ABSTRACT

NOVICE JEWISH STUDIES TEACHER ATTRITION IN MODERN ORTHODOX JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

by

Leonard Fuld

The shortage of qualified teachers has long been recognized as a significant concern faced by public and private schools in the United States and the rate at which early-career teachers leave the profession has materially exacerbated the problem. Numerous government and privately sponsored programs and initiatives have taken aim at ameliorating the elevated attrition rates of novice teachers however little, if any, progress has been made and current studies indicate that the exit frequency of new teachers leaving the profession in addition to the overall dearth of educators, will continue (García & Weiss, 2019). Within the private school sector, which includes parochial educational institutions, the retention challenge is at least as troubling, and Jewish day schools are no exception (Ben-Avie & Kress, 2008; Menachem, 2017). Various studies have examined what motivates novice public and private school teachers to depart the profession though very little attention, if any, has ever been focused on why novice Jewish studies teachers in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools leave. The goal of this study, which employed a qualitative, phenomenological approach, was to shed light on the reasons why novice Jewish studies teachers leave the profession and to determine whether compensation and/or life cycle events were major influencers in the former teachers' decision making. Thirteen novice Jewish studies teachers who recently left the teaching profession after having taught in

New York metropolitan area Modern Orthodox day schools were interviewed extensively about their backgrounds and reasons for their departures. The three factors suggested most often by the interviewees for their leaving, in descending order of priority, were the paucity of senior administration support and feedback, followed by the excess stress and workloads they faced and finally, inadequate compensation. The hope is that the fresh insights provided will encourage Modern Orthodox day school stakeholders to pursue measures that will improve the rate of retention of their valued assets, novice teachers.

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CHAPTER 1

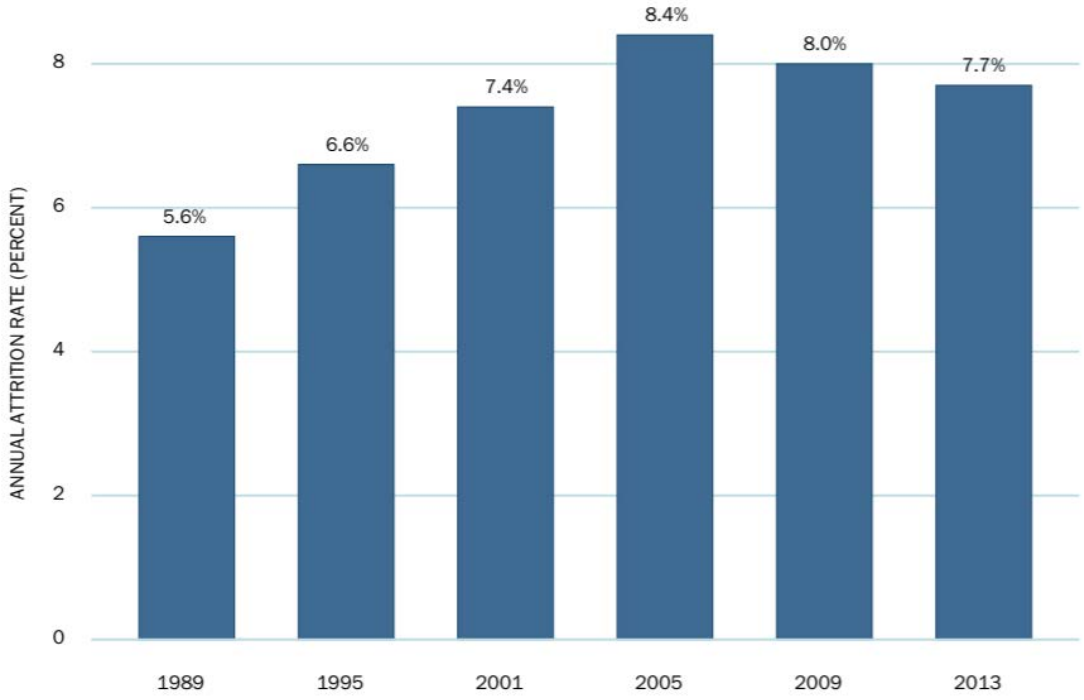
INTRODUCTION

There is a long history of recognized teacher shortages in many Western countries, and the United States is no exception (Ingersoll, Merrill, & May, 2014; Sutcher, Darling-Hammond, & Carver-Thomas, 2016). A combination of various reasons has been offered for the U.S. teacher shortfall, including:

- increases in overall student enrollment – a 23.3% increase in public elementary and secondary school enrollment from 1980 to 2015 (Digest of education statistics 2017; 2019 ASI 4824-2; NCES 2018-070.2019);
- the historical trend towards lower pupil to teacher ratios – the public school pupil : teacher ratio declined from 22.3 in 1970 to 17.9 in 1985 and then again to 16.0 in 2015; the private school pupil : teacher ratio in 2015 was 11.9 (Digest of education statistics 2017; 2019 ASI 4824-2; NCES 2018-070, 2019);
- the decrease in people completing undergraduate or graduate teacher preparation programs – between the 2007-08 and 2015-16 academic years, there was a 23% fall-off in teacher-preparation program completions (King, & Hampel, 2018); and,
- teacher attrition – as can be seen in Figure 1 below, the U.S. public-schoolteacher attrition rate rose from a 5.6% rate in 1989 (dipping to 5.1% in 1991) to a rate that consistently hovers around 8%, and "in a workforce of 3.8 million, this seemingly small [percentage increase] amount adds about 125,000 to the annual demand for teachers", (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017, p.3) placing another serious strain on the overall supply of teachers.

Figure 1

Attrition Rate Over Time



Source: National Center for Education Statistics (2015). Digest of Education Statistics. Mobility of public elementary and secondary teachers, by selected teacher and school characteristics: Selected years, 1987–88 through 2012–13. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

The vast majority of U.S.-centric research on the phenomenon of teacher attrition and its consequences, as well as on teacher shortages in general, has naturally focused on public schools, since 90% of all students from pre-K to the 12th grade attend public schools, as documented in the 2016 National Center for Education Statistics tables. Nevertheless, teacher attrition plagues the private school sector as well, if not more so (Menache, 2017). According to the last School and Staffing Survey in 2011-12 (Cox, Parmer, Strizek, & Thomas, 2016), a total of 259,400 public schoolteachers, 7.7% of the entire pool, left the teaching profession during that 2011-12 base academic year. Although there is no comparable longitudinal study on attrition in private schools, the fact that new hires in public schools that year comprised 8.5% of all public

schoolteachers, whereas the comparable private-school figure was 16.7%, is suggestive. Research has shown that there is a substantially higher rate of new (vs. experienced) teacher attrition (Smith & Ingersoll, 2004), and this fact, coupled with the vastly larger rate at which private schools hire new teachers than do public schools, as reflected in the Digest of Education Statistics 2017, strongly indicates that private schools suffer a significantly higher overall teacher attrition rate than do public schools. More specifically, according to Keigher (2010), private schools do have proportionately higher rates of teacher attrition than do public schools. Additional public versus private school differences in teacher hiring practices that further support the theory of higher attrition rates in private schools include: (1) a lower base salary in private schools, as evidenced by the 2015-2016 academic year, during which the annual base salary for public school hires was $55,120 and for private school hires was $42,100 (Digest of education statistics 2017;2019 ASI 4824-2; NCES 2018-070.2019); (2) private school teacher fringe benefits are lower than those provided to public school teachers (Podgursky, 2003); and (3) a lower degree of higher education among private school hires, considering that 70% of new public school hires had an academic major and certification in their teaching area while the comparable figure is 41.8% for private schools (Broughman & Rollefson, 2000; O'Keefe, 2001). These differences indicate that private schools make a lower initial investment in their teaching personnel, and that the teachers themselves do not invest as much in their own professional development, making for a weaker bond between teachers and private schools than exists between teachers and public schools.

One study has shown that over 44% of early career public and private school teachers in the United States ("U.S.") leave the teaching profession, and that 11.9% do so

in their first year (Ingersoll et al., 2018). U.S. schools are hemorrhaging one of their most vital resources, with no comparably high attrition rates to be found in many other groups of professionals, including police, architects, lawyers, engineers, and pharmacists. If any other industry as vital to the nation's long-term productivity and commonwealth as education were to be bleeding critical resources at such an alarming rate, immediate steps would be taken to stanch the flow, especially given the detrimental effect that educator turnover has been shown to have on student achievement (Loeb, Ronfeldt, & Wyckoff, 2012). As detailed by Hanushek (1992), the difference produced by being taught by a highly capable educator and a substandard one can translate into an entire grade level of disparity within a single year. In addition to the potential harm to students, teacher turnover requires serious financial outlays drawn from an already overstretched budget, an expense estimated over a decade ago to be almost $18,000 in large urban school districts for every teacher needing replacement, which is the equivalent of an inflation-adjusted nationwide price tag of well over $8 billion per annuum (Carroll, 2007). A more recent and conservative estimate of the national cost of teacher turnover still assigns it a very large price tag of $2.2 billion per year (Haynes, 2014). Given the proven deleterious effect on student achievement, the financial resources squandered, and the general disruption to the nation's school systems, one would expect those most affected (students, parents, school boards, industry and business owners, governments) to demand sweeping change and remediation. This is not meant to imply that teacher attrition has been understudied, as various careful research studies of the problem have in fact resulted in recommendations on how to ameliorate it (Goldring, Taie, & Riddles (2014); Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017). Nevertheless, the rate of new teacher attrition has

not diminished; to the contrary, in recent decades it has steadily increased. These general manifestations of high new-teacher attrition in the public school arena is more than equally matched in the private secular and religious sectors, and documented by a number of studies (Ben-Avie, Kress, Rosenblatt, & Isaacs, 2006; Birkeland, 2008; Birkeland & Feiman-Nemser, 2009; Godsoe et al., 2007; Keigher, 2010; Kopelowitz & Markowitz, 2011; Provasnik & Dorfman, 2005; Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2009, as cited in Menachem, 2017, p. 2). Furthermore, Menachem (p. 2) highlighted that "Catholic schools, which make up most of the private school sector, lost an even greater percentage of teachers than public schools—21% vs. 15% between the years 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 (Provasnik & Dorfman, 2005)"—yet the underlying cause has been chiefly left unstudied. Despite the fact that over the last several decades there has been a surge of activity focused on educational reform, increased accountability, and teacher quality and quantity, with the goal of improving student performance, new-teacher attrition rates have not shown any reversal. For example, though significantly weakened by the Every Child Succeeds Act that went into effect in the 2017-18 school year, the U.S. Department of Education's No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 vastly expanded federal involvement in public education by requiring annual testing, the setting of academic targets, report cards, teacher competency in their area of certification, and attaining student reading and math proficiency standards (Klein, 2015). The federal Race to the Top program of 2009 continued this emphasis on educational improvements by awarding up to $4.35 billion to those states that met strict criteria concerning specific education reforms and innovations, including the opening of charter schools. One of the four main objectives of Race to the Top was "recruiting, developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and

principals, especially where they are needed most." Yet, despite this massive push to study, research, and reform education, there has been very little examination of why so many new public schoolteachers leave the profession, far less study of why teachers leave private schools, and no study of why private school Jewish studies teachers leave Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools. Anecdotal evidence based on conversations with several principals and heads of Jewish day schools supports the conclusion that hiring and retaining good faculty is at least as significant a concern in the Jewish day school arena as it is in public schools.

This study intends to provide insight as to why early-stage Jewish studies educators leave their teaching positions in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools, and whether teacher life-cycle events and/or financial concerns play a significant role in that decision. As Salomon (2010) aptly noted in her study on the decision to teach, much data exists for why public school teachers enter the teaching profession and yet there is little research as to why Jewish studies teachers do so. This is all the more true with regard to the motives of Jewish studies teachers for leaving Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are utilized in this study:

Academic year. The calendar months during which students typically attend K-12 classes, usually from September to June.

Administrative support. Describes guidance provided by a principal, head of school or senior member of the school administration by way of showing appreciation of and/or taking an interest in teachers' work, providing constructive feedback, and letting teachers know what is expected of them. (Conley & You, 2017)

Certification. A standard of competence voluntarily attained by an individual educator recognized by a peer group, professional organization or independent external agency that provides credentials identified in the literature as professional certification. (Bratton & Hildebrand, 1980)

Induction Program. A system to provide new teachers with guidance, models and the required tools to learn the school's practices and improve their teaching skills, professional knowledge, methods, and techniques. Such programs typically include mentoring, guidance, peer collaboration, evaluation, planning support, and professional development.

Jewish studies - subjects related to Judaism, including, but not limited to: Bible, history, law/halacha, literature, Talmud (text of Rabbinic commentary on oral law), philosophy, Hebrew language, contemporary Israel, tradition, theology, culture and art.

Modern Orthodox Jewish day school(s). Private, K-12 grade schools that attempt to blend the inculcation of Jewish values and observance of Jewish law with secular studies. Most typically have a general studies college preparation program and are co-educational (Segal, 2004).

Mentoring. Instructional support, feedback, and guidance provided to a novice teacher by a more experienced and more knowledgeable educator who has observed the new teacher teaching (Pirkle, 2011). It can be provided either as a standalone program or as an essential element of a formal teacher induction program.

Merit pay. A system that provides additional financial compensation to teachers in return for their better performance (Dee and Keys, 2004).

Novice/Early Career/Beginning Teachers. A teacher who is new to the teaching profession and has five years or less teaching experience.

Pay-for-performance. See merit pay. Also called performance pay.

Supplementary schools. Jewish schooling provided to children after public or private school hours (Schiff, 1978).

Teacher. An individual who is employed on a full time or part time basis in a school whose main responsibility is teaching in any Grade(s) K-12. Aides, student teachers, and short-term substitutes are omitted from this definition (Boe, Cook, & Sunderland, 2008).

Teacher Attrition. Premature and voluntary departure of teachers (Macdonald, 1990).

The following section reviews the relevant literature on novice teacher voluntary attrition in public and private schools, including religious schools, and commences with a discussion of the most applicable theory.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theory

Teachers typically invest considerable time and money in order to become educators. They also often make an emotional commitment to education, as they view themselves as, and aspire and devote themselves to, bettering the welfare of others. This sense of teaching as a calling and a selfless act sometimes comes from a religiously inflected idealism, as has been shown to be the case with religious teaching interns who intend to eventually teach in day schools with a student body that is similarly observant (Salomon, 2010). The fact that there is a relatively high rate of attrition among teachers in the early stages of their careers is unexpected given their recent, serious investment of

resources in training to enter the profession, especially when combined with their idealism and, where applicable, religious motivations. Education is also a profession familiar to most teachers, since all prospective teachers have spent many years in the school system and have witnessed what the job entails, albeit from a student's perspective. Moreover, most state-approved teaching programs require actual hours in front of or observing the classroom (e.g., https://nj.gov/education/rpr/preparation/assessment/) before one can receive one's degree or become certified (Phillips & Marston, 2008). In light of all the foregoing, why do early career Jewish studies teachers choose to leave, and more specifically, why do they voluntarily leave Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools?

