, however, are a purposive sample, chosen in a non-random fashion. Significance tests as just described are therefore inappropriate.

Moreover, in each of the communities, we attempted to survey the population of Jewish sector workers (within the criteria we determined at the outset) rather than a sample of them. Since significance tests tell us whether we can generalize from a sample to a population, they are irrelevant when the population itself is studied.

Why then, have we chosen to present measures of significance, and how should they be

interpreted? With an overall response rate of 52%, our attempt to survey the population of workers in the six communities produced data not for this population in its entirety, but for a sample of it. Although we have weighted the data to account for the known ways in which the sample differs from the population, there may remain unknown biases that make the sample differ from the population. The more that the 52% represent a non-random sample of the population, the more the assumptions that significance testing relies on would be violated. This presumes, of course, that the non-randomness in the sample is related to the outcome measures in question. Although we recognize the problems involved in using significance tests under these circumstances, we decided that there was still a benefit to be gained by using them. To the extent that the significance tests are robust, and to the extent that our sample does represent its population, the significance tests can be used, at worst, as a heuristic device to help us be conservative in the claims we make based on these data. The fact that we have attempted to survey a population rather than a sample may lead us and readers to assume that any cross-group differences are indeed real. The search for non-significant findings is one way of introducing a check on this tendency.

Appendix B: Community Profiles

Confidentiality was promised to participants in this research. This promise of confidentiality also included our commitment to mask the identity of the communities in which they work.

To balance this commitment with the need for contextualizing information that will help the reader make sense of the data presented in this report, we offer the following profiles of the six communities in the study.

Large Community # 1

This is an established Jewish community with a Jewish population of approximately 100,000 amid a highly diverse metro-area population of several million. The Federation raises over $15 million annually for over a dozen beneficiary agencies, which include Hillel, a handful of day schools, Jewish educational organizations, a JCC, and a home for the aged. Allocations to local agencies and affiliates in fiscal year 2004 prioritized Jewish education and supporting a rapidly growing aging population. The community has more than 20 synagogues (roughly equal numbers of Reform, Conservative and Orthodox). A sprawling city, there are many centers of Jewish life rather than one or two main Jewish areas. The cost of living in this city is about 3% above the national average. Approximately 45 colleges and universities enroll over 190,000 students in the area. The city is home to more than 20 Fortune 1,000 companies and many major cultural attractions.

Large Community # 2

This Jewish community's population is over 200,000 amid the urbanized-area population of several million. The Federation campaign is nearly $30 million, and local allocations go primarily to fund Jewish education and continuity related programs. The city is a major center of culture and tourism. The cost of living in this city is about 38% above the national average.

Medium Community # 1

Jews first arrived in this southern city during first half of the 19th century. Amid an ethnically diverse metro-area population of nearly 5 million, the Jewish community today numbers around 40,000. The Federation raises about $10 million annually for global projects and more than 20 local programs and beneficiary agencies, with funding priorities on local agencies and day schools. In the past few decades, this community has welcomed Jewish immigrants from Russia and South Africa. There are more than 15, primarily Reform, congregations in the metropolitan area, the largest of which has 2,000 families. There are four Jewish day schools that enroll 1,200 in K-12 education. Local Jewish agencies include a home for the aged, Jewish family services, Hillel, JCC, a regional summer camp, and Jewish educational organizations. The local Jewish

newspaper is almost 100 years old. The cost of living in this city is about 9% below the national average. The city is home to over a dozen Fortune 500 companies and offers year-round performing and visual arts with 200 arts institutions. The area colleges and universities granted more than 20,000 bachelor's degrees and nearly 8,000 master's degrees.

Medium Community #2

This mid-western city was settled by Jews in the early 19th century. Today, the community lives among a population of over 2.7 million. One of the larger metropolitan areas in the country, it still has a "small-town" feel. With only a handful of Conservative congregations and half-a-dozen Orthodox synagogues, this community of 60,000 Jews is largely Reform. The community sustains five denominationally-affiliated day schools. With a JCC, Hillel, Jewish family service, Jewish community relations council, senior retirement community, and an agency for Jewish education, the community has a solid institutional base. The Federation raises about $10 million annually to support over two dozen local agencies and a similar number of national and international agencies. Local allocations emphasize social services, Jewish identity and educational services. The city's dozen colleges and universities, which include a top-ranked private university, enroll more than 80,000 students. Eight Fortune 500 companies have headquarters there. The cost of living is about 2% above the national average.

Small Community #1

The Jewish community of this small southern city was founded in the 1850's. Today, 7,000 Jews live amidst a population of just over 1 million. The community has five congregations, the largest of which claims about 900 families. A community day school has struggled to increase enrollment, which stands at just over 80 students. While more than half the Jewish community holds membership at the JCC, a third of the members are not Jewish, and membership growth is coming primarily from non-Jews. Agencies in the community are more inclined to plan and fundraise on their own than to collaborate and coordinate with each other. The Federation campaign is around $2.5 million. The cost of living is about 5% below the national average.

Small Community # 2

This is a century-old, mid-western Jewish community with a population of under 7,000 Jews amid a fairly homogenous metro-area population of 800,000. The recent Federation campaign took in just over $3 million. A large, newly renovated JCC campus houses the Federation, a small community day school and other agencies. The primary local agencies include the JCC, a home for the aged, family services, and a Jewish education agency; there is no Hillel. The three major congregations collectively have just over 1,600 families as members. The Reform and Conservative congregations are divided as much by wealth as by religious practice, with greater affluence in the Conservative congregation. The city has a few kosher establishments, but kosher meat is sometimes hard to get. The local branch of the state university has a Judaic Studies professor within the religion department but no program in Judaic Studies.