Just as the motives, drivers, and circumstances leading one to become a teacher are manifold, so are the factors and conditions that provoke teachers to leave. The essential impetuses to depart from a teaching career seem no different from those causing people to abandon other job sectors, for which the literature offers a plethora of theories to explain such voluntary employee turnover. One of the earliest and foundational theories was proposed by March and Simon (1958), who suggested that an employee's decision to resign is influenced by two main factors: the perceived availability of other opportunities, and the perceived "desirability of movement" from one's current position. That theory has since been joined by an abundance of alternatives, many overlapping considerably, including but certainly not limited to:

- Equity Theory – employees are motivated by fairness of their inputs (e.g., work, dedication, skills) and outputs (e.g., compensation, recognition, perks) (Adams, 1963);

- Social Exchange Theory – cost benefit analysis whereby valued benefits will stimulate rewarded behavior (Hormans, 1958);
- Theory of Organizational Equilibrium – inducements and contributions create an appropriate balancing within organizations (Barnard & Simon, 1958);
- Job Embeddedness Theory – both on- and off-the-job factors influence employee connectivity to the organization (Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablynski & Erez, 2001);
- Theory of Planned Behavior – influences aid in decisions of following a particular behavior (Ajzen, 1985);
- Expectancy Theory – people choose specific behaviors based upon the expected outcome (Vroom, 1964).

However, the theory that provides the most cogent rationale for this study of early-career Modern Orthodox Jewish day school Jewish studies teachers voluntarily quitting is Gary S. Becker's seminal Theory of Human Capital (1975). Becker, who was a professor of economics and sociology at the University of Chicago, extended eighteenth-century Scottish economist Adam Smith's explanation of wage differentials into his Human Capital Theory. Becker expanded the basic concept of "human capital" by arguing that it does not refer only to the human being's capacity to generate income over time, the functional equivalent of the other kinds of tangible capital: cash, equity, factory machinery, infrastructure. Beyond that, he theorized, "human capital" encompasses intangibles such as education, training, experience, and abilities, and the more of this "human capital" one has, the higher one's productivity and corresponding earnings. As such, the individual worker, or teacher in our case, evaluates the value of their own

human capital against what they are receiving or can expect to receive in return for the investment of their human capital.

Grissmer and Kirby (1987) employed the Human Capital Theory in their study of teacher attrition/retention and pointed out that teachers, like most professionals, choose their profession and accept employment positions with certain expectations about the pros and cons of that vocation and of the specific jobs they accept. After employment has commenced, they regularly reevaluate whether the benefits match their expected return on the human capital invested. If the financial rewards (e.g., the base compensation, fringe benefits, bonus awards, potential upward mobility) or the non-pecuniary rewards (e.g., vacation days, holidays, coaching, support, recognition, work load, bonding, collegial relationships) fail to reach—and in the near future cannot reasonably be expected to reach—the level considered by the teacher an appropriate return on their accumulated human capital, they often will begin to consider other employment. This entails weighing the potential returns that may result from departing for a new job or occupation, against the additional investment required to enter that new job or occupation plus the opportunity costs associated with leaving the existing one. Becker's theory further dichotomized human capital into (1) general human capital and (2) specific human capital. General human capital refers to the knowledge that most organizations and institutions, from industrial businesses conglomerates to not-for-profit organizations, desire of their employees, such as basic math, reading, and communication skills, which enable them to complete the generic tasks demanded in a variety of settings. General human capital transfers with relative ease from one line of commerce or type of occupation to another (Mayer, Somaya, & Williamson, 2012). In contrast, specific

human capital (sometimes referred to as "firm-specific" human capital) refers to knowledge and skills that are limited to a specific business or institution; in the case of a Jewish day school, this would be knowledge of the school's *hashkafah* (ideological outlook), teaching styles, strategies, and technologies. For example, effective teaching at a particular religious school requires knowing how that school balances its secular and religious curricula, mastering the ability to engage students from particular backgrounds, and learning to work together with specific teachers and administrators. But it even translates into more mundane matters, like knowing the dress code, school schedule, and restroom locations. In general, specific human capital is of greatest value to the particular organization to which the specific knowledge pertains, and the longer one remains in a particular work environment, the greater the likelihood that there will be an increase in accumulated specific human capital.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from this theory's application to teaching is as follows. Long-term teachers have invested years in acquiring specific human capital. Given its value to their institution, they are rewarded with higher pay, and owing to its low value in other enterprises or occupations, they are less likely to leave their current school. Short-term or newer teachers, however, have invested far less in acquiring specific human capital. Consequently, they are paid lower wages and are more apt to leave their teaching position. This theoretical conclusion of early-career teachers quitting in relatively higher percentages is empirically borne out by Guarino, Santibañez, and Daley (2006): "one very stable finding is that attrition is high for young teachers," and numerous other studies have shown that newer teachers are more inclined to leave (Billingsley, 2004; Borman & Dowling, 2008; Macdonald, 1999). Ingersoll (2001) also

noted that the "relative odds of young teachers departing are 171% higher than for middle-aged teachers."

Attrition

The focus of this dissertation is to better our comprehension of the motives for early-career Jewish studies teacher attrition in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools and in turn, identify those factors that could encourage those teachers to remain in the profession—what, might have convinced these early career leavers to have stayed in the profession. Research to date on this specific aspect of turnover in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools is essentially nonexistent. Therefore, this review of the literature will examine early-career voluntary teacher exits on a broader spectrum, including public, private, and parochial (mostly Catholic) schoolteachers, with an eye towards not only what motivates them to leave but also what motivates them to stay. This literature review is presented in three parts: the research on major explanations for teacher attrition more generally, followed by the research on two specific topics influencing attrition—gender and financial concerns.

Research On The General Explanations For The Problem Of Teacher Attrition

The principal explanations for teacher attrition provided by the research literature are numerous and wide-ranging. This diversity can be attributed mostly to the specific variables involved in each analysis. The most referenced variables include: the students' socioeconomic background; the students' ethnicity or the predominance of minorities within the institutions under study; the teachers' age, gender, and experience; the grades or subject matter the teacher is responsible to teach; the teachers' training and mentorship; the financial wherewithal of the school or district; the involvement and

support provided by the school's principal; and the institution's metropolitan or rural location. More recently, teachers' personal characteristics have been recognized as a major influence on teacher attrition (Borman & Dowling, 2008; Schaefer, Long, & Clandinin, 2012). The vast majority of attrition studies recognize that the etiology of teacher attrition is complex and multifaceted, with some common threads and discernible patterns shared across the population of quitters. Some researchers, including Borman and Dowling (2008), Macdonald (1999) and Schaefer et al. (2012), have produced meta-analyses or comprehensive literature reviews on the whys and wherefores of teacher attrition. These studies divide the reasons for early departures into general categories, as MacDonald did for the motives behind teacher attrition presented in his 1999 meta-analysis (p. 839): "the conditions *of service* and the conditions that *affect service*." He noted that the conditions of service relate primarily to the particular school and tend to be more perceptible and objective than those that affect service. Schaefer et al. (2012), in their meta-analysis of early career teacher attrition, categorized teachers' motives according to individual versus workplace factors. Correspondingly, Borman and Dowling (2008) employed the terms "personal characteristics of teachers" and "attributes of teachers' schools" (p. 367) to classify the reasons for voluntary teacher departures. In the most recent and extensive meta-analysis of teacher attrition studies to date, the researchers created another category of factors that is gaining some traction in modern research studies, which they entitled "external correlates" (Nguyen, Pham, Springer, & Crouch, 2019). External correlates, such as accountability and workforce, are only emerging of late in the research literature and, accordingly, the authors do not attribute meaningful substance to the pertinent data in their study.

The review of the research literature that follows will be divided into two sections: (1) teacher attrition attributed to individual/personal teacher factors, and (2) teacher attrition attributed to contextual/school factors. It should be borne in mind that this division, however, is ultimately artificial, and that the motivations do not exist on some abstract plane. These two overarching categories and the individual explanations they subsume undoubtedly contain overlap as well as mutual influence. It is worth noting that there are a multitude of other factors that may influence novice teacher attrition rates, however, practical considerations demand that only the most applicable issues relating to Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools were selected for inclusion in this literature review.

Individual/Personal Factors

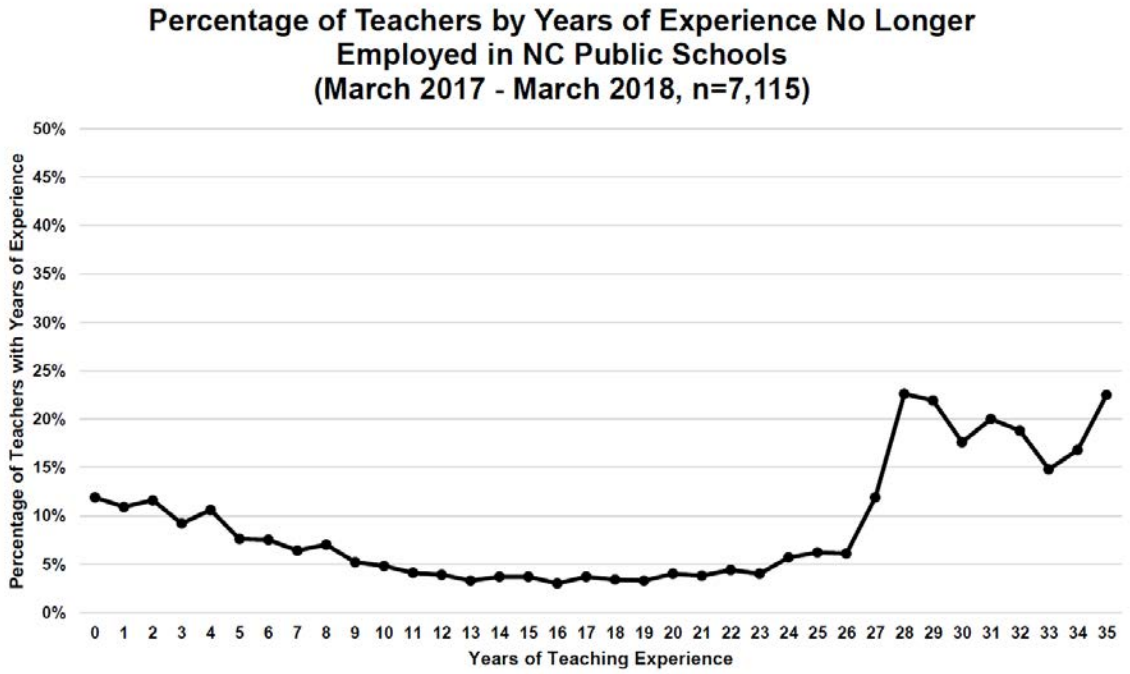
Age.

A number of studies have identified teacher age as one of the important factors affecting the likelihood of departure from the teaching profession (Holochwost et al., 2009; Kain et al., 2004; Ingersoll, 2001; Kukla-Acevedo, 2009). Older teachers typically leave as they approach retirement age, after having built up a significant investment in their own human capital, and typically having been rewarded for it with annual escalating compensation and the expected collection of future pension payments. Younger teachers depart the profession due to an assortment of interrelated factors, as noted in the literature and as reviewed here, and tend to leave before investing much time or effort into building up their specific teacher human capital. Kain et al. captured this dynamic concisely: “In general, switching careers grows costlier with age and experience.” (p. 2). The bulk of the “stayers” are those in the middle, who have accumulated significant human capital but are not yet ready to retire (Grissmer & Kirby, 1991). Accordingly, the high rates of

departure at both ends of the teacher age/experience spectrum presents itself as a U-shaped plot of attrition rates to age (Guarino et al., 2006; Hanushek & Rivkin, 2007; Ingersoll, 2001). The chart of 2017-2018 North Carolina teacher attrition rates presented below illustrates the current normative national U-shaped pattern of teacher attrition (Annual Report on the State of the Teaching Profession, 2020).

Figure 2

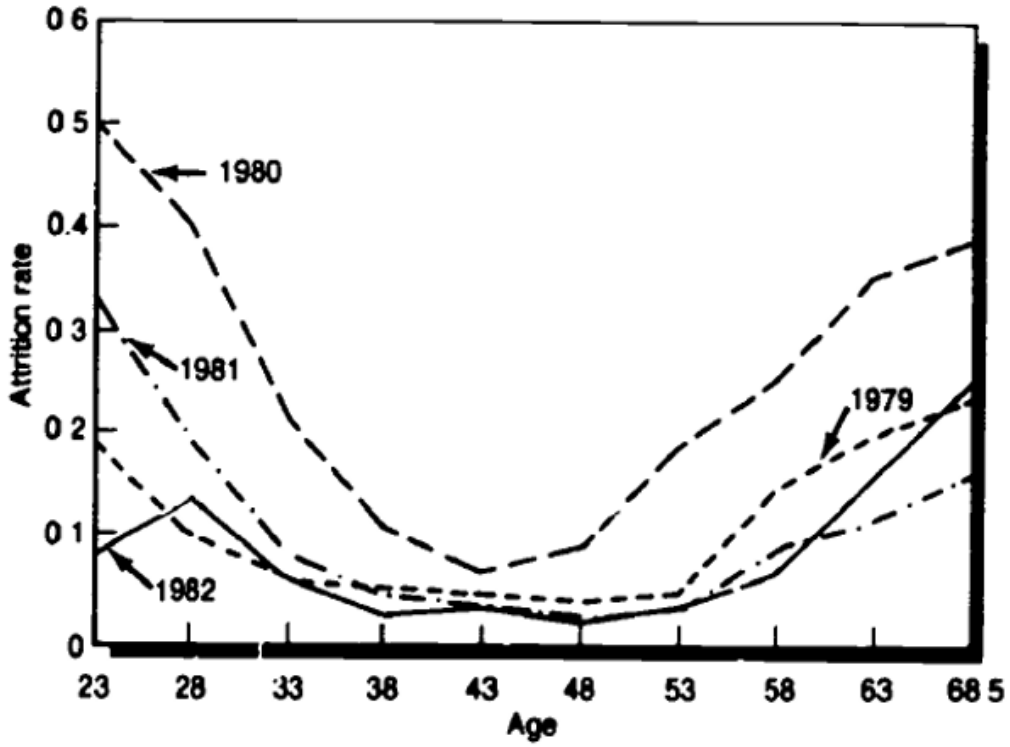
Attrition by Years of Experience



The similarly shaped chart in Figure 3 below (Grissmer & Kirby, 1991, p. 38), which was based upon 1979 through 1982 teacher attrition data, confirms the consistent U-shaped pattern of teacher attrition by age group over a 38 year period.

Figure 3

Attrition Rate of Teachers, By Age and Year



As noted in several studies (Gilbert, 2011; Hancock, 2009; Borman & Dowling, 2008; Grissmer & Kirby, 1997; Stinebrickner, 2002), a percentage of the younger teachers only quit teaching temporarily, leaving for a specific reason (e.g., to bear children, to relocate for a spouse's employment) and returning at a later date. One study estimated that these returning educators made up as much as 25% of new hires nationally (Wayne, 2000).