Appendix C: Jewish Sector Training Institutions

Bar Ilan University*
Baltimore Hebrew University
Ben Gurion University of the Negev*
Beth Rivkah Ladies College
Brandeis University*
Central Yeshiva Tomchei Tmimim – Lubavitch
Columbia University*
David Yellin College of Education
Gratz College*
Haifa University*
Hebrew College
Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Jewish Theological Seminary
Kollel Toras Moshe
Melitz Institute
Mesivta Tifereth Jerusalem of America
Ner Israel Rabbinical College
New York University*
Ohio State University*
Ohr Somayach Yeshiva
Pardes Institute of Jewish Studies
Rabbinical Seminary of America
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College
Sadnat Enosh
Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano
Siegal College of Jewish Studies
Spertus Institute of Jewish Studies
Stanford University*
Tel Aviv University*
Torah Umesorah
University of Judaism
University of Maryland*
University of Michigan*
Yeshiva University
Yeshivat Aish Hatorah

* Students who attended institutions marked with an asterisk were coded as having attended a Jewish sector training institution only if they received training in Jewish communal service, Jewish education, Judaic studies, education, educational administration, business administration, public administration / non-profit management, or social work.

Appendix D: Fact Sheet – Synagogues

The following are key findings pertaining to synagogue environments:

Workplace Diversity

Job categories: For the purposes of this study, synagogue workers were divided into the following categories: 1) Clergy, 2) Non-clergy Judaics professionals, 3) Operations workers, 4) Clerical workers.

Percent female: 64%

Percent non-Jewish: 9%

Recruitment

Percent of professionals holding graduate degrees: Clergy – 95%; Non-clergy Judaics professionals – 59%.

*Jewish Sector Training Institutions (JSTI)***:** Almost all of the men and women serving as congregational clergy attended a JSTI. Non-clergy Judaics professionals in the large northeastern community were over twice as likely to be JSTI alumni as those in the large and medium communities off the East Coast (39% vs. 11%-16%). We cannot draw conclusions about the non-clergy Judaics professionals in the small communities

Local Hiring: The vast majority of synagogue clergy were non-local hires.

Work Environment

Productive Work Environments: 51% said their synagogue was doing a very good job fulfilling its mission as an organization. 25% said their synagogue was doing a very good job maintaining efficient operating procedures.

Professional Work Environments: 41% said their synagogue was doing a very good job giving them the support they needed to do their job well. 44% said their synagogue was doing a very good job supporting their growth as a professional. 48% said their synagogue was doing a very good job making the best use of their talents.

Humane Work Environments: 50% said their synagogue was doing a very good job enabling employees to balance professional and personal obligations. 52% said their synagogue was doing a very good job enabling flexible work arrangements. 48% said their synagogue was doing a very good job creating a caring work environment.

Fair Work Environments: Gender-based salary gaps operate to the detriment of women. These differentials persist even when controlling for age, years in organization, graduate degree, supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team. The estimated salary gaps (i.e., the premiums paid to men) were as follows: Clergy – $17,700; Non-clergy Judaics professionals – $17,400.

Retention

Estimated Turnover Rates: The proportion of new employees in a workplace (present one year or less) is used as a proxy estimate of turnover. We do not know whether these new hires were filling vacancies caused by turnover or by organizational expansion. Because these rates probably reflect varying degrees of both, they *overstate the actual degree of turnover*. The estimated turnover rates are as follows: Clergy – 13%; Non-clergy Judaics professionals – 17%.

Potential attrition and migration: Synagogue clergy were among the least likely of all Jewish sector workers to consider leaving the Jewish sector, and the least likely to act on these thoughts when they had them. About 20% had looked for work outside of their synagogues, but this was mostly at other Jewish workplaces (not necessarily congregations). Only 3% actually looked into work possibilities outside of the Jewish sector. Migration, rather attrition, was the primary characteristic of these workers. They were particularly vulnerable to poaching.

Synagogue professionals in non-clergy Judaics positions were as likely to consider leaving the Jewish sector as most of the other professionals in Jewish sector jobs, and also as likely to actively look for other work. But, even though they professed desires to leave the Jewish sector, the new jobs they actually pursued tended to be within the Jewish fold.

Job Satisfaction: The proportions of workers who said they were very satisfied with their jobs were as follows: Clergy – 65%; Non-clergy Judaics professionals – 62%.

When we examine various components that enter into job satisfaction, we find that clergy are among the most likely of all Jewish sector workers to express satisfaction.

Perceptions of Retention and Recruitment Issues: Synagogue workers were less likely to cite problems in retention and recruitment than workers in any other type of Jewish organization. Between 82% and 90% of synagogue employees rated their synagogue as somewhat or very good in recruiting and retaining employees at all levels of the hierarchy. The things most often cited as not too good or not good at all were recruiting entry-level candidates (18%) and retaining them (16%.) Recruiting and retaining senior level staff were the least likely to be deemed problematic, with only 10% and 11%, respectively, saying that their synagogue was not doing a good job at this.

Appendix E: Fact Sheet – Day Schools

The following are key findings pertaining to day school environments:

Diversity:

Job categories: For the purposes of this study, day school workers were divided into the following categories: 1) Educational Administration, 2) Judaics teachers, 3) General studies teachers, 4) Other educators and specialists, 5) Operations workers, and 6) Clerical workers.