In a longitudinal study of new teacher turnover in the Illinois public school system, using data from 1986/1987 through 2005/2006 gleaned from the Illinois State

Board of Education's Teacher Service Record and Teacher Certification Information System, researchers also found that younger teachers were more likely to permanently quit teaching (DeAngelis & Presley, 2007). They did, however, add the caveat that the prevalence of female teachers in the Illinois public school system might skew the results somewhat, given female teachers' association with childbirth, childrearing, and other familial responsibilities. The study further revealed that those who entered the teaching profession between the ages of 26 and 34 had a greater probability of quitting during their first five years than did novice teachers who began teaching at 25 or younger. Those teachers who got their start in the profession over the age of 35 were least likely to leave in their first five years of teaching.

A foundational meta-analysis of 34 research papers, which were issued between 1980 and 2005 and performed primarily to understand the factors that influence teacher attrition, yielded the importance of teachers' personal characteristics in indicating their future decisions to stay in or leave the profession (Borman & Dowling, 2008). Most of the studies in which age was operationalized as a moderator confirmed the above trend: older teachers are less likely than younger ones to leave the teaching profession, irrespective of the specific definition of young versus old. However, one study that subdivided the younger age range into age groups of 20 to 24 and 25 to 29 found that the relatively younger group was slightly more likely to remain in teaching than the older. Another paper included in the meta-analysis noted that teachers 51 and older were more likely to leave teaching than those below 50, suggesting that 50 is the point at which the value of one's human capital investment balances off against the investment's monetary rewards available upon retirement. Four of the studies noted that beyond the age of

quitting, the age of entry into the profession influenced the likelihood of quitting as well: those starting educators entering the profession at after age 30 were less likely to leave than were teachers who began their teaching careers before reaching 31 years of age. In 2019, researchers (Nguyen et al.) pointing to the 2008 Borman & Dowling findings cited above, published a vastly expanded meta-analysis of 120 teacher attrition and retention studies produced by researchers between 1980 and 2018. Based upon ten studies that considered age an independent factor, this richer and updated meta-analysis confirmed the previous conclusions regarding the effects of age on teacher attrition—younger teachers are more likely to leave than older teachers. The researchers concluded that when teacher populations are bifurcated between those who are older than 28 and those who are 28 or younger, those in the older group are 30% less likely to leave their schools than those in the younger group. Similar results were found in the literature where the demarcation for younger teachers was set at equal to or under 30 years of age. A certain degree of validation is provided by the consistency of the findings across these meta-analyses, although it should be pointed out that the Borman study was based upon a relatively small sample size of 34 studies.

In their 2009 study of how educators' personal characteristics (age, marital status, and the like) might influence their intent to remain in the profession, Holochwost et al. surveyed 846 early childhood teachers working in a mid-Atlantic state who were selected from a census of licensed programs. All participation was voluntary and the participants, 95% of whom were female, had an average age of 37.4 years. The main dependent variable analyzed was the length of time the teacher-respondent planned to continue teaching, and the finding was that 60.4% of respondents expected to stay for at least five

years. When the independent variable of age was taken into consideration, though, substantial variations in the responses emerged: teachers between 30 and 55 were far more likely to remain for at least five years than were those between 19 and 29 and those over 56. Holocwost et al. identified a pattern that bolsters the earlier finding from the meta-analyses: as teachers aged they were less likely to quit, that is, until retirement range, when attrition rates climbed sharply. From a practical standpoint, the authors suggested that schools interested in lowering their attrition rates should realize the risk of hiring younger college or graduate students.

In a survey of 248 teachers trained in the West who taught in international schools in the "Near East South Asia", the authors arrived at a conclusion that contradicts the above correlations between age and attrition (Mancuso, Roberts, & White, 2010). In this study, the survey responses indicate the converse and invert the U-shaped curve presented above: the middle-aged group of educators (between 37.8 and 47.3) left these international schools at a significantly higher frequency, 31.4%, than the younger and older teachers.

In their 2004 analysis of the effects of induction and mentoring on novice teacher attrition, Smith and Ingersoll concluded that the entry age of teachers had little effect on attrition rates. This finding diverges from the vast majority of studies discussed above and contradicts Ingersoll's own 2001 article on teacher shortages, in which he stated: "the relative odds of young teachers departing are 171% higher than for middle-aged teachers" (p. 518). This 2004 study analyzed data gathered from the 1999-2000 Schools and Staffing Survey administered by the National Center for Education Statistics and focused on the 3,235 teachers who started teaching during the 1999-2000 school year. The

researchers employed models that applied regression analysis to the novice teacher data and utilized the teachers' ages as a control variable. Smith and Ingersoll concluded that "the impact of a new teacher's age on his or her likelihood of leaving or moving is small and statistically insignificant" (p. 695).

Education and Qualification.

The literature on the relationship between novice teacher attrition rates, on the one hand, and pre-teaching education levels and teacher qualifications obtained, on the other, has not produced a uniform finding. It does seem reasonable that the higher the level of education attained, especially when directed towards teaching (e.g., master's level teacher education courses), the more human capital invested in the teaching profession, and, correspondingly, the lower the interest in leaving said profession. This is counterbalanced, however, as Addi-Raccah (2005) points out, by a theory (Dolton & Klaauw, 1999; Murnane, Singer, & Willett, 1988) which suggests that the more credentials and education the beginning teacher attains, the greater the opportunities in relatively better (e.g., higher paying) non-teaching careers. In their 2008 meta-analysis of quantitative studies regarding teacher attrition and retention, Borman and Dowling analyzed 34 studies and 64 moderators in order to determine what factors influence teachers' decisions to stay or leave the profession. Thirteen of those studies compared the rates of attrition for teachers with and without graduate degrees, and the findings suggested that teachers with graduate degrees were somewhat (odds ratio of 1.12) more likely to quit teaching than those with only undergraduate degrees. Their further analysis, based upon 2 of the 34 studies, concluded that teachers who held undergraduate math or science degrees were twice (odds ratio of 1.99) as likely to quit as were teachers

with undergraduate degrees in other subjects. Borman and Dowling conclude, while also pointing out the ambiguity of their findings, that "there is somewhat more evidence suggesting that it is the more talented rather than the less talented teachers—those who are better trained, more experienced, and more skilled—who tend to be lost to turnover with greater frequency" (p. 396).

Extending and expanding upon the 2008 Borman and Dowling teacher attrition/retention meta-analysis, in 2019 Nguyen et al. confirmed the varied results of studies attempting to link teacher attrition to the holding of graduate degrees and concluded that the there is no statistically significant correlation. They further confirmed that teachers who evidenced more academic abilities, as measured by their SAT/ACT test scores and/or their university grade point average, were more apt to abandon the teaching profession than those with lesser scholastic capabilities.

The absence of a clear correlation between the level of education acquired prior to embarking on a teaching career and new teacher attrition was also addressed by Feng in a 2009 analysis of longitudinal data of 17,935 teachers, who began teaching between the 1997-1998 and 2003-2004 academic years in the state of Florida. Feng posited that augmenting human capital investment via acquisition of higher levels of education should afford them increased job mobility, and correspondingly, generating greater attrition, but given that most teachers' post-graduate degrees are in some field of education, their portability into other professions may not be enhanced. Furthermore, Feng suggested that teacher compensation is most often based upon experience and education level, so the acquisition of additional educational degrees may be motivated by the desire for financial rewards within the educational system rather than outside of it. Ingersoll et al. (2014)

also found that the type of college (highly selective vs. not), the degree attained (education vs. noneducation, bachelor's vs. master's), teaching certificate held (full, none or in between (i.e., provisional, temporary or emergency) made little difference on the likelihood of a first year teacher's staying or leaving. What counted most was the quantity and type of pedagogical training the novice teacher had under their belt. New teachers who had had adequate instruction in teaching techniques and methods, direction or coursework in child learning theory and psychology, experience in practice teaching, feedback and observation of experienced teachers, or training in the selection and adaptation of educational material, were found to be significantly less likely to leave.

For college graduates who aspire to teach in public schools but do not follow the 'traditional' route to teaching by earning an education degree or completing specific education coursework from a state-certified program, 48 states provide an alternative teaching certification path to teaching. Each state has its own 'nontraditional' or 'alternative' training route, and according to a study updated in 2018 by the National Center for Education Statistics regarding the 2015-2016 academic year, approximately 676,000 (or 18% of the total number of) public school teachers had earned their teaching licenses through a nontraditional accreditation program. Regarding the traditional versus the nontraditional certified teachers, three studies included in Borman and Dowling's examination of the literature determined that teachers with regular or traditional teacher certification were significantly less likely (odds ratio of .38) to leave teaching than those educators who were not so certified. Looking at 16 of the relevant studies included in their meta-analysis, Nguyen et al. noted, in parallel to Borman and Dowling, that teachers

who hold standard certification are (.53 times) more probable of staying in the teaching profession than those teachers who have no such certification.

In their 2007 longitudinal study of new teacher turnover in the Illinois public school system, DeAngelis and Presley concluded the following based on data provided by the Illinois State Board of Education's Teacher Service Record and Teacher Certification Information System, for the period 1986/1987 through 2005/2006: educators who graduated with high grade point averages, from highly ranked schools, or attained high ACT scores were more likely to completely quit the teaching profession, whereas novice teachers with solid education-related credentials, such as teacher endorsements and certifications, were more apt to remain in teaching, even if they might have transferred between different schools.

In a 2012 study of 24 new teachers employed by urban and suburban public schools in a major Texas metropolitan area who participated in induction programs, Linek et al. found that the majority of teachers who began their teaching careers following nontraditional paths typically departed within three years, whereas the attrition rates were far lower for teachers who followed the traditional four-year university-based education programs. Linek et al. found that the five-year retention rate for traditionally trained teachers was 76%, compared with 68% for those with alternative certification. The findings of this study were partially confirmed by the analyses in Ingersoll et al. (2014) concerning the National Center for Education Statistics' 2003-04 Schools and Staffing Survey and its 2004-05 Teacher Follow-up Survey. The latter study concluded: "Moreover, those who entered through a traditional program were also slightly less likely

to leave teaching after their first year (at a 90% level of confidence) than those who entered via a non-traditional or alternative route program" (p. 24).

With respect to Jewish studies educators in Jewish day schools, Ben-Avie & Kress (2008) state that the majority of such teachers have post baccalaureate degrees. Their report, based upon a random sample study of North American educators and administrators in Jewish schools also highlighted the fact that 44 percent of the Jewish day school teacher respondents "did not have a valid teaching certification that is both (a) recognized by the state or province in which they teach and (b) is not an emergency credential" (p. 24). Anecdotally, when asked her thoughts on the current system of Jewish day school teacher training, Feiman-Nemser, the Mandel Professor of Jewish Education at Brandeis University questioned the very existence of such a system, stating "Nothing could be further from reality" and added further, "But there is nothing systematic about these efforts: no common standards for what well prepared day school teachers should know, do, care about and no shared standards for what strong professional preparation entails" (Novick et al., 2013, p.14). As opposed to public schools where each state sets the minimum education and certification requirements for teachers, each Modern Orthodox Jewish day school sets its own standards, if any, for their educators.

Gender.

Until the nineteenth century, formal classroom education of Jewish children was almost exclusively the purview of male teachers. The ostensible reason is a rabbinic ruling in tractate *Kiddushin* (82a) of the Babylonian Talmud (redacted ca. 450—ca. 550 CE): a woman shall not act as a teacher of children. This was an attempt to avoid any

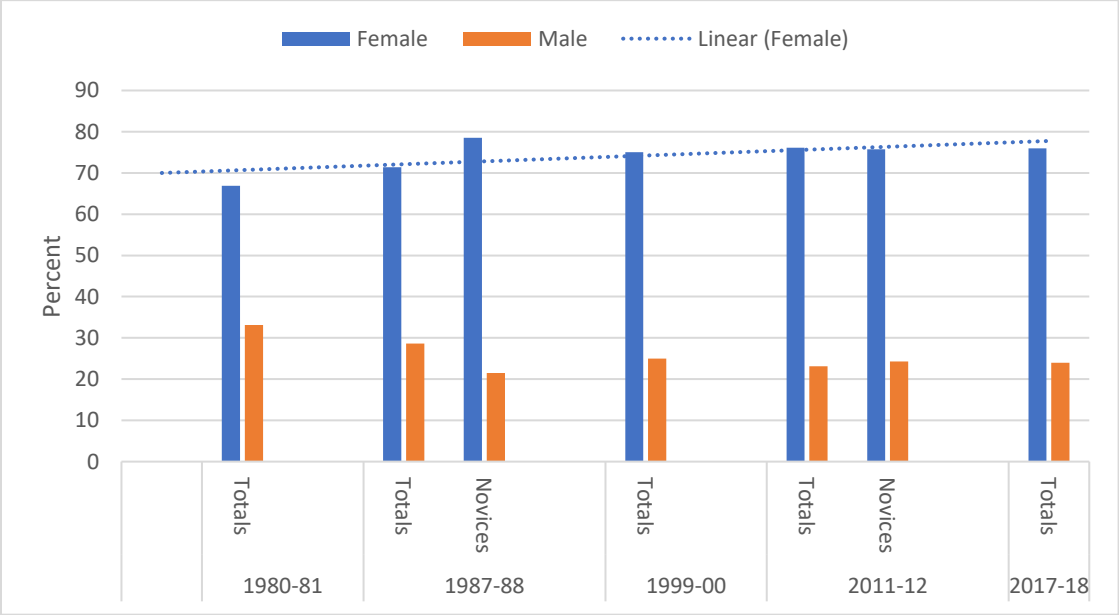
potential inappropriate sexual activity in the event that a student's father was to meet with the teacher to discuss his child's education. Another explanation for the dearth of female teachers was the fact that until the early 19th century Eastern European girls were generally not provided the formal education that boys were, and girls were often relegated to being taught at home, and then only the basics of housekeeping or other relatively low level skills that were acceptable for women to engage in for pay, such as seamstress or maid services. Home schooling in a limited number of Jewish subjects was also the norm for girls, taught in Yiddish, and leaving them illiterate in Hebrew. Boys, on the other hand, typically attended cheder, where they were taught Hebrew language skills and Torah. Greater opportunities to learn arose when compulsory education was introduced in much of Europe during the 19th century, at which point Jewish schools for boys and girls became a reality, with special recognition for the Beis Yaakov system that was established to educate Jewish girls (Bemporad & Dynner, 2020).

The male domination of the Jewish teaching profession in central and eastern Europe, a major geographic source of Jewish immigrants to the United States, continued throughout the nineteenth century. From the assassination of Czar Alexander II in March of 1881 until the opening shot of World War I, more than 22 million immigrants arrived in the United States, principally from Europe and Russia, including over 2.2 million Jews from eastern Europe and Russia fleeing persecution and economic restrictions, and/or looking to improve their overall prospects in the New World (Baumel-Schwartz, 2017). In the early twentieth century, female Jewish teachers became more common worldwide, but their greatest growth in prominence took place in the U.S. in both public and Jewish schools. In contrast to the instability and financial constraints of the immigrants' home

countries, the schools in the U.S. provided a secure and relatively steady income for most teachers and, especially important to observant Jews, offered the extra benefit of not requiring work on Saturday, the Sabbath. The growth of teaching as a Jewish profession continued through the 1920s and 1930s, and by the mid-1940s the majority of teachers in many of New York City's schools were Jewish (Johnson, 2004).

Figure 4

Distribution of Teachers in U.S. Public Schools by Gender



Jumping forward to the late twentieth and the early twenty-first century and the public school system, one might have expected the ratio of female teachers in the U.S. to have decreased, especially over the last several decades, given the opening of myriad professions and industries to women in the wake of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the women's liberation movement of the 1960s through the 1980s, and the nonstop advance of technology. Nevertheless, as the chart in Figure 4 above makes clear, the percentage of female teachers has remained relatively stable over the last thirty years—at or above 75% (source of data for 1987-88 and 2011-12: Ingersoll & Merrill, 2017; source of data

for 1980-81: Ingersoll et al., 2018). This ratio of female teachers has remained relatively constant despite the fact that during the 1960s nearly 50% of female college graduates entered the teaching profession and by 1990 less than 10% did so, while the number of female college graduates rose by a factor of six between 1950 to 1990 (Flyer & Rosen, 1997). One reason proffered for the continued attractiveness of the teaching profession to women is the flexibility of one's schedule, the availability of leaves of absence, and the vacation and holidays, all of which contribute to being able to give birth to and raise children (Allen, 2005), and, vitally important in the Orthodox Jewish world, to prepare for and observe the weekly Sabbath and seasonal religious holidays. Ironically, the very flexibility that makes the teaching profession so attractive to women also provides an easier opportunity than most other vocations for their departure from the profession. However, women who do leave have been shown in at least one study to return to teaching at a greater rate (34%) than men (29%) who leave (DeAngelis & Presley, 2007). As with many other novice teacher attrition variables, there is no consensus on whether men or women leave at higher rates or if there are any statistically significant differences based upon gender whatsoever (Addi-Raccah, 2005). Let us begin with research that has found a higher female teacher rate of attrition. In 2006, Guarino et al. selected 46 empirical studies from a pool of 4,919 publications and found in the three studies that addressed gender and attrition that male teachers and student-teachers were less likely to leave the teaching profession than women. Notably, based on the self-reporting of female teachers still in the field, they found that women were more committed to the profession than were men. Reaching a similar conclusion, Borman & Dowling's 2008 meta-analyses of 34 teacher attrition-retention studies determined, in the 19 studies in

which gender was one of the moderators, that female teachers were 1.3 times more likely to quit teaching than males, a statistically significant conclusion. Borman & Dowling, citing specific studies (Kirby & Grissmer, 1991; Wayne, 2000), make the point that the choice of staying or leaving teaching is determined by a number of life-cycle factors, including whether the teacher has her/his own family and changes therein. Teachers with children, the initial burden of which obviously rests on the female, tend to quit teaching more often than do childless teachers, though, as noted earlier, such teachers return to the teaching profession in substantial numbers. Using data from a longitudinal sample of freshly certified teachers to determine the timing of and reasons for their leaving the teaching profession, one study (Stinebrickner, 2002) concluded that the single most significant element in a female teacher's decision to quit was the birth of a new child. It also determined that 33 percent of all the female teachers—not just new mothers—who left teaching and were tracked for at least five years, returned to teaching at some point within that period. Furthermore, in a study (Dagli, 2012) of U.S. kindergarten teachers, based upon data gleaned from the National Center for Education Statistics' 2003-04 Schools and Staffing Survey and its 2004-05 Teacher Follow-up Survey, the author determined that male teachers were less likely to quit the teaching profession than women, although they were more likely to transfer between schools.

One potential explanation for the higher female rates of attrition may be found in research on teacher burnout among 162 teachers in rural Ohio. That study showed that only 61% of the male educators had high levels of emotional exhaustion or burnout relative to 77% of the female teachers (Rumschlag, 2017). Moreover, male teachers were reported to have had substantially higher feelings of depersonalization, described by Maslach et al.,

1986, as “feelings of competence and successful achievement in one’s work” (as cited in Rumschlag, p. 27). The author suggested that females were more nurturing and supportive, making them more vulnerable to emotional exhaustion, and thus more prone to abandon teaching.

Now let us consider the research which concludes that male teachers have higher attrition rates than their female counterparts. Longitudinal data accumulated over five years regarding 2,310 teachers in Finland shows that male teachers were generally less satisfied with their teaching careers, considered changing professions more often, and had higher quitting rates than did female teachers (Räsänen et al., 2020). The authors caution that the Finnish system of education is somewhat unique in, for example, the significant level of autonomy granted to teachers, so the conclusions may not be universally applicable. Additional results show that at the beginning of the study, men reported a lack of commitment to the profession as the reason for their quitting intentions, while the women reported difficulties with the social interaction and excessive workload of the teaching profession.

Grissmer and Kirby (1987) found that attrition rates for male teachers surpassed those of women, and the same held true specifically for novice male teachers. They attributed this to the fact that men were more likely than women to find employment in school administrative positions or other occupations. Addressing attrition of English teachers only, a multinomial logistic regression analysis of data from the Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) and the Teacher Follow-Up Survey found that novice male language arts and English teachers who earned below $20,000 per academic year were more likely to leave teaching than female teachers, and more specifically, a male teacher

was eight times likelier than a female teacher to do so (Hahs-Vaughn & Scherff, 2008). In a qualitative study undertaken to determine what factors influence novice U.S. public school teachers to quit, the author notes that the rate of attrition amongst male teachers, especially Black male teachers, is highest, and urges that male educators be hired to fulfill the demand for essential role models for male students (Johnson, 2011).

Higher rates of male teacher attrition were also found by researchers studying the Israeli school system, which like that of the U.S. is predominately populated by female teachers. In 2003, women made up 75% of Israel's teachers (Addi-Raccah, 2005), and in 2007, the number rose to 84% (Reichel and Arnon, 2009). Using 1983 and 1995 census data provided by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, Addi-Raccah sampled 2,108 teachers, 4% of the teacher population, and performed multinomial logistic regression analyses determining "that men were more likely than women (by 2.98 times) to leave teaching and enter alternative occupations" (p.745). Another study that focused on Israeli teachers' intent to leave teaching differentiated by gender surveyed 1,035 high school teachers from 35 different schools and determined that female teachers' intent to quit is significantly lower than male teachers' (Shapira-Lischshinsky, 2009).

Much of the research literature addressing teacher attrition and gender finds either statistically insignificant differences or mixed results dependent on other factors, be they personal (age or education) or school-related (grade level taught). For an example of mixed results, a 2008 survey in the United Kingdom conducted by the Department for Children, Schools and Families discovered that the full-time male teacher rate of attrition at the secondary school level was 39.8%, somewhat lower than the 41.8% of female teachers. That said, at the primary school level the male attrition rate was 35.8%,

materially higher than the female rate of 26.4% (Passy & Golden, 2010). The results were based upon the responses of 1,976 schools, which disclosed that there were 55,481 teacher resignations from both primary and secondary schools, a total teacher attrition rate of 11.7%.

A study of the patterns and reasons for novice teacher attrition in the Illinois public schools, based on data from 1971 to 2006, discovered a combination of insignificant and meaningful differences with respect to gender and attrition. The researchers developed a longitudinal file of 160,925 novice teachers and determined that the overall rate of attrition had dropped from 56% in the 1970s to 40% in the 1990s, and that 33% of those teachers who quit returned to teach in the Illinois system. For the 10 year period of 1987 to 1997, they found that there was minimal difference between female (41%) and male (40%) rates of attrition but did note that female teachers who quit teaching returned to the Illinois school system at a materially higher frequency (34%) than did their male counterparts (29%) (DeAngelis & Presley, 2007).

Nguyen et al. noted that their far more expansive 2019 meta-analyses yielded different results from those of Borman & Dowling's 2008 meta-analysis on gender and teacher attrition. The latter found, in 19 of the 34 studies they analyzed, that women were 1.3 times as likely to quit than men, whereas the former determined, in 37 of the 120 studies under scrutiny, that women teachers' probability of quitting was no different from men's. Nguyen et al. suggested (1) that their results were more accurate due to the larger pool of studies analyzed, and (2) the facts might have changed over the intervening decade.

Compensation.

As Powell & Glass (2015) outline, teacher compensation schemes evolved along with the educational system in the United States in three separate stages since the early nineteenth century. Initially, 50% of the population were farmers and 80% of the population resided in rural areas. All family members, children included, were expected to work on the farms during the seasonal agricultural highs. Teachers were provided room and board and a minor stipend in exchange for their services. In the late nineteenth century, the second stage commenced. The Industrial Revolution brought sweeping changes to production methods and labor patterns, and rapid urbanization required corresponding changes in teacher compensation. Schools, and thus teachers, followed the population into the cities and teachers were paid cash wages, most often based on the following factors: grade taught, prior teaching experience, and, sadly, race and sex, in addition to district administrators' subjective distributions of merit pay (Little, 2007). With the ratification of the nineteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 18, 1920, which granted women suffrage, and a number of earlier state court decisions allowing women to continue teaching after marrying, the third phase began. A much more standardized system based on a teacher's prior experience and education, known as the single salary schedule, was introduced and it remains widely used (Powell & Glass, 2015). The history of teacher compensation shows a clear progression towards providing public school educators with a more objective and standardized compensation structure that is also less biased. There is evidence that the same advances have been embraced by the Modern Orthodox Jewish Day school educational system as well.

A measure of the general state of Jewish educators' compensation in the 1970s can be found in Wertheimer's 1999 article in which he states: "A study conducted by the American Association for Jewish Education for the 1975-76 school year found that teacher salaries in Jewish day and supplementary schools are too low to afford a head of family a decent, comfortable standard of living as the sole wage earner." (p. 24). Wertheimer further provided data assembled from 382 schools in 31 urban districts which disclosed that "the median maximum salary of a full-time teacher in a supplementary school was $9,400 and $13,433 per year for day-school teachers. Put in comparative terms, the latter figure was 13.2 percent below what public-school teachers earned." (p. 24).

Jumping ahead to the 2015-16 and 2017-18 school years, the Digests of Educational Statistics for 2017 and 2018 respectively report the average base remuneration for public and private school teachers as per Table 1 below, reflecting a materially larger gap between the compensation of public and private school teachers than the one Wertheimer's study reflected, which may be accounted for by the inclusion of other, non-Jewish day school compensation in the Digest's figures.

Table 1

Base Salaries of Teachers in U.S. Public and Private Schools

		SCHOOL YEAR		
		2015-2016	2107-2018	Change
Public School Base Salary		$ 55,120	$ 57,950	$ 2,830
Private School Base Salary		$ 40,200	$ 45,320	$ 5,120
	$ Difference	$ 14,920	$ 12,630	
	% Difference	27%	22%	

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics (2017 and 2018), Digest of Educational Statistics: Tables 211-10.

Although there has been a longstanding, prevalent belief that teachers in the U.S. have been, and remain, undercompensated, the fact that private school educators are and have been paid significantly less than their public school counterparts is not a subject of debate (Vedder & Hall, 2000) and is supported by the data presented above. Although there are major differences in the specific motivations for teaching in public versus private schools, and in particular religious day schools (Salomon, 2010), compensation is frequently repeated as one of the principal rationales for educators quitting the profession (Arnup & Bowles, 2016; Ingersoll, 2001; Thompson, 2018). Nevertheless, an extensive review of the research literature on the relationship between voluntary teacher attrition and compensation presents differing results, and "given the complex role that salary plays in career decisions, it is not clear whether lower salaries lead to the higher attrition rates experienced in private schools" (Torres, 2012, p. 123).

Data sourced to a 1986 survey undertaken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company showed that 60% of former teachers who had recently quit teaching to enter

other professions cited low or inadequate salary amongst their principal motivations for leaving. In another study, salary was also chosen as the main motivation by 62% of the teachers who were seriously considering leaving and by 65% of those likely to leave within five years (Wagner, 1983). Low salary was offered as the reason for quitting more than twice as often as any of the other seventeen reasons by teachers who had already quit, were contemplating leaving, or were likely to quit—in short, by all respondents. Wagner also pointed out that when current teachers were asked to recommend ways of retaining teachers, 79% of the respondents suggested making teacher compensation equal to that of other vocations, and 94 % believed that good teachers could be deterred from quitting by offering a decent salary.

Imazeki's 2005 longitudinal study that tracked 1,175 novice teachers in Wisconsin over five years determined that, generally speaking, higher teacher compensation correlated with lower rates of attrition. The analysis revealed that significant salary increases of up to 20% were required to decrease teacher exits, an evidently impractical solution. Kain et al. corroborate this finding: "Because teachers appear so unresponsive to salary levels, it would take enormous across-the-board increases to stem these flows" (p. 210). According to them, the more difficult, central urban schools would need to raise novice women's salaries an average of 25% to 43% and men's by 10% to offset the onerous working conditions that lead to attrition. Imazeki did note, at least with respect to novice female teachers making a choice whether to stay or quit, that future salary expectations played a role in their thought process.

In their study of novice English teachers, Hahs-Vaughn and Scherff (2008) noted that none of the specific independent factors analyzed reflected a decrease in attrition rates;

the only statistically significant variable that would raise the likelihood of inexperienced English teachers quitting was an inadequate salary.

Borman and Dowling's (2008) meta-analysis examined 34 studies addressing teacher attrition, of which 14 considered renumeration an independent factor, and they noted that novice teachers, as opposed to experienced educators, were more sensitive to perceived inadequate compensation and were more likely to quit on account of it. On the other hand, Arnup and Bowles, in their 2016 study of 160 Australian K-12 educators with 10 or fewer years of teaching experience, specifically cite Borman and Dowling and found no such correlation between teacher's pay and attrition.

Researching the correlation between average salaries and teacher attrition rates, as well as attrition rate disparities between the districts that paid the highest and lowest salaries in Texas public schools, Garcia, Slate, and Delgado (2009) analyzed data from 2003 to 2006 collected from over 1,200 school districts and 300,000 teachers by the Texas Education Agency. They found nearly identical, moderate rates of correlation between teacher salary and turnover in each of the three school years. They then segmented the school districts into quartiles based upon salary levels and discovered that the attrition rate for the top-paying quartile of school districts was 15.17%, and that of bottom-paying quartile was more than double at 31.84%. This demonstrated a clear correlation between salary and turnover rate. They were well aware that numerous other factors undoubtably influenced the attrition rate in both quartiles.

Utilizing data from the 1999–2000 Schools and Staffing Survey and the 2000–2001 Teacher Follow-up Survey administered by the National Center for Education Statistics, Kukla-Acevedo (2009) found that (1) novice teachers were 150% more likely

to leave than more experienced teachers, (2) teachers under the age of 30 were 300% more likely to quit teaching than those older than 50, and (3) “salary, which was also correlated with age and experience, followed a similar pattern” (p. 447).