Percent female: 77%

Percent non-Jewish: 20%

Recruitment

Percent of professionals holding graduate degrees: Educational Administration – 85%; Judaics teachers – 51%; General studies teachers – 56%; Other educators and specialists – 75%.

Twenty percent of educational administrators and 23% of Judaics teachers have received degrees or certificates in both education and Jewish studies. Of the 64 educational administrators in the sample, 12 of them, or 19%, had a graduate degree in educational administration. Only three of them (5% of the total) had formal undergraduate and/or graduate training in all three areas of educational administration, pedagogy and Judaic studies.

Community variation: Large and medium-sized communities appear better positioned than small communities to fill day school teaching positions with graduate degree holders. Small communities, however, appear just as capable as their larger counterparts at hiring degreed professionals to be day school administrators.

*Jewish Sector Training Institutions (JSTI)***:** The larger the community, the more it appears likely to hire JSTI alumni as Judaics teachers. In the smallest communities in our study, none of the Judaics teachers surveyed received graduate training at a Jewish sector training institution.

Local Hiring: Considerable proportions of Judaics teachers were non-local hires.

Work Environment

Productive Work Environments: 53% said their day school was doing a very good job fulfilling its mission as an organization. 26% said their day school was doing a very good job maintaining efficient operating procedures.

Professional Work Environments: 41% said their day school was doing a very good job giving them the support they needed to do their job well. 47% said their day school was doing a very

good job supporting their growth as a professional. 43% said their day school was doing a very good job making the best use of their talents.

Humane Work Environments: 51% said their day school was doing a very good job enabling employees to balance professional and personal obligations. 33% said their day school was doing a very good job enabling flexible work arrangements. 52% said their day school was doing a very good job creating a caring work environment.

Fair Work Environments: Gender-based salary gaps operate to the detriment of women. These differentials persist even when controlling for age, years in organization, graduate degree, supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team. The estimated salary gaps (i.e., the premiums paid to men) were as follows: Educational Administration – $25,700; Teachers (all subjects) –$16,400.

Retention

Estimated Turnover Rates: The proportion of new employees in a workplace (present one year or less) is used as a proxy estimate of turnover. We do not know whether these new hires were filling vacancies caused by turnover or by organizational expansion. Because these rates probably reflect varying degrees of both, they *overstate the actual degree of turnover*. The estimated turnover rates are as follows: Educational Administration – 14%; Judaics teachers – 18%; General studies teachers – 22%; Other educators and specialists – 16%.

Potential attrition and migration: Day school Judaics teachers were among the least likely of all Jewish sector workers to consider leaving the Jewish sector, and the least likely to act on these thoughts when they had them. About 20% had looked for work outside of their schools, but this was mostly at other Jewish workplaces. Only 2% actually looked into work possibilities outside of the Jewish sector. Migration, rather attrition, was the primary characteristic of these workers. They were particularly vulnerable to poaching.

Among general studies teachers and educational specialists, approximately half had thoughts about leaving Jewish sector work. Of this half, a further half had acted on such thoughts. As a result, approximately one-fourth of employees in these fields had been actively looking for work outside the Jewish sector during the past two years. Only a tiny fraction – 7% at most – had been looking to migrate to other Jewish organizations. Turnover in these jobs was most likely to represent attrition, not migration.

Day school professionals in educational administration fall somewhere between the two poles just described. They were as likely to consider leaving the Jewish sector as most of the other professionals, and also as likely to actively look for other work. But, even though they professed desires to leave the Jewish sector, the new jobs they actually pursued tended to be within the Jewish fold.

Job Satisfaction: The proportions of workers who said they were very satisfied with their jobs were as follows: Educational Administration – 68%; Judaics teachers – 65%; General studies teachers – 63%; Other educators and specialists – 60%.

When we examine various components that enter into job satisfaction, we find that day school professionals in educational administration are among the most likely of all Jewish sector workers to express satisfaction.

Perceptions of Retention and Recruitment Issues: Employees of day schools saw the recruitment of entry-level and mid-level staff as the least problematic area. In both cases, 13% said that their school was not doing a good job. Over twice as many identified the *retention* of entry-level staff as a problem (29%). A similar proportion identified the recruitment of senior level staff as problematic (27%).

Appendix F: Fact Sheet – Federations and Agencies

The following are key findings pertaining to Federation and agency environments:

Job categories: For the purposes of this study, Federation and agency workers were divided into the following categories: 1) Policy and Planning, 2) Direct Service and Education, 3) Financial Resource Development, 4) Operations workers, and 5) Clerical workers.

Percent female: Federations – 74%; Agencies – 75%

Percent non-Jewish: Federations – 40%; Agencies – 23%

Recruitment

Percent of professionals holding graduate degrees: Policy and Planning – 66%; Direct Service and Education – 62%; Financial Resource Development – 39%.

*Jewish Sector Training Institutions (JSTI)***:** In organizational settings, small communities typically have not hired JSTI graduates. In large and medium-sized communities, 20% to 26% of Jewish professionals working in non-operations positions are graduates of such programs.

Local Hiring: In most Federations and agencies, senior leadership positions were more likely than junior positions to be filled by drawing from outside the community.

Work Environment

<u>Federations</u>

Productive Work Environments: 56% said their Federation was doing a very good job fulfilling its mission as an organization. 26% said their Federation was doing a very good job maintaining efficient operating procedures.