Torres (2012) employed a mixed-method study of novice U.S. Catholic and public school educators who quit the profession, running statistical analyses of the 2003–2004 and 2004–2005 Schools and Staffing Survey and Teacher Follow-up Survey, and conducting in-depth interviews of former teachers. Catholic school teachers consistently reported their unhappiness over compensation and dissatisfaction with earnings less than those of their public school counterparts. Torres’ analysis revealed that compensation was listed by 9.2 % of the public school novice quitters as their primary reason for leaving, outranked only by three other explanations (pregnancy - 27.3%, staffing action - 12.9% and relocation - 10.6%) that were either involuntary or not directly related to the school or to teaching. Despite their self-reported dismay at their financial rewards from teaching, only 4.9% of the Catholic school novice quitters ranked compensation as a reason for their early departures, a reason outranked by 7.5 out of total 11 other possible choices (compensation was tied with health at 4.9%).

In a review of teacher retention research with a specific focus on Catholic schools, Przygocki (2004) concludes: “Issues of better salaries and benefits, especially retirement benefits, are central to the retention of teachers in Catholic schools. Unless improvements in these areas take place, Catholic schools will continue to lose teachers to the neighboring public school systems.” (p. 542). Analogous to findings pertaining to motivations for teaching in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools (Salomon, 2010), Przygocki does make the point that the incentive to continue teaching in Catholic schools

is driven by inherent motivators, such as dedication to the Catholic faith, community, and mission, although "economic reality can cause enough distress to abandon the profession" (p. 528). Conversely, Salomon (2010) noted that when novice teachers were asked what they considered the most essential aspects of their teaching positions, a good salary was the lowest-rated factor on their priority list.

Lanner (2010), employed a statistical analysis of data from the 2007 Educators in Jewish Schools Study, which related to general and Judaic teachers in Jewish day schools. She focused on the relationship between the independent variable, salary, and the dependent variable, teacher satisfaction, typically a close correlate to teacher retention. Salary, it turned out, had no statistically significant effect on teacher satisfaction. One reason proposed was that educators who pursue teaching in Jewish day schools do so with realistically low expectations of financial rewards, so they are not dissatisfied when paid a relatively lower compensation. Despite not finding a direct salary-to-teacher satisfaction connection, Lanner nevertheless suggested that salary undoubtably does affect teacher retention. That said, Salomon (2010) pointed out that increasing employee pay serves to lessen job dissatisfaction but does not justify staying in a job.

Using the same 2007 Educators in Jewish Schools Study, Ben-Avie and Kress (2008) noted that teachers gave salary a 3.97 importance rating out of 5, though a mere 31% of the day school respondents felt they would ever be able to enjoy a financially fulfilling career as a Jewish educator. Aside from the relatively low base salaries, amongst the factors leading to this gloomy level of financial expectations were the fact that under 69% of the full-time teachers were entitled to retirement plans or health

insurance, that less than 45% were provided life or dental insurance, and that only 35% of the teachers whose children attended the schools they taught in were entitled to any tuition assistance. It is also noteworthy that even when these financial perquisites are available, there is no available data as to their quality.

Merit Pay.

As much of the relevant literature discussing amelioration of teacher attrition makes clear, there is no single, robust enough bar that will prevent novice educators from making a dash out the emergency exit. Merit pay has been tried, primarily to improve teacher and student performance and only tangentially as an incentive to reduce attrition, but the results resemble what we have seen for many of the other factors affecting teacher retention—they are mixed and uncertain. In his review of U.S.- and Israeli-based teacher and school incentive programs, Lavy (2007) purposely states that private schools are more likely to provide pay-for-performance programs than are public schools due to the fact that the former typically have more flexibility in teacher compensation arrangements, being less constrained by the politics and technical controls to which public schools are subject. Given that 90% of K-12 students attend public school in the U.S., the dearth of merit-pay programs in public schools, and the fact that the vast majority of the merit-pay programs have been aimed at improving performance and not retention, it is unremarkable to find quite a limited number of rigorous examinations of the effects of merit pay plans on teacher attrition. In a meta-analysis concentrating on worldwide teacher attrition literature, the researcher notes that teachers departed from difficult school districts despite large (40%) individual grants, and so proceeds to suggest that "there is reportedly widespread negative effects on the profession generally where

incentives such as merit pay have been introduced" (Macdonald, 1999, p. 844). The adverse consequences of pay-for-performance schemes was also raised by Murnane and Smith (2007), who noted that over the last century thousands of school districts in the U.S. tried merit-pay plans, only, for the most part, to have abandoned them within five years. The researchers attribute the cancellation of these programs by the schools to the fact that they "reduced incentives for teamwork, the inability of administrators to defend subjective evaluations, the wariness of administrators to give poor ratings to teachers who could not be easily terminated, and the unpredictability of awards from year to year" (p. 34).

Despite the potential negative consequences noted above and the apparent reduction in widespread usage, teacher merit pay or pay-for-performance has seen a moderate resurgence in recent years. For instance, Glazerman and Seifullah (2012) studied the Chicago Public Schools 2007 implementation of a federally funded incentive program, under which teachers were entitled to promotions that yielded extra compensation, additional responsibilities, and eligibility for yearly performance rewards, which were based on in-class observations of the teachers and their students' academic achievements. The goal was to improve performance by both students and teachers and yield better teacher retention rates. The research showed a statistically significant positive impact on the one-year and cumulative three-year retention rates of participating schools in 2007-2010, compared to other Chicago schools that did not participate. Particularly pertinent was the fact the Chicago merit-pay program had a greater impact on teachers with less experience, though the results were not consistent across the newer teacher subgroups analyzed. The researchers recognized that the other benefits of

program participation, such as additional promotion, compensation, and mentoring opportunities, might have contributed significantly to the lower attrition rates. Regrettably, student achievement, the ultimate objective of most school incentive initiatives, showed no improvement.

In the most recent and most extensive teacher attrition/retention meta-analysis, Nguyen et al. (2019) observed that merit-pay programs have proliferated of late, and Nguyen's et al. evaluation indicates that such programs lower the average probability of educator attrition by 1.6 percentage points. The validity of this study concerning the positive effect of merit pay on attrition rates appears to require further review, due to the authors' inclusion of Heather J. Hough's 2012 study, "Salary Incentives and Teacher Quality: The Effect of a District-Level Salary Increase on Teacher Retention," in their merit-pay analysis and computations. Hough's article focuses specifically on retention bonuses, which are targeted payments made to teachers for remaining employed by the particular school, and does not address merit pay or pay-for-performance payments. As such, the inclusion of this study might have skewed their results in a positive direction. Recognizing the potential benefits of incentive pay, Sims (2015) suggested that new contracts with teachers should provide bonus payments to teachers who have remained in the school's employ for a certain length of time. For instance, a financial bonus would be awarded when a teacher remains with their school for five years and then again after reaching ten years of employment. To further limit teacher attrition, Sims also recommended that the employment contract include a meaningful and clearly delineated set of career opportunities, a so-called career ladder, of future prospects beyond or in addition to classroom teaching (e.g. mentoring, administration), along with associated

merit-pay incentives and rewards. To appreciate the mechanics of merit pay directly associated with this type of career ladder, Dee and Keys (2004) described the Tennessee's Career Ladder Evaluation System as a scheme whereby new teachers at the conclusion of their first year were eligible for financial incentives and non-monetary professional rewards if they received positive reviews per specific state criteria. If so, they moved from probationary status to apprentice status. After three years of service, based upon appropriate district recommendations, the teachers could be granted a five-year professional certification which included its own financial reward. Further advanced levels could be attained upon superior performance and employment longevity, each accompanied by escalating monetary rewards. Without providing details, the authors suggested that the successes of the Tennessee Career Ladder Evaluation System during its thirteen years of existence could theoretically have widespread appeal to and retain new, high-performance teachers.

However, Bridges' (2018) phenomenological study of novice teachers and merit pay found that 71% of the educators interviewed believed that such merit-based financial reward programs initially induced early career teachers to stay in their jobs for the monetary incentives, while 40% of the study's participants held that retention would only be temporary.

In a 2007 quantitative research report of two school districts located in the Midwestern United States, Little analyzed teacher perceptions with respect to how merit pay, amongst other factors, influenced teacher retention, and concluded that performance pay had little to no effect on either the urban or the suburban district school teachers' turnover intentions. The study further stated that "one of the often cited drawbacks of

performance-related pay is that it would foster competition rather than cooperation" (p. 34), perhaps leading to even greater attrition rates.

Although the results are mixed on the effects of compensation, including merit pay, on novice teacher attrition and retention rates, and educators' intentions about quitting, compensation does appear to be a major consideration with respect to teacher turnover. But it is not the only or even the most crucial factor in the decision to remain in or abandon the profession (Harris, Davies, Christensen, Hanks, & Bowles, 2019).

Contextual/School Factors

Contextual or school factors encompass those that are job related, especially if they are perceived as contributing to a burdensome, difficult, and time-consuming teaching environment. Those mentioned most frequently in the literature are, in no specific order: (a) detrimental workplace conditions and, in particular, overwhelming workload; (b) a dearth of administrative induction, mentoring and administrative support; (c) a lack of collaboration and of a teacher network; (d) inadequate school resources; and (e) student characteristics (e.g., minority, poor and low-performing students).

Detrimental workplace conditions and overwhelming workload.

A study that queried 495 parents, 2003 teachers, and 93 administrators in one western U.S. state using a Likert-type survey found that workplace conditions were paramount in teachers' decisions to leave the profession (Harris, Davies, Christensen, Hanks, & Bowles, 2019). In this survey, 80% of the teachers queried agreed with the statement "work expectations become overwhelming." Another study (Certo & Fox, 2002) asked a focus group of teachers working in urban, suburban, and rural Virginia schools about their perceptions of why their colleagues left their schools and/or the

teaching profession, and correspondingly interviewed teachers who actually did leave their schools. Among the top reasons given by those who left was a hectic or stressful schedule and lack of time. Stressful workload was likewise one of the top three reasons offered by teachers for why they believed their former colleagues left. In a third study (Kozikoğlu, 2018), workload was described as excessive by 32% of the 120 novice teachers surveyed to analyze new teachers' perceptions of their first year of teaching. The researchers utilized phenomenological inquiry of the teachers' insights, studying the descriptive metaphors proffered by the novice teachers. The perceived disproportionate workload was described as "torture, being worker, being laborer, military service, novitiate, stress ball, freight train, etc. ..., because you do all the drudgery work ..., because there are endless seminars, documents, forms." (p. 18). In a 2016 study of California teacher shortages, Darling-Hammond et al. reported that, aside from static salaries and large class sizes, declining working conditions significantly limited the pool of teachers.

Motivated by a growing concern about teacher retention in England, a study commissioned by Liverpool University (Smithers & Robinson, 2003) focused on the extent of teacher loss in England and what motivated those teachers to leave. The researchers performed primary and secondary school surveys to gather data on the 5,245 teachers who left teaching, which was followed by surveys that determined that 1,066 quit the system prematurely. Of those, 306 were interviewed. Consistent with the trend of novice teacher departures in the U.S., over a quarter of the teachers who resigned from full-time positions had taught for five years or less. The teachers offered five main reasons for their early resignations, of which workload was clearly the most

significant. The study determined that 40 percent of the quitters stated that there was nothing the schools could have done to persuade them not to leave, but 43 percent suggested that a reduced workload and fewer projects might have induced them to stay. Further supporting the concept that workload has a meaningful impact on novice teacher attrition, Vuilleumier's 2019 dissertation research has demonstrated that reducing the workloads of novice teachers yields lower attrition rates over the first five years of their careers. Using teacher and school longitudinal data collected by the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics as part of the 2015 Beginning Teacher Longitudinal Survey ("BTLS"), which included 1,150 teachers across nearly 1,000 schools, Vuilleumier concludes that teachers who were assigned a lower number of students or classes in their initial teaching year quit the field at a lower rate over the next four years compared to those teachers who had full teaching loads in their first year.

In contrast, it is important to note that an analysis (Smith & Ingersoll, 2004) of national data obtained primarily from the 1999-2000 Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) Schools and Staffing Survey, along with its 2000-2001 supplement the Teacher Follow-up Survey, found that there was actually no association between reducing early career teachers' teaching and preparation schedules and lowered attrition. In that study, a series of multinomial logistic regression analyses were carried out in order to make connections between new teachers receiving support and the probability of those teachers leaving early in their careers. Interestingly, though not surprisingly, they found that mentoring, to be discussed below, was among the strongest factors connected to lower rates of departure. However, Smith and Ingersoll (2004) remarkably found that lessening the teaching schedule of beginning teachers actually increased their rates of attrition and

migration. By way of contrast, Ronfeldt and McQueen (2017) found that lightening teaching schedules produced lower attrition and migration, albeit not of statistical significance.

Mentoring/induction of novice teachers.

The literature abounds with studies that indicate that the presence of a mentor decreases the attrition rate of early career teachers (Ingersoll & Smith, 2003; Crown, 2009; Callahan, 2016). Much of the reasoning given therein to explain this correlation is encapsulated by the following statement: "The more successes a teacher encounters, the higher the job satisfaction. The higher the job satisfaction, the higher the rate of retention" (Callahan, 2016, p. 19). Similar assertions in the literature are typically supported by citations of studies which conclude that early career teachers who were dissatisfied also reported a lack of support from senior school administrators and peers (Buchanan, 2013; Moosa & Rembach, 2018), and that schools which tend to retain their early career teachers have supportive and collegial working environments (Buchanan, 2013; Cross & Billingsley, 1994; Heineke, Mazza, & Tichnor-Wagner, 2014). On this basis some studies (Stockard & Lehman, 2004) have advocated for better working conditions to improve new teacher comfort levels, recommending more teacher access to mentoring (Izadinia, 2015) and senior administration support (Headden, 2014). Appropriately, the call to invest in educators' human capital by various levels of municipal education policymakers has compelled implementation of mentoring and induction programs for novice teachers, as evidenced by the fact that from 1990 to 2008 there was an 80 percent increase in U.S. teachers who engaged in some type of school induction program (Ingersoll, 2012). Furthermore, at least 29 states require some type of

mentoring or induction plan for new educators (Goldbrick, 2016). In particular, a study (Roff, 2012) that focused on the perception of the impact of mentoring programs on first year teachers noted that New York adopted Commissioner's Regulations Section 100.2 (New York State Education Department, 2005) which requires that all New York "teachers must complete a mentored experience in their first year of teaching" (p. 4). A 12/5/2017 New York State Education Department memo (p. 2) addressing an amendment to Section 80-3.4 of the Commissioner's Regulations states: "The goals of mentoring programs include increasing the retention and skills of new teachers."

Utilizing a vast collection of U.S. national longitudinal data accumulated by the National Center for Education Statistics in its Baccalaureate and Beyond Survey and follow-up interviews, researchers (Henke, Chen, & Geis, 2000) determined that those early career teachers who partook in induction programs that provided mentoring reflected a 15 percent rate of attrition compared to a 26 percent rate for those new teachers who did not participate in such a program. Two major studies of teachers employed in the California school system (California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2015) reported that early career teachers who participated in high-quality mentoring programs had higher rates of retention than those teachers in the California school system who did not. The first study (Pearson & Honig, 1992) was conducted under the California New Teacher Project, a state government-sponsored pilot program established for the purpose of decreasing attrition rates of new educators. The results indicated that novice educators who participated in a system that included rigorous mentoring and administrative support were less prone to quit the teaching profession within their first five years, in addition to being more effective educators in their earliest

years of teaching. The second study, undertaken by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, collected 2008 retention data from California induction programs, "that showed over 87% of new teachers who participated in BTSA [Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment Program] Induction were still in the teaching profession after five years," a significantly lower rate of attrition than the national average. Further, Ingersoll and Kralik (2004) provide solid support, based on their evaluation of ten empirical reports on induction programs, for the premise that such programs, and specifically mentoring programs, have a positive, though varied, influence on novice teacher retention rates. In 2011, Ingersoll, the seminal expert in education research, together with Strong reviewed approximately 500 studies from 1985 to 2011 that addressed the impact of induction programs on new teachers. Of those, they isolated 15 that met their specific criteria (e.g., empirical and verifiable data), and drew the following conclusion from them: "Almost all of the studies we reviewed showed that beginning teachers who participated in some kind of induction had higher satisfaction, commitment, or retention." This study combined with a later study (Ronfeldt & Mcqueen, 2017) reinforce the findings mentioned in the Workload section above, namely, that new teachers who participate in collective induction activities and receive mentoring from senior colleagues in the same field are not as likely to quit the teaching profession (Smith & Ingersoll, 2004).

In contrast to the vast majority of the relevant research, Jones (2013), using National Center for Education Statistics datasets concerning the 362 new teachers in the Southeastern U.S. who responded to follow-up surveys, concluded that mentoring programs, in general, did not have a positive correlation with lower attrition rates. Only

if specific qualities of the mentor and the novice teacher (e.g., matching of the grade and subject) were taken into account was the mentoring program found to improve retention rates. Jones' conclusions reflected other anomalies, like finding no material difference in the attrition rates of novice and veteran educators. The study also found that those teachers assigned a mentor had a lower mean score of commitment than those not assigned one. It was suggested that the regional economic conditions of the Southeastern states or the timing of the surveys might have influenced the unexpected outcomes. Similarly, Glazerman et al. (2010) found that induction-mentoring programs provided to new educators during their first two years did have a positive outcome on student outcomes, but showed no effect on the teachers' retention rates over the next several years in comparison to a control group of new teachers.

Mentoring and induction programs for novice teachers appear to be viewed overwhelmingly as having a positive impact on new teacher retention. What remains uncertain is whether the induction and mentoring per se directly leads to diminished attrition rates or does so indirectly by facilitating workplace bonding, inculcating a sense of mutual concern, and the like.

Availability and Accessibility of Resources.

A ten-year longitudinal study (Gritz and Theobald, 1996) tracking the school district effects of expenditures on novice teachers, which included 9,756 teachers from the state of Washington, concluded that removing resources "significantly increases turnover among beginning teachers" (p. 501). A shorter longitudinal study (Johnson & Birkeland, 2003), which interviewed 50 novice public school teachers in Massachusetts about their teaching career choices, found that access to adequate school resources was

one major factor influencing them to remain teachers, and to continue working in their present schools. Similarly, educators who quit teaching in public schools indicated that they were frustrated by and resented the lack of school resources. It is worth noting that even teachers who remained within the profession but switched schools complained that the schools they had left possessed meager resources relative to their new schools. Another longitudinal study (Imazeki, 2005) followed 1175 novice teachers from Wisconsin over five years and looked at how school spending, among other factors, correlated with voluntary attrition. Two types of spending were analyzed: (1) "instructional," defined as "spending on teacher salaries, materials, and teacher support such as training and curriculum development," and (2) total "per-pupil spending" (p. 437). The author of the study found that more instructional spending reduced female teacher attrition, whereas more per-pupil spending surprisingly increased it. For male teachers, neither type of spending had any observable effect, though the author proposed that this might be attributed to the far smaller sample size for men in the study, which might have yielded less accurate results.

Partially at variance with the above data is a meta-analysis of 120 studies of teacher retention and attrition, which found that increasing teacher resources by reducing class size, providing teacher's aids, or bringing assistants into the classroom offered "little to no evidence" of a reduced likelihood of early teacher departures (Nguyen et al., 2019, p. 24). However, utilizing different types of statistical ratios the same study did suggest that increasing one of the variables, namely additional classroom assistants, might be associated with higher rates of retention.

One explanation for why beginning educators' rate of voluntary attrition is so much higher relative to that of long-term, experienced educators may therefore relate to the greater need of the former for school resources to properly fulfill their responsibilities, and their relative inadequacy (e.g., dearth of personal/social networks) at obtaining such resources. As Pogodzinski (2015) noted in his study of novice teachers and mentoring, the availability of resources to teachers, considered to be a major element of a school's working conditions, is critical for teachers to properly fulfill their teaching duties. Combining other studies (Rodgers & Skelton, 2013; Gilbert, 2011; Borman & Dowling, 2008) that confirmed that access to a school's resources relates directly to teacher career decisions, and the discussion above regarding resources and novice teachers, highlights the importance of resource accessibility with respect to novice teacher attrition rates.

Collaboration and Teacher Networking.

One of the fundamental studies examined by Borman and Dowling in their 2008 meta-analysis was that of Smith and Ingersoll (2004), which sought to use teacher induction programs, teacher collaboration, and intra-teacher networking to project the probability of novice teacher attrition. Smith and Ingersoll used nationally representative data gleaned from the Schools and Staffing Survey of all new teachers who began their teaching careers during the 1999-2000 academic year. Collaboration and networking supports were defined by Smith and Ingersoll (p. 688) to include: "(a) seminars or classes for beginning teachers: (b) common planning time with other teachers in the subject area or regularly scheduled collaboration with other teachers on issues of instruction; (c) participation in a network of teachers (e.g., one organized by an outside agency or on the

Internet; and (d) regular or supportive communications with the school's principal, other administrators, or department chair." Although much of the specific collaboration-related data was deemed to be statistically insignificant, Smith and Ingersoll concluded that the greater the opportunities for teacher collaboration and networking, the lower the rates of attrition; therefore, they recommended that schools become more proactive in establishing such programs for novice teachers. They also determined that certain options for mitigating teacher attrition, such as external networking and having common planning time with other teachers teaching the same subjects, yielded better outcomes, having recognized a 12% reduction in novice teacher attrition when such collaborative practices were added to traditional mentoring and administrator communications. They further noted that "the largest reductions in turnover were associated with activities that tied new teachers into a collaborative network of their more experienced peers" (p. 704).

A mixed-method study (Bickmore, Bickmore, & Hart, 2005) investigated the effectiveness of team induction programs, defined as "a group of teachers with content or discipline specialties who share a common group of students and work together to achieve success for every student through coordination of curriculum, instruction, assessment and student support." The researchers particularly focused on collaboration efforts and found that their outcomes reinforced previous findings on the benefits of collaborative induction policies for new teachers. Written surveys, which included Likert-type queries as well as short answer questions, were followed by personal interviews undertaken at two mid-level schools in the Southeastern U.S., with the goal of measuring and analyzing the perception of new teachers, mentors, and principals. The researchers determined that the team induction approach provided both the personal and

the professional support needed by the novice teachers. The collegial and fellowship approach embodied in the team induction process appeared to provide the critical professional support required for building the new teachers' management skills and supported their personal needs by facilitating their emotional wellbeing and improving their perception of their own competence.

Researchers (Kapadia & Coca, 2007) studied the impact of providing collegial support and assistance via induction programs to novice teachers and the effect that such collaboration had on the intentions of novice elementary and high school teacher to remain in their schools and/or to continue teaching altogether. The findings presented in the authors' report emerged from their analysis of a 2005 survey of Chicago public school teachers. To probe the effects of Chicago public school induction programs on novice teachers, the University of Chicago's Consortium on Chicago School Research, housed in the Urban Education Institute, crafted a series of questions that were included in their annual survey of Chicago teachers. They found that a social, supportive faculty which provided guidance and encouragement was one of the principal school-level factors that most shaped the novice teachers' intentions to remain in education. They summarized their conclusions with respect to these questions as follows: "Our analysis shows that the degree to which new teachers are welcomed and assisted by school faculty has a significant influence on new teachers' reports of good experiences, intentions to continue in the profession, and plans to remain in the same school" (p.20).

Additional research studies indicate that support provided to new, as well as experienced, teachers by providing collegial collaboration opportunities amongst the new teachers and their assigned teacher teams, the establishment of inter-school teaching

networks, and the development of professional teacher communities results in diminished attrition rates (Johnson et al., 2012; Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Powell & Mills, 1994; Smith & Ingersoll, 2004).

Summary

Human Capital Theory essentially presumes that individuals expect to be rewarded for the value they bring to the table. In most industries and trades, the most important reward is usually considered to be financial remuneration, however, there are certain other career paths, such as teaching, wherein the recompense is more of an intrinsic nature, from the satisfaction derived from doing good or fulfilling one's duty. Some who are in the field of Jewish education consider it to be answering a higher call, which brings with it its own rewards. Teachers, particularly at the outset of their professional careers, invest their human capital via time, effort, money, emotion and intellect in the honorable and most important endeavor of educating children. The relevant literature abounds with research clearly documenting the expensive financial opportunity cost of entering the teaching field and analyzes what rewards or benefits are absent from the profession that causes the high rate of novice teacher attrition. The cost to schools associated with such turnover is considerable, estimated to be in the billions of dollars on a national basis and the long-term cost to millions of students due to teacher turnover is incalculable.

The overwhelming majority of pertinent literature regarding new teacher attrition focuses on public schools. There exists a limited amount of research on teacher attrition in private schools, including Catholic institutions, however there has been almost no exploration of teacher turnover, let alone novice teacher turnover, in Orthodox day

schools. Accordingly, this literature review was primarily based on available data that addressed public and private school novice teacher attrition without confirmation that it is applicable to the Jewish education sector. This study is intended to begin to fill the lacuna on novice teacher attrition in Orthodox day schools by seeking answers to the questions addressed in the next section.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND EXPLORATORY ASSUMPTIONS

This section addresses the research questions and exploratory assumptions that are examined in this study of novice Jewish studies teacher attrition at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools. Teacher attrition, for which there is significant data and copious literature, is estimated to result in the departure of 20% to 50% of beginning teachers from the profession. Numerous rationales have been offered for this costly phenomenon, including but not limited to: unsupportive school administrations, inadequate teacher compensation, excessive workloads, and emotional exhaustion. Such motivations for leaving vary across teacher populations, on account of age, gender, training, and education.

Another oft-mentioned impetus to quit the teaching profession is working at a "hard-to-staff school," typically described as an inner-city or rural school with significant populations of ethnic minority, disorderly, and/or high-poverty students. As Tamir (2013) notes: "Unlike many urban public and Catholic schools, Jewish day schools (JDSs) serve predominantly middle- and upper-class families" (p. 6). Since schools serving this subset of the population would not meet the criteria of "hard-to-staff schools," this factor will not be addressed in this study of Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools.

Research Question # 1: Why do novice Jewish studies teachers choose to leave Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools?

Exploratory Assumption # 1: Novice Jewish studies teachers in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools are motivated to exit the teaching profession for the same reasons,

and assigning them the same relative importance, as teachers in public schools and other non-Jewish private schools, to the exclusion of factors inapplicable to Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools.

Research Question # 2: To what extent do life-cycle factors (i.e., birthing and raising children) influence novice Jewish studies teachers to voluntarily resign from Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools?

Exploratory Assumption # 2: Giving birth and raising a family has traditionally been expected of young women, and certainly of those who follow Orthodox religious praxis, which strongly encourages and even obligates married couples to have children. Since a large proportion of novice Modern Orthodox Jewish day school teachers are young Orthodox men and women with children, one might assume that they would have a higher tendency to quit teaching to raise their families, especially when, should they remain in teaching, the cost of childcare represents an implicit salary cut, diverting a large portion of the teacher-parent's compensation to caregivers. Combining these financial considerations with a mother's natural desire—at the very least in the months following childbirth—to raise her own children lends further support to the supposition that novice Orthodox teachers tend to leave at higher rates. Nevertheless, this second exploratory assumption proposes that due to the availability of teacher benefits (lower cost in-school childcare and tuition discounts), the ease with which teachers can pause and resume teaching (liberal parental leave policies and long-term leave without salary penalties), and the increase in financial pressures resulting from an expanding family, novice Jewish studies teachers at these schools do not quit the profession due to life-cycle events.

Research Question # 3: How important a factor is compensation in novice Modern Orthodox Jewish day school Jewish studies teachers' quit or stay considerations?

Exploratory Assumption # 3: Teachers of Jewish studies in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools do not consider compensation an important criterion in their decision to quit the profession. Since renumeration provided to teachers is widely recognized as relatively meager compared to other pursuits available to college graduates, and since the pay offered by public schools has historically been known to be superior to that of private schools (Vedder & Hall, 2000) and certainly more rewarding than that offered at Jewish day schools (Pomson, 2005) those who rank compensation as important would be unlikely to enter the teaching profession. Absent other life changing events, novice Jewish studies teachers in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools would not be expected to suddenly assign importance to their pay. Furthermore, with the financially lucrative career opportunities now available to women, combined with the major expansion of two-earner couples, educators may find that the pressure to earn more from their teaching jobs has diminished.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative, phenomenological approach was adopted to answer the questions outlined in the previous chapter, by systematically collecting data from the population of novice Modern Orthodox Jewish day school Jewish studies teachers whose experiences in that environment led to their departing the teaching profession. Such former educators were interviewed to determine their motivations for exiting the teaching profession and the events, environment, and thinking that precipitated it. As indicated in the Introduction, the attrition of these educators has rarely, if ever, been the subject of research.

It is worth noting that obtaining input from the target population proved difficult because knowing where they once taught provided little assistance in locating them in the present day. This, coupled with the relatively circumscribed scope of this study, made it unfeasible to adopt a quantitative approach, which typically necessitates a large representative sample (Choy, 2014).

Research Approach

The research questions delineated in the previous chapter are pivotal to the methodology selected, as each question focuses on the teachers' experience and assesses the factors that led them to abandon teaching. These questions also define and determine the research units of analysis in this study to be the reasons or motivations, the whys and wherefores, behind novice educators leaving the teaching profession. A qualitative phenomenological approach is implemented in order to gain better insight into participants' lived experiences of a phenomenon or concept (Creswell, 2007), making it

particularly apt for this study. Discovering the specific and common elements experienced by the novice teachers that led them to quit is the objective of this study, rather than a broad, wide-ranging coverage of various elements of this particular population.