Professional Work Environments: 32% said their Federation was doing a very good job giving them the support they needed to do their job well. 23% said their Federation was doing a very good job supporting their growth as a professional. 25% said their Federation was doing a very good job making the best use of their talents.

Humane Work Environments: 42% said their Federation was doing a very good job enabling employees to balance professional and personal obligations. 28% said their Federation was doing a very good job enabling flexible work arrangements. 32% said their Federation was doing a very good job creating a caring work environment.

In general, ratings of Federation work environments were lower than ratings in other settings.

Agencies

Productive Work Environments: 55% said their agency was doing a very good job fulfilling its mission as an organization. 23% said their agency was doing a very good job maintaining efficient operating procedures.

Professional Work Environments: 36% said their agency was doing a very good job giving them the support they needed to do their job well. 32% said their agency was doing a very good job supporting their growth as a professional. 37% said their agency was doing a very good job making the best use of their talents.

Humane Work Environments: 54% said their agency was doing a very good job enabling employees to balance professional and personal obligations. 45% said their agency was doing a very good job enabling flexible work arrangements. 47% said their agency was doing a very good job creating a caring work environment.

Federations and Agencies Combined

Fair Work Environments: Gender-based salary gaps operate to the detriment of women. These differentials persist even when controlling for age, years in organization, graduate degree, supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team. The estimated salary gaps (i.e., the premiums paid to men) were as follows: Policy and Planning – $27,100; Direct Service and Education – $34,600; Financial Resource Development – $13,800.

Retention

Federations and Agencies Combined

Estimated Turnover Rates: The proportion of new employees in a workplace (present one year or less) is used as a proxy estimate of turnover. We do not know whether these new hires were filling vacancies caused by turnover or by organizational expansion. Because these rates probably reflect varying degrees of both, they *overstate the actual degree of turnover*. The estimated turnover rates are as follows: Policy and Planning – 18%; Direct Service and Education – 12%; Financial Resource Development – 22%.

Potential attrition and migration: Among financial resource development professionals and direct service workers approximately half had thoughts about leaving Jewish sector work. Of this half, a further half had acted on such thoughts. As a result, approximately one quarter of the employees in these fields had been actively looking for work outside the Jewish sector during the previous two years. Only a tiny fraction – 7% at most – had been looking to migrate to other Jewish organizations. Turnover in these jobs was most likely to represent attrition, not migration.

Organizational professionals in policy and planning thought about leaving the Jewish sector as much as most other professionals, but they were less likely to act on these thoughts. When they did, they tended to look outside of the Jewish sector rather than within it.

Job Satisfaction: The proportions of workers who said they were very satisfied with their jobs were as follows: Policy and Planning – 63%; Direct Service and Education – 57%; Financial Resource Development – 45%.

FRD workers were the only professional grouping where less than 50% were very satisfied with their jobs.

Perceptions of Retention and Recruitment Issues: Employees of Federations were more likely than employees of day schools, synagogues and agencies to say that their organizations were not doing well retaining and recruiting staff. This pattern held true both for retention and for recruitment at all three levels of the organizational hierarchy. The least problematic area they identified was retention of mid-level employees. Here, 24% of Federation employees said that their organization was not doing well. (In the other work settings, this proportion was 13%-14%). Between one-quarter and one-third of Federation employees said that their organizations were not doing a good job recruiting entry-level staff and senior-level staff. Just under one-quarter saw senior staff retention as problematic. The greatest difficulties cited were with retention of personnel in entry-level (47%) and mid-level positions (39%).

Workers in agencies were more likely to say that retention was problematic than to say that recruitment was. Over one-third of agency employees (35%) said that their organizations were not doing well retaining entry-level personnel. Almost one-quarter (24%) said the same of mid-level staff. The proportions describing recruitment as problematic were lower: between 14%-17% for all three levels in the hierarchy. Least likely to be cited as problematic was retention of senior staff (12%).

Appendix G: Letters to Survey Participants

Advance Notification E-mail to Organization Heads (Feb. 23, 2004)

Greetings XXX XXXXXXX,

We are a team of social scientists from Brandeis University conducting a nationwide research project about people's careers in Jewish settings. Over the past several months, we have visited a sample of synagogues, day schools and communal organizations in [COMMUNITY] as part of this study. Funding for the research comes from philanthropists committed to helping the Jewish community recruit, retain and support professionals to carry on its vital work.

It is important to us that both you and your staff have an opportunity to make your voices heard and to ensure that your experiences are reflected in this research. The next stage in the study is an internet survey. In the coming days and weeks, both you and your staff will receive email invitations to take part in this. WE ASK THAT YOU ENCOURAGE YOUR STAFF TO BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR THE EMAIL AND TO TAKE THE TIME TO FILL OUT THE SURVEY. We ask that you also take the time to fill out the survey when it comes.

Attached is a description of the research project that you can post. You may assure your staff we will take every measure to ensure their confidentiality and the confidentiality of your organization. Because of this promise of confidentiality, we will not be reporting information about specific employees or organizations to organization heads, local Federations, the study's sponsors or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report available to all respondents and interested readers.

If you have any questions, you may contact us at professionals-survey@brandeis.edu or (212) 472-1501 x237.

Please feel free to forward this email to your staff.

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D. , Leonard Saxe, Ph.D. , Carl Sheingold, Ph.D. Co-Principal Investigators

Michael Rabkin
Director of Field Research

This study is approved by Brandeis University, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Approval #03-04-008.

Advance Notification E-mail to Full Population (Feb. 26, 2004)

Greetings XXX XXXXXXX,

We are social scientists from Brandeis University researching what it is like to work in settings connected with the Jewish community. Funding for our study comes from philanthropists who want to invest in making Jewish organizations great places to work and build careers.

Over the past several months, we have spoken with people in a variety of synagogues, day schools and communal organizations in your community as part of this study. To complete our research, we want you to hear from you.

IN THE COMING DAYS YOU WILL RECEIVE AN EMAIL INVITATION TO TAKE PART IN AN INTERNET SURVEY. PLEASE BE ON THE LOOKOUT FOR THE EMAIL AND TAKE THE TIME TO FILL OUT THE SURVEY. The survey is completely paperless. When you get the e-mail invitation, all you'll need to do is click on a link included with that e-mail, which takes you to a secure web site to fill out a form. It was designed to be quick and hassle-free.

It is important to us that you have an opportunity to make your voice heard and to ensure that your experiences are reflected in this research. Everyone who completes the survey will be entered into a drawing for a chance to win one of five $200 cash awards.

The survey will be completely confidential. We will not be reporting information about specific employees or organizations to organization heads, local Federations, the study's sponsors or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report available to all respondents and interested readers.

If you have any questions, you may contact us at professionals-survey@brandeis.edu or (212) 472-1501 x237.

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D., Leonard Saxe, Ph.D., Carl Sheingold, Ph.D. Co-Principal Investigators

Michael Rabkin
Director of Field Research

This study is approved by Brandeis University, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Approval #03-04-008.

First E-mail Invitation (March 2, 2004)

Greetings XXX XXXXX,

Some of the largest donors in the American Jewish community want to invest in people like you. They believe that Jewish organizations, synagogues and schools should be great places to work and build careers. They are ready to put their money where their mouth is. And to ensure that to invest their money wisely, they want first to hear from you.

Please take the time to fill out this internet survey about your experience working in a Jewish community-related setting. The survey should take about 20 minutes. When you complete it, you will be eligible to win one of five $200 cash prizes.*

Go to the survey by clicking on this link (or cut and paste the entire link into your web browser):

http://survey.cmjs.org/surveys/ProfSurv.htm?xxxxxxx

The survey is being conducted by Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher-Bernstein Institute for Leadership Development in Jewish Philanthropy.

Your responses will be kept confidential. No information about you specifically or about your organization in particular will be provided to your employer or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report that will be made available to you.

Your personal perspective is essential to ensure that the study provides a full picture. If you have any questions or difficulties, please contact us by responding to this email or calling us at (212) 472-1501 x237.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you,

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D., Leonard Saxe, Ph.D., Carl Sheingold, Ph.D. Co-Principal Investigators

Michael Rabkin
Director of Field Research

* All respondents who complete the survey are automatically entered into the drawing. Winners will be selected randomly from among all entrants upon the conclusion of the survey's field period. Odds of winning are approximately 1 in 600. No survey participation necessary. Further information available upon request at (212) 472-1501 x237.

This study is approved by Brandeis University, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Approval #03-04-008.

First Follow-up E-mail Survey Invitation (March 9, 2004)

Greetings XXX XXXXXXX,

Last week, we sent you an internet survey about working in a Jewish community-related setting. If you did not have a chance to complete the questionnaire, don't worry. You can still fill it out and be entered to one of the five $200 cash prizes.

Regardless of whether your have been in your job for a long time or short time, of whether your are high up or low down on the organizational totem pole, of whether you see your work as a career or just a job, of whether you are Jewish, Christian, another religion or no religion - your opinions still count, and you can still win the $200. So please, tell us your views about working in a Jewish community-related setting. We are offering ALL people who complete the survey a chance to win one of five $200 cash prizes for taking a few minutes to complete this questionnaire*.

You can go to the survey by clicking on this link or pasting it into your web browser:

http://survey.cmjs.org/surveys/ProfSurv.htm?xxxxxxx

The survey is being conducted by Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher-Bernstein Institute for Leadership Development in Jewish Philanthropy.

Your responses will be kept confidential. No information about you specifically or about your organization in particular will be provided to your employer or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report that will be made available to you.

Your personal perspective is essential to ensure that the study provides a full picture. If you have any questions or difficulties, please see our PS messages below or contact us by responding to this email or calling us at
(212) 472-1501 x237.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you,

Shaul Kelner, Len Saxe and Carl Sheingold
Co-Principal Investigators

* All respondents who complete the survey are automatically entered into the drawing. Winners will be selected randomly from among all entrants upon the conclusion of the survey's field period. Odds of winning are approximately 1 in 600. No survey participation necessary. Further information available upon request at (212) 472-1501 x237.

Second Follow-Up E-mail (March 21, 2004)

Greetings XXX XXXXX,

The Brandeis University survey of people working in Jewish community-related organizations has been in the field for two weeks. We have had a good response from many of your colleagues, but we have not yet heard from you.

Your personal perspective is essential to ensure that the study provides a full picture. Are there things you love about your work? Things that frustrate you? Please tell us so that our study can reflect you and your experience. The goal of the research is to help shape policies that can benefit people like you. So please let your voice be heard.

You can still fill out the questionnaire and be entered to win one of the five $200 cash prizes.* To do so, click below on your private link (or cut and paste the entire link into your web browser):

http://survey.cmjs.org/surveys/ProfSurv.htm?xxxxxxx

(This is your personal link. Please do not share it with anyone or forward this e-mail to anyone else.)

The survey is being conducted by Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher-Bernstein Institute for Leadership Development in Jewish Philanthropy.