One of the two methods of phenomenological research that Creswell discusses, which he attributes to the Canadian educator and scholar Max van Manen, is called the "hermeneutical" approach. In phenomenological research, hermeneutics are employed to interpret the participants' descriptions of their relevant life experiences as relayed to the researcher in straightforward, unadorned categories of meaning and understanding. The second method that Creswell describes is based upon American psychologist and educator Carl Moustakas' "transcendental" phenomenology, which is less interpretive and more reliant on the literal description of the experiences provided by the study subjects. Transcendental phenomenology emphasizes "bracketing," whereby researchers attempt to empty themselves of their own experiences and preconceptions and "take a fresh perspective toward the phenomenon under examination" (Creswell, 2007, p. 80). After identifying the subject phenomenon, bracketing one's experiences, and accumulating data from a small number of members of the relevant study population, the researchers should, according to Moustakas' methodology, analyze and comb through the data to eliminate the less relevant information collected, and formulate the remaining quotes and statements into themes that can then be developed to reflect the perceptions and feelings of the participants as well as the context, essence, or the 'how' of the experience.

Laverty (2003) noted that many phenomenological researchers do not necessarily distinguish between the different methods and sometimes use hybrid methodologies, which is the style employed in this study. He also noted that hermeneutic phenomenologists reject the possibility of truly being able to bracket one's own preexisting beliefs and experiences. The hybrid phenomenological approach taken here is aimed at gaining general insight into what caused the former teachers queried to quit the teaching profession, and what commonalities exist in their experiences.

Interview Questions

This research study endeavored to shed light on the phenomenon of early-stage (i.e., within the first five years) Jewish studies educators at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools voluntarily leaving the teaching profession. The most relevant issues the interview questions were specifically designed to investigate included:

- Why do teachers choose to leave?
- Is there concurrence in the backgrounds (e.g., education, certification, religious training and observance) of the teachers who resign?
- What are the characteristics (e.g., gender, age, experience) of such teachers?
- What impact does teacher compensation have on attrition?
- Would merit pay schemes have made a difference?
- What role did family life (e.g., pregnancy and children) play?
- What school factors most influenced teachers to voluntarily terminate?
- What could the school have changed to deter teacher resignation?

These questions are explored and resolved through methodical analysis of the teachers' individual responses about their motivations for quitting and about their personal

backgrounds, elicited by in-depth and probing interviews. The specific Interview Questions can be seen in Appendix F. The interview participants were asked to provide data about their personal characteristics, qualifications, experiences, and the relevant attributes of the schools in which they taught. The interviews were conversational but structured, and consisted of both open- and close-ended questions, though participants were encouraged to elaborate on all answers if the responses were considered insufficient to meet the goal of identifying the what and why factors (i.e., the unit of analysis) that influenced their decision to resign. Open-ended questions were employed to draw out fuller responses, to delve deeper into attitudes about teaching, to uncover the subtle relations of the various factors, and to gain an understanding of the reasoning behind the answer provided. Since both types of question come with pros and cons, both were used for purposes of thoroughness: "Often, the two types of questions are mixed in a single study, when respondents may be offered the opportunity to expand on the answers to a closed-ended question" (McBurney & White, 2010 p. 240). In order to establish a rapport with the researcher so interviewees would feel comfortable volunteering information, and to better acquaint them with the subject of the study, the opening questions were relatively simple and factual, addressing such topics as their personal, religious, and professional backgrounds. Afterwards, the questions were crafted to elicit the reasons for their quitting.

Sample size

In their paper addressing sample size in qualitative research, Sim et al. (2018) point to an approach based on methodological concerns and prior experience. They cite numerous recommendations on phenomenological studies in particular, a number of which provided the basis for arriving at the sample size for this study. They are noted in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Sample Size Recommendations

RESEARCHER	RECOMMENDATION	YEAR	SOURCE
S. Dukes	3-10 participants in a phenomenological study	1984	Phenomenological methodology in the human sciences. Journal of Religion and Health
J. Morse	at least 6 participants for phenomenological studies	2000	Determining sample size. Qualitative Health Research
R.R. Parse	2-10 participants in order to achieve “redundancy or saturation”	1990	Parse's research methodology with an illustration of the lived experience of hope. Nursing Science Quarterly
M.A. Ray	phenomenological studies usually focus on a group of 8-12 people	1994	The richness of phenomenology: Philosophic, theoretic and methodologic concerns. Critical Issues In Qualitative Research Methods. Sage
J. A. Smith, P. Flowers & M. Larkin	3-10 for studies based on interpretative phenomenological analysis	2009	Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research. Sage

Participants – Units of Observation

The interviewee study participants, the "units of observation," as per Table 3 below, comprised thirteen former novice Jewish studies schoolteachers in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools located in the New York metropolitan area. They were selected mainly through purposive sampling, and only secondarily convenience sampling. The *Encyclopedia of Research Methods* describes purposeful sampling as a nonprobability, expert, or judgmental method, the main objective of which is to generate a sample that should reasonably be representative of the population under study and is commonly used for the selection of a small number of participants from a limited population description (e.g., former novice Jewish studies educators who voluntarily left teaching in N.Y. metro based Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools) (Battaglia, 2008). Convenience sampling is defined as another type of nonprobability sampling "in which people are sampled simply because they are 'convenient' sources of data for researchers" (Battaglia, 2008, p. 148). It is distinct from purposive sampling as the convenience sampling selection process involves no skillful judgement and is merely based on sample accessibility. Given the complexity of identifying members of the specific population for the present study, blending the two above sampling techniques provided the desired sample.

Table 3

Participant Demographics

Code Name of Participant	Years of Teaching	Age Started Teaching	Gender	Pre-Teaching Highest Level of Education - Major	Grade level Subject	Last School
AARON	3	23	Male	Bachelors - Psychology	5-6th grade Gemorah/Chumash	Queens, NY
BATYA	3	22	Female	Masters- Jewish Education	9-11th grade Chumash	Northern NJ
CHAIM	3	26	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	6-7th grade Gemorah/Talmud	Northern NJ
DOVID	2	26	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	H.S. Chumash/Novi	Long Island, NY
EPHRAIM	2	23	Male	Bachelors - Mathematics	7-8th grade Gemorah	Rockland, NY
FAYGIE	4	25	Female	Masters- Jewish Education	6th grade Chumash/Navi/Law	Queens, NY
GERSHON	5	24	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	H.S. Gemorah/Halacha	Bronx, NY
HESCHEL	5	25	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	H.S. Gemorah	Bronx, NY
ILAN	1	27	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	4-5th grade Chumash/Mishna	Northern NJ
JUDITH	1	25	Female	Bachelors- English	7th grade Jewish Studies	Brooklyn, NY
KALEB	5	28	Male	Masters- Jewish Education	H.S. Gemorah/Halacha	Manhattan, NY
LIOR	1	25	Male	Bachelors - History	2nd grade Jewish Studies	Northern NJ
MATTIS	1	24	Male	Bachelors - Psychology	9th grade Gemorah	Long Island, NY

The code names assigned to the participants in Table 3 are used throughout this study to protect the interviewees' true identities.

Data Collection

A proposal was submitted to, and the study's exempt status was approved by, the independent ethical review board, WCG IRB, before any sources or potential participants were contacted. An introductory message, including a brief summary of the study and a request for names and contact information of potential interview participants meeting the population sample criteria, was then communicated to a number of New York metro area heads of schools and principals, in addition to other staff at Modern Orthodox Jewish schools. A sample of the request for names of former novice Jewish studies teachers can be found in Appendix A. The potential interviewees so identified were sent an invitation to participate along with an outline of the study, its goals, and its purpose. A sample of the invitation to be interviewed can be found in Appendix B. All participants were read a copy of the informed consent. There were neither excluded categories of the population sample nor were any participants considered to be vulnerable parties.

The interviews were intended to take place in person, at a time and location convenient to the interviewees, however due to safety concerns and requirements relating to COVID-19 (https://www.yu.edu/sponsored-programs/covid-19/research) the interviews were executed remotely via the Zoom videotelephony application. The Zoom recordings were transcribed to text via Zoom audio text transcription. During the interviews, notes were taken to describe the general atmosphere and relevant points of interest, if any.

Bias

Bias is typically recognized in research as any effect that distorts the results of a study. Pannucci and Wilkins (2010) defined bias "as any tendency which prevents unprejudiced consideration of a question. In research, bias occurs when systematic error [is] introduced into sampling or testing by selecting or encouraging one outcome or answer over others" (p. 619). In my review of the many biases that could have introduced "systematic error," I regularly assessed my own predisposition and partialities at each step of the research, including but not limited to the basic subject of the research; the selection of the sample participants; my presentation of the purpose of the study and the interview questions to the participant; the coding, discussion, and analysis of the interviewees' responses, and the conclusions reached therefrom. The fact that one of my daughters is a former teacher, and that my spouse and another daughter are currently both school psychologists—all at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools—certainly provided informed, and perhaps enhanced, insights into the subject under study, though no biases were identified. My past involvement with Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools as a parent, board member, and founder probably influenced my viewpoint, but again did not create any discernable bias. The central question of this study, why novice Modern Orthodox Jewish day school Jewish studies teachers left teaching, was purposefully formulated to be neutral, and the individual interview questions were drafted to be impartial as well.

While conducting the interviews, every effort was made to avoid any potential of leading or otherwise influencing the respondents. McBurney and White (2010) address the heightened bias risks associated with face-to-face interviews, and emphasize that the

interviewer's presence can create a situation where the respondents provide answers they believe the interviewer would like to hear. As the researcher in this study has no preference or bias in any direction with respect to the conclusions reached, the likelihood of interviewer bias should be nil. Another potential bias when interviews are conducted is social desirability, described by Bergen and Labonté (2019) as "the tendency to present oneself and one's social context in a way that is perceived to be socially acceptable, but not wholly reflective of one's reality" (p. 783). In order to limit any potential social desirability bias in this study, since former teachers might take a dim view of themselves as "early" quitters or might imagine that society does so, the questions posed during the interview were designed to avoid any aspersions with regard to "quitting", including non-utilization of the term itself. The relatively small sample size, the manner of participant selection via the heads of schools, and the willingness of participants to be interviewed, are amongst various factors that could potentially have created biases, though none were discernable in the study's outcome.

Ethical Procedures

It is the responsibility of the researcher to protect the participants' rights, privacy, and confidentiality and prevent their harm, which requires an investment in learning research ethics and procedures (McBurney & White, 2010). In accordance with Yeshiva University's research policies I completed the Collaborative Training Institution Initiative Program course on Human Subject Investigation (see Appendix C) and received approval to proceed with the research from the Committee for Clinical Investigation.

All subjects voluntarily participated in the study only after being fully advised about its purpose and objectives, their roles in the project, their right to decline to participate, their

right to withdraw at any time, and the expected time required to complete the interviews. Each participant was read the Oral Consent Script as well (https://www.einstein.yu.edu/administration/human-research-affairs/forms.aspx) (see Appendix D). To ensure anonymity, personal information and the participants' identities were concealed by using codes and/or pseudonyms when presenting the data, and I was the only interviewer and the only person to access the data.

Data Analysis

As noted earlier, each interview was video-recorded and transcribed to text using Zoom. In general, the accumulated data was scrutinized and coded in accord with the basic questions and exploratory assumptions of the study: what are the reasons novice educators at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools leave the teaching profession? The Code Lexicon can be found in Appendix G. More specifically, immediately after each interview was recorded and transcribed, the notes and transcript were reviewed in their entirety to ensure that the transcription was accurate and to evaluate the responses for evident patterns or themes, which if found were noted in writing. The next step was to analyze the responses of each interviewee in detail, utilizing the methods discussed above, and to determine whether the response qualified for identification as a category, (e.g., financial, administrative, familial). Several rounds of this analysis were performed, and once categories became discernable, they were coded with a color marker. For example, every response of a particular interviewee that indicated the involvement of

finances in their decision to continue or leave teaching was highlighted in red. All red responses were then further broken down and allocated to subcategories within the financial framework (e.g., merit pay, spousal financial status) using a numbering system. As the development of new or altered themes became apparent with the coding of each subsequent interview, the categorization process was refined and reapplied to the previously coded data, as discussed in greater detail in the Coding section immediately below. Upon completion of (re)coding all the interviews according to the refined categories and subcategories, the data was ready for discussion and development in the results section of this study. Throughout the data analysis, direct quotations were identified for later inclusion in the discussion section.

Coding

The coding of the data was a multistep process that began when the interviews were conducted. While listening to the interviewees' responses, the researcher developed impressions that formed the basis for the identification of the initial, broad coding categories. As each interview transcript was reviewed, the details provided by the respondents were synopsized and categorized on an Excel schedule. Initially, the data were placed under relatively broad factor codes, and with each succeeding reading and coding reiteration they were separated into narrower and more detailed factor codes and subfactor groupings. Repeated transcript readings yielded more refined groupings and facilitated the development of additional subcategories, whose efficacy and appropriateness were then assessed against all of the interviews and relevant literature.

The final codes developed by this process, which were subjected to the validity and reliability modifications discussed below, were then uniformly applied to each of the interview transcripts.

The reliability and validity of the coding was ensured through several measures. First, the Code Lexicon (found in Appendix G) was devised and organized to correspond with the research questions as well as other relevant material: teacher background and experience, and major motivations for quitting the profession. This lexicon served as the basis for classifying, analyzing, and interpreting the responses of interviewees to questions posed to them, and was thereafter used to derive a comprehensive set of findings from the coded responses. Second, the coding's accuracy was corroborated in follow-up discussions with some interviewees to clarify ambiguities from the initial interviews. Third, the earliest interviewee's responses were re-coded by this researcher after an interval of several weeks from the initial coding, and the results were nearly identical. Finally, two of the initial interview transcriptions (redacted to eliminate respondent identification) were provided to a post-doctoral educator experienced in coding, who independently coded sections of those interviews. These were compared to the initial coding and found to be in line with each other. Any relatively minor variances were resolved by expanding or better defining certain subcategories of the fundamental codes.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The intent of this study was to provide insight into a neglected subject, namely, why novice Jewish Studies teachers leave their teaching positions in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools within the first five years. In particular, it explored whether teacher lifecycle events and/or teacher compensation materially influenced the early leaver's decision-making. The research methodology employed was a qualitative, phenomenological process based on interviews of thirteen novice teachers who chose to exit the profession, after having taught Jewish Studies in Modern Orthodox day schools in the New York metropolitan area.

Background Information

The interviewees exhibit absolute homogeneity with respect to their religious identification as Modern Orthodox Jews. Given that the self-label "Modern Orthodox" spans a relatively broad ideological spectrum, more specifically we can say that the vast majority (85%) of the interviewees considered themselves centrist, while the remainder (15%) reported that they are on the right, where the right reflects a more stringent observance of Jewish law and tradition and the left a more lenient one. This general religious uniformity is not unexpected to anyone familiar with the historical development of the Jewish day school (as discussed in the literature review), where the role of the rabbi/teacher is dual: to teach Jewish Studies to the students, and to guarantee that it is taught in a manner consonant with the particular school's *hashkafa* (guiding religious

philosophy). Accordingly, Modern Orthodox day schools are naturally going to hire Jews who identify as Modern Orthodox to teach Jewish Studies classes.