Your responses will be kept confidential. No information about you specifically or about your organization in particular will be provided to your employer or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report that will be made available to you.

If you have any questions or difficulties, please contact us by responding to this email or calling us at (212) 472-1501 x237.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you,

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D., Leonard Saxe, Ph.D., Carl Sheingold, Ph.D.
Co-Principal Investigators

Michael Rabkin
Field Research Coordinator

*All respondents who complete the survey are automatically entered into the drawing. Winners will be selected randomly from among all entrants upon the conclusion of the survey's field period. Odds of winning are approximately 1 in 600. No survey participation necessary. Further

information available upon request at (212) 472-1501 x237.

This study is approved by Brandeis University, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Approval #03-04-008.

Postal Mail Survey Invitation (March 10, 2004)

Dear [FULL NAME],

Some of the largest donors in the American Jewish community want to invest in people like you. They believe that Jewish organizations, synagogues and schools should be great places to work and build careers. They are ready to put their money where their mouth is. And to ensure that to invest their money wisely, they want first to hear from you.

Please take the time to fill out an internet survey about your experience working in a Jewish community-related setting. The survey should take about 20 minutes. When you complete it, <u>you will be eligible to win one of five $200 cash prizes.</u>* Your personal perspective is essential to ensure that the study provides a full picture.

You can go to the survey by typing this address into your web browser: **http://survey.cmjs.go**

Your personal login code is **[CODE]**

The survey is being conducted by Brandeis University's Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Fisher-Bernstein Institute for Leadership Development in Jewish Philanthropy.

<u>Your responses will be kept confidential.</u> No information about you specifically or about your organization in particular will be provided to your employer or anyone else. Results will be presented only as aggregate statistics in a public report that will be made available to you.

If you have any questions or difficulties, please contact us at professionals-survey@brandeis.edu or (212) 472-1501 x237.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you,

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D.   Leonard Saxe, Ph.D.   Carl Sheingold, Ph.D.
Co-Principal Investigator   Co-Principal Investigator   Co-Principal Investigator

This study is approved by Brandeis University, Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects, Approval #03-04-008.

*See website for details.

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Endnotes

[1] The population studied excludes some job categories, such as pre-school and supplementary school teachers. Later, we will discuss in more detail the types of jobs that were included and excluded from the study.

[2] In the phrase "Jewish communal worker," it can be unclear whether the word "Jewish" modifies the adjacent adjective "communal," or whether it modifies the sole noun in the phrase, "worker." That is, it is not clear if the communal work is Jewish, or if the worker is Jewish. The phrase "Jewish sector worker" eliminates the ambiguity because the adjective "Jewish" clearly modifies the adjacent noun "sector." Clearly, because unlike the phrase "communal worker," which is meaningful on its own, the phrase "sector worker" does not make sense without an adjective to specify the sector in question. Moreover, unlike the term "communal," the word "sector" carries no connotations of membership in a community. As a result, the phrase "Jewish sector worker" is a much less loaded term that generates far fewer expectations about the religion of the worker.

[3] In the two largest communities, this proportion is much lower (5%). Moreover, with only a few exceptions, none of the senior leadership positions in any of the six communities were held in synagogues. Rather, they were in Jewish day schools and organizations.

[4] This estimate may be low. JDS teachers were categorized as "Judaics Specified" or "No Judaics Specified" according to the information provided to us by the schools and by the respondents themselves. In cases where neither the school nor the respondents specifically mentioned the areas taught, they were classified as "No Judaics Specified." This category is primarily comprised of general studies teachers, but likely includes others who do teach Judaic studies.

[5] Again, the same caveat as above applies.

[6] Because campus recruitment efforts tend to target Jews specifically, data will be given for Jewish professionals only (i.e. Jews, as opposed to non-Jews, and professionals as opposed to clerical staff). Analysis of the 20-39 cohort confirms the validity of the patterns described for the younger age cohorts in particular.

[7] The range is drawn from the community rates for each of the large and medium communities, but the small communities were grouped together to compute their rate. This was done because there were too few cases in the small communities individually for the proportions to be meaningful.

[8] As the data from the other studies were reported jointly for day schools, supplementary schools and pre-schools, the percentages we present here for day schools alone are not directly comparable to those reported in the earlier research.

[9] The proportions shown for educational administrators in Figures 2 and 3 differ slightly because the addition of the third variable in Figure 3 (i.e., formal training in educational administration) reduced the sample size from 75 to 64.

[10] The table below shows that 6% of non-clergy Judaics professionals hold rabbinic ordination. This seeming miscategorization occurs because the classification of non-clergy Judaics professionals is determined by respondents' job titles, not their educational background. Only people whose job titles have terms like "rabbi" or "cantor" were classified as clergy. Because of this, a director of education who happens to hold a rabbinic degree would be classified here as a non-clergy Judaics professional, whereas a musical director who is not an ordained cantor would be classified as clergy.

[11] Clergy without graduate degrees include, for example, "cantorial soloists," and "spiritual leaders."

[12] For a discussion of the use of significance tests in this report, see the Methodological Appendix.

[13] 50% of the JCS/MSW/MBA/MPA holders 40 years old and younger held a Jewish communal service degree compared to 19% of those over 40. ($\chi^2 = 10.709$, d.f. = 1, p = .001.)

[14] This includes the major denominational rabbinical seminaries, a host of smaller *yeshivot* and *kollelim*; secular universities that offer certificates, degrees or joint programs in Jewish organizational or educational work; foreign Jewish institutions including Israeli universities and rabbinical seminaries; and certificate or degree programs offered by distance learning institutions. In addition, anyone listing rabbinical ordination or cantorial investiture was coded as having attended a training institution, even if this remained unspecified. For a list of the institutions treated as JSTIs, see Appendix C.

[15] This proportion would remain basically stable (22%) even if we exclude the community that had an especially low response rate for teachers.

[16] The fact that this is not 100% is explained as follows: Every rabbi who indicated ordination as his/her highest degree was coded as having attended a JSTI regardless of whether the institution was specified by name. There were six individuals who indicated a masters degree or a doctorate as their highest degree, and did not indicate that they

had attended one of the schools designated as a JSTI. Although it is reasonable to assume that most of these have indeed been ordained, we chose to be conservative and not impute facts not given by the respondents.

[17] In the small communities, none of the Jewish professionals in FRD, and only one in policy and planning were graduates of such programs. Three out of twelve small community Jewish professionals working in direct service and education had degrees or certificates from national training institutions, and one had a degree from a distance learning program in Jewish studies.

[18] The proportion in the large and medium-sized communities was below 20% in only one instance: Only one out of 27 Jewish professionals in policy and planning positions in medium-sized communities attended a major Jewish training institution.

[19] At the time the survey was written and fielded, we were still using the term "Jewish communal professional" and had not thought to introduce the term "Jewish sector."

[20] Our operational definition for "transitioners" was as follows: Transitioners are people 1) who immediately prior to joining their current Jewish organization were employed for one or more years in the private sector or in non-Jewish not-for-profits or schools, and who never worked for another Jewish organization before this; or 2) who at any point in their professional life worked in the private sector for 6 or more years or in non-Jewish not-for-profits or schools for 6 or more years; or 3) who at any point in their adult life were out of the workforce for 6 or more years to raise a family, and who never worked for pay in another Jewish organization. Ex-homemakers, or people who took an extended leave of 6 or more years and then returned to their former workplace, would also be considered "transitioners." There is no good way of correcting for this given the variables in the survey.

[21] The question gave respondents two opposing statements and asked them to place themselves along a five-point scale closer to the one with which they agreed. The question read, "Thinking about the first time you went to work for a Jewish organization, which of the following two statements is closer to your opinion? 'I saw the job as Jewish work,' or 'I saw the job as work that just happened to be in a Jewish setting.'" As this refers to their first position in a Jewish organization rather than their current position, the comparison across job categories only makes sense if one assumes that people have generally remained within their sub-sector (i.e. teachers are not becoming database administrators, and vice versa), and that within sub-sectors, the type of job at the lower rungs of a career ladder are similar enough to the types of jobs at the higher rungs to make the comparison valid. When we control to look only at those who have never worked in other Jewish organizations, we find that the proportion of Jews saying that that their first jobs were not Jewish jobs increased. There was no change in the percentages for non-Jews. Our fieldwork gives us reasons to believe that our assumptions are valid, and the statistical control suggests that, if there is any problem, we are understating our case, not overstating it.

[22] The *Timing of Entry* dimension had four categories as described above: teen labor, first jobbers, transitioners and re-entrants. The *Perception of the Workplace* dimension was a five-category variable (described in the previous footnote) that was dichotomized. The two response categories that most categorized the job as a Jewish job were contrasted with the remaining three. The *Professional Identity* variable combined responses from two four-category variables: "I see myself as a Jewish communal professional," and "I see myself as a Jewish educator." If the respondent answered "strongly agree" to either one of these statements, s/he was coded as 1, otherwise as 0. We counted only those who strongly agreed because our intention was to reveal a deep commitment to the Jewish communal professional identity. We suspect that among those who responded "somewhat agree" were those who were simply acknowledging that they could legitimately be viewed as such by dint of their workplace, even if they themselves did not identify with the notion. The crossing of time categories by combining variables that address *current* professional identity, *past* perceptions of the workforce and *past* timing of entry introduces a degree of variability that inclines us to treat this typology as a heuristic. In spite of its shortcoming, it still succeeds in dividing the sample in the expected manner on key dependent variables.

[23] For example, 67% of synagogue clergy said that their interest in working in the Jewish community was sparked by Jewish youth programs, compared to 40% of day school Judaics teachers and 25% of operations workers.

[24] This difference is statistically significant: χ^2 = 24.430, d.f. = 1, p = .001.

[25] The exceptions were educational administration, FRD and clerical work.

[26] When respondents were asked, "How good a job does your organization do…" the response categories were "Very good," "Somewhat good" "Not too good," and "Not good at all." The 6% to 8% figure reported here refers to the combined total for the responses "Not too good" and "Not good at all."

[27] Some respondents reported their working hours in ranges rather than as single points. From this we developed low and high estimate of hours worked. The data presented here are the most conservative estimate.

[28] We conducted an OLS regression of income on sex, age, years in organization, graduate degree, supervisory responsibilities, and membership in the organization's senior leadership team. Figure 4 presents the unstandardized coefficient for sex.

[29] Our estimate of the salary gap for clergy is in line with that found by other researchers. Analyzing the salaries of Conservative rabbis ordained since 1985, Cohen and Schor (2004) found that after controlling for factors such as congregation size, job type and hours worked, men's compensation packages exceeded women's by amounts ranging from $10,000 to $21,000.

[30] This battery of questions was given to people who had worked for 6 or more years in a business or non-Jewish not-for-profit or school. It did not count self-employment. These people are all Jethros, Moes and Ettis.

[31] While retirement is indeed a form of voluntary turnover, we are here concerned with dysfunctional voluntary turnover (cf. Kelner et al., 2004).

[32] Another measure -- the proportion of employees who have been in their current *position* (as opposed to current *organization*) one year or less -- is also presented for the purposes of comparison. This may represent turnover-induced promotion, expansion-induced promotion or simply an arrogation of new responsibilities that is unrelated to employee turnover.

[33] Of the 201 JCC workers who responded to our survey, 16% were working in their JCC one year or less. The comparable figures from previous studies across all JCCs were 10% in 2001 and 37% in 1987 (Schor and Cohen, 2002, pp. 12). Unlike the Schor and Cohen study, our data do not include health, physical education and recreation (HPER) workers. Furthermore, Schor and Cohen's study surveyed JCC professionals in many more communities than the six involved in this study.

[34] For the sake of comparison, consider responses to a similarly-worded question from the field of nursing. Fifty percent of registered nurses said that over the past two years, they had considered leaving the patient care field for reasons other than retirement (Hart, 2001).

[35] As noted earlier in the discussion of pathways into Jewish sector work, the existence of re-entrants suggests that attrition need not be permanent.

[36] The way that the questions were asked allows us to determine clearly whether people explored job possibilities outside of the Jewish sector, and whether they explored them *only* within the Jewish sector. But it does not allow us to determine whether people who were looking at job possibilities outside of the Jewish sector were also looking at job possibilities within the Jewish sector. This means that the estimates for potential migration are probably somewhat undercounted.

[37] There did not appear to be major differences when we further divided the job categories into senior leadership versus junior and mid-level staff. Nor did we find strong, consistent patterns across communities. Small cell sizes prevent us from drawing any definitive cross-community conclusions on this issue.

[38] These findings are unsurprising from a rational choice framework. For professionals, the return on investment in Judaic cultural capital can be substantial within the Jewish sector, but is close to nil outside of it. The incentive to remain in the Jewish sector is lower for those whose human and cultural capital hold as much value on the open market as they do in the Jewish sector.

[39] The correlations presented were run on the sample of professional workers. Another analysis, not shown here, ran partial correlations that controlled for job type. This did not substantively alter the results.

[40] The strength of a correlation is indicated by its absolute value. The direction of a correlation is indicated by a positive or negative sign. In the table, we see negative relationships between satisfaction and potential turnover: The higher the satisfaction, the lower turnover. In describing the results, however, we sometimes find it clearer to speak of dissatisfaction rather than satisfaction. In those cases, we reverse the sign on the reported correlation to indicate that the relationship between *dis*satisfaction and potential turnover is positive: The higher the dissatisfaction, the higher the turnover.

[41] Clerical workers were excluded from this analysis. 47% said that they were very satisfied with their work, while 22% said that they were not satisfied, the highest proportion among all the job categories.

[42] Initial gender-based differences in satisfaction among the whole workforce disappeared almost entirely once job category was controlled for. In separate analyses for each job category, almost no statistically significant relationships were revealed, either through zero-order chi-square tests or through OLS regression analyses with or without controls. These analyses were conducted on overall satisfaction and on indices of facet satisfaction. The only statistically significant gender differences in overall satisfaction were among day school teachers and clerical workers, where women tended to be more satisfied than men. Once we controlled for other factors such as seniority and salary, these differences disappeared for Judaics teachers and clerical workers, but not for general studies teachers.

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[43] The magnitude of correlations ranged between .01 and .11, and were often not significant. The variables indicating likely turnover were thoughts about leaving the Jewish sector, actively looking for work outside of the organization and actively looking for work outside the Jewish sector. The variables indicating advancement were past promotion within the organization, expected opportunities for future promotion within the organization, availability of advancement opportunities in the local community's Jewish sector, and availability of advancement opportunities in the Jewish sector in other communities.

[44] The dollar ranges Light (2002) used to record for income differed from those used in the current survey.

[45] This has also been called a "continuance" commitment (Meyer et al., 1993).

[46] Commitment was measured by agreement or disagreement with various statements. Normative organizational commitment was measured by the statement, "My current organization deserves my loyalty." Affective organizational commitment was measured by the statement, "I would be very happy to spend rest of career at [name of current organization.]" Inertial organizational commitment was measured by the statement, "I have too few options outside [name of current organization] to consider leaving it." Normative sectoral commitment was measured by the question, "I feel responsibility to Jewish community work to continue working in it." Affective sectoral commitment was measured by the statement, "I am enthusiastic about Jewish community work." Inertial sectoral commitment was measured by the statement, "I have too few career options outside the Jewish community to consider leaving the field."

[47] Question wording is important. We did not ask about recruiting "ideal candidates" – only "qualified candidates."

[48] Are these differences partially attributable to organization size? The Federations in the six communities had, on average, 43 employees. (The actual range was 10 to 100.) The average numbers for agencies and synagogues were far lower: 11 and 6, respectively. On the other hand, the average number of employees in day schools (44) was almost identical to that found in Federations. Moreover, there were agencies, synagogues and day schools that were larger than several of the Federations.

[49] Other factors warrant a conservative reading of the findings. For example, a case can be made against the utility of the hierarchical characterization we chose to use. In settings like day schools, one might argue that a content-based categorization would shed more light than our approach, which speaks of the teaching staff in terms of entry-level, mid-level and senior-level. The advantage of our approach is that it enables a degree of comparability across different types of institutions.

[50] One participating organization has its headquarters in one community and a branch office in another. It is therefore counted in both communities separately but only once in the total.