As per the information contained in Table 3, *Participant Demographics,* the average length of the participants' teaching career was 2.8 years. On the extremes, four of the teachers taught for only 1 year and three managed to persist for 5 years. Their ages at the start of their teaching careers ranged from 22–28 years and the median age was 25. Although college graduates typically graduate at age 21–22, the older median starting age of the participant group can be partially explained by the fact that each of them deferred the start of their college studies by attending yeshivot or seminaries in Israel for a minimum of one year. Additionally, 62% of the interviewees obtained a master's degree before launching their full-time teaching careers. It should be noted that these master's degrees are all in Jewish Education, underscoring the interviewees' serious and longstanding commitment to teach in a specifically Jewish educational environment. The remaining 38% of the participants had bachelor's degrees in non-pedagogical subjects (i.e. math, psychology, history and English). All the interviewees were well educated, though the teachers with only bachelor's degrees had no formal training in education. Nevertheless, all of the former educators interviewed had some limited pre-teaching experiences that they consider to have provided partial preparation for their teaching positions, including the leading of Jewish Studies study sessions in summer camps, holding leadership positions in local Jewish clubs (e.g., National Council of Synagogue Youth), and running synagogue youth groups or serving as student advisors to younger students during their gap-year religious studies in Israel. It is also worth noting that 77% of the interviewees attended some type of Orthodox sleepover summer camp.

Turning to the gender of the participants, 77% were male and 23% female. As one might expect in Jewish education (see the section on gender in the literature review), the more than 3.4 to 1 ratio of males to females continues the historical trend of male-dominated Jewish Studies teachers. Although today secular classes in Modern Orthodox day schools are taught equally by men or women and Jews or non-Jews, the teaching of Jewish Studies remains the traditional province of men, and preference is given to men who are ordained rabbis—a title which the vast majority of Modern Orthodoxy neither grants to women nor recognizes the validity of its conferral upon women.

Summary of Findings

Faygie, one of the interview participants, explained her desire to become a teacher based upon her admiration and awe of her own teachers, starting already in early childhood. Yet, she described her two-year teaching stint in almost pained terms, "I really disliked it and was just really, really unhappy and knew I just can't do this for the rest of my life." What had discouraged Faygie so as to turn away from her lifelong dream of emulating her inspirational teachers, to the extent that she could not wait to escape the profession? In her case, the principal factors were the extended time demands and emotional stresses of the job combined with the complete absence of support and feedback from the school administration. As will be explored in the next section, a significant proportion of the interviewees (over 50%) included lack of administrative support as one of their prime reasons for leaving the profession. This statistic highlights how crucial administrative support was to these teachers' retention and, as has been frequently noted throughout the general literature (Buchanan, 2013; Headden, 2014; Ingersoll, 2004; Moosa & Rembach, 2018), to teacher turnover in general.

In addition to the dearth of support from the school administration, Faygie felt compelled to leave teaching due to the stresses of an overwhelming workload. Once again, she expressed a contributing factor that many other interviewees listed as well: just under 50% mentioned workload as a main reason for leaving teaching. This, too, is well supported by the research literature, in which numerous studies point to workload as a major component of the drive to leave teaching. In a 2019 research survey (Harris et al.) of 2003 teachers, 80% agreed with the statement "work expectations become overwhelming."

Though the above two motivations to abandon the teaching profession (i.e., lack of senior administrative support and excessive workload) have already been adequately covered by the research literature, there are additional factors unique to novice Jewish Studies teachers in Modern Orthodox day schools that drive them to leave teaching. These are not found in the vast volume of research literature that focuses on early-leaver public school teachers. These include the concept of *aliyah* (moving to Israel) and issues relating to a crisis or loss of faith (the latter is a factor in certain studies of private Catholic schools as well (Scheopner, 2009)).

The insights derived from this study of novice Jewish Studies teachers' premature departures should provide senior Jewish day school administrators and members of the boards of directors a greater understanding of the motivations behind these teachers' voluntary terminations. This, in turn, should provide Modern Orthodox day school leadership with the framework necessary to reduce unwanted exits, especially when the teachers themselves are so dedicated that they would prefer to stay under better, more manageable conditions.

The foregoing indicates that with respect to Research Question #1, "Why do novice Jewish Studies teachers choose to leave Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools?", the interviews support Exploratory Assumption # 1, that they are motivated to exit the teaching profession for the same reasons, and assign those reasons the same relative importance, as do teachers in public schools and other non-Jewish private schools (excluding those factors inapplicable to Modern Orthodox day schools).

Turning to Research Question # 2, "To what extent do life-cycle factors (i.e. birthing and raising children) influence novice Jewish Studies teachers to voluntarily resign from Modern Orthodox day schools?", the findings here substantiate Exploratory Assumption # 2, that the teachers do not quit the profession due to life-cycle events, and, in fact, not one of the interviewees listed marriage or having children as one of their leading reasons for their leaving. At most, two of the thirteen interviewees stated that the birth of a child made them ponder whether their compensation from teaching was adequately sufficient to raise their growing families.

Finally, as for Research Question #3, "How important a factor is compensation in novice Modern Orthodox day school Jewish Studies teachers' quit or stay considerations?", none of the interviewees in this study listed compensation as their primary reason for leaving. That said, a significant minority (31%) did state that compensation was their second-place motivation for career change. While Exploratory Assumption # 3, "Absent other life changing events, novice Jewish Studies teachers in Modern Orthodox day schools would not be expected to suddenly assign importance to their pay," remains reasonably intact, the study results do highlight the importance of

teacher compensation as a serious contributing factor to novice Jewish Studies teachers' decision to quit the profession.

Interview Discussion

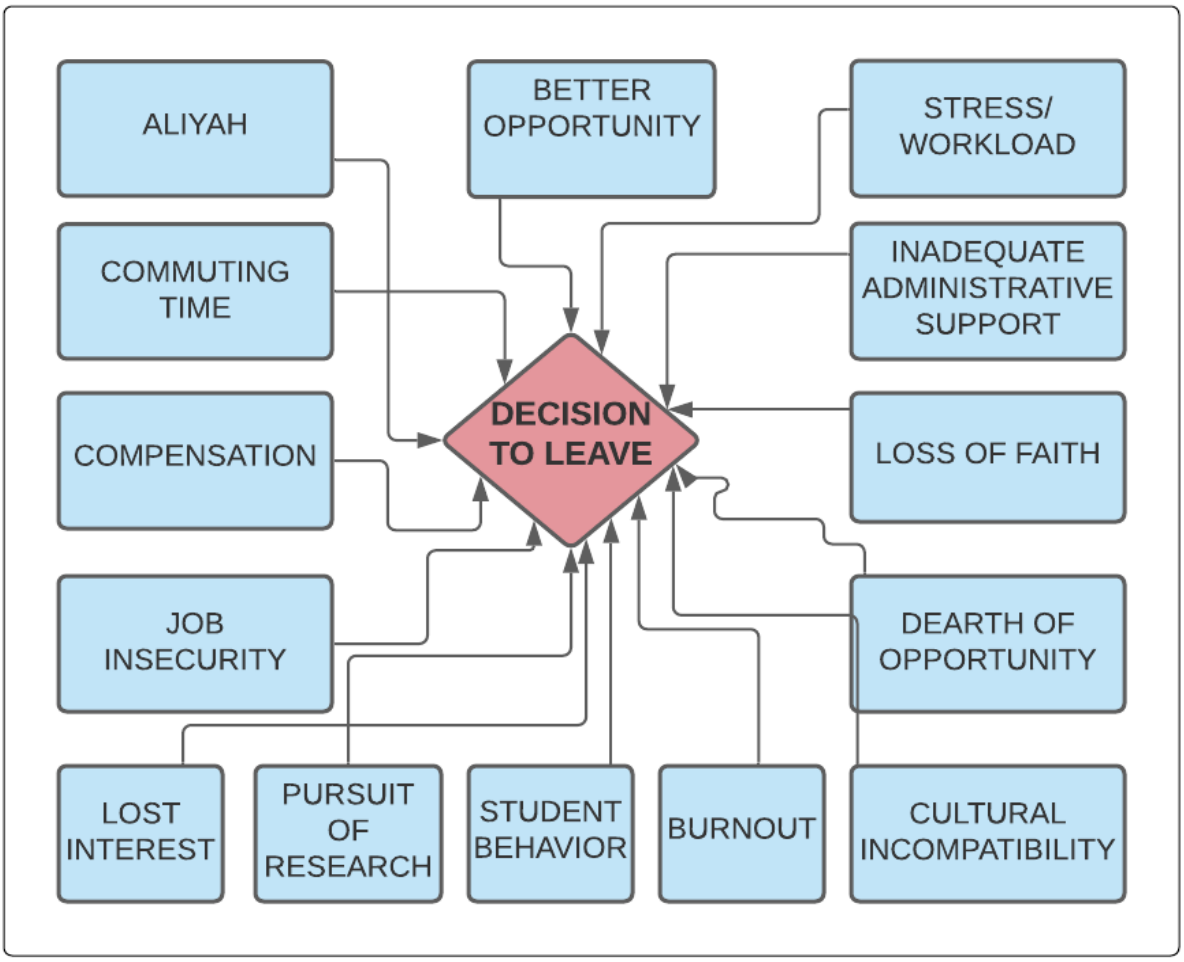
Although all of the interviewees had comparatively interchangeable religious and social backgrounds, taught in similar Modern Orthodox day schools in the New York metropolitan area, and offered overlapping explanations for leaving the teaching profession sooner than they might have expected, the narratives of how they arrived at their leave decisions, especially with respect to the impact of contextual (i.e., support from colleagues and administrators, stress and workload) or school-related teaching aspects vary considerably. Parenthetically, at least half of the study participants acknowledged that it was cathartic to discuss their disappointing teaching experience, the decision to quit their chosen profession, and the feeling that they had abandoned their ideals and students. Nevertheless, not one of the interviewees regretted their decision or pined to return to the profession. Some did raise the possibility of teaching part-time in a Modern Orthodox day school in the distant future.

The balance of this section will address the interviewees' reported reasons behind their decision to leave the teaching profession, as displayed in Figure 5 below, and will roughly follow the bifurcation of the literature review by using two categories: (1) teacher attrition attributed to individual/personal teacher factors, and (2) teacher attrition attributed to contextual/school factors. Category (1) will include an additional two aspects not addressed in the literature review, namely, (a) teacher attrition due to loss of religious faith, and (b) *aliyah*. It should be borne in mind that though participants pointed to various discrete factors and developments that led them to quit, for most of them less

easily identifiable events and a gradual compounding of stressing factors pushed them out of their schools and out of education altogether.

Figure 5

Factors Motivating Participant Departures



Individual/Personal Factors

Age.

Based upon the limited population of teachers included in this study, it can be concluded that younger, novice, Jewish studies teachers are far more likely to leave than

the same such older teachers, similar to the conclusions reached by the 2019 Nguyen et al. meta-analysis with regard to teachers in general. More demonstrative of this than the interview responses were the average age and the narrow range of ages in the sample of Jewish Studies educators who quit teaching, which was generated though the purposive and convenience sampling methods. The sample was obtained by requesting from heads of Modern Orthodox day schools in the New York metropolitan area to provide names and contact information of "novice Jewish Studies teachers who voluntarily terminated from your school and the teaching profession within the last seven (7) years." The mean and mode age of the pool of interview candidates' ages were both 25, and there was a 6-year range, with 22 being the youngest starting age for any of these former teachers, a clear display of the youthfulness of the novice teachers leaving the teaching profession.

In response to being asked whether they thought their age had any influence on their decision to leave, none of the former teachers suggested it as a major factor. Nevertheless, age did clearly grease the exit door in a number of cases, mostly because the relevant interviewees felt that waiting much longer to leave would considerably diminish the professional opportunities available to them. Age was far more often raised as a contributing factor by participants who were married with children. For instance, Kaleb was married with three children and is the oldest interviewee. To explain why he quit at 33 years old, he said, "It really had a certain feel to it, that was like now or never, like now's the time to do it, you know, the kids are still young enough."

Heschel married shortly after he began teaching and his family grew to include three children. Though he enjoyed teaching, he harbored a yearning for other professional

pursuits within the greater field of education. He had this to say about how those factors shaped his decision:

> Only in thinking about the trajectory that I could expect by staying in teaching as opposed to the movement and the leadership and the growth that I might attain in other fields, plus the kids and the money and so, I'd say yes, I'm moving on. In other words, if I was younger and didn't have the family responsibilities and financial responsibilities, I could have just stayed in the classroom and had my summers off, but I had growing responsibilities.

Married with only one child at the time of his departure, Aaron's thought process with respect to the timing was consistent with those partly swayed by age:

> I think I was at an age where I was, you know, pretty confident that I could find work and also, you know, that a career change wouldn't be impossible, so I felt like time was running out and that now was the time. I think if I was a couple years older, I think, you know, with a few more kids, I might have just stuck with it.

Faygie married before she began her teaching career and had one child during her four-year tenure. She noted the following concerning her quitting at 29:

> I think that if I was older then, I probably would not have switched careers, but I was still young. Like I felt like I've been in school, like, literally, my whole life, so I do think age did play a role, I was young.

Interestingly, Chaim, who was married with one daughter at the start of his teaching career and had two more before he ultimately left, considered the age question with

respect to opportunities available to his generation and the attitudes thereof, rather than as it concerned his own specific age:

> I think it gave me more freedom. I think that not my age, per se, but the generation I grew up in gave me choices, as opposed to my parents' ideas on jobs. I knew that my work was worth something. I knew that I should be treated better just as a human being. Whereas I think maybe 20-30 years ago, it was, oh, you do whatever your employer says, oh, you know, like your boss tells you this, you do it. I think that mentality has changed drastically over the past even 5-10 years and especially from 20-30 years ago. Especially with all the possibilities out there, doing your own, making your own money in your own business with technology. I knew that I shouldn't be treated the way I was, whereas my older colleagues may have just accepted that that's the way it is.

Gershon, an unwed teacher, captured the attitude of many of his colleagues with his one-word response, accompanied by a shrug, on age factoring into his decision to leave teaching— "Nah." Batya, who left teaching to move to Israel, was slightly more expressive: "Age had no effect."

Although the majority of the interviewees, especially those unmarried or those who left due to a unique reason, did not consciously consider age of much consequence in their decision to leave, the fact that the pool of former teachers was wholly comprised of young men and women aligns perfectly with the findings regarding age and teacher attrition discussed in the literature review. The reader will recall that those studies concluded that younger teachers by and large leave the field of education at higher rates than do older teachers. Based upon the findings of this study, the same conclusion can be

reached with regard to the material influence that age has on the likelihood of novice educators voluntarily and permanently exiting the teaching profession.

Education and Qualification.

Ben-Avie and Kress (2008) stated that the majority of educators in Jewish day schools have postbaccalaureate degrees. All of the interviewees in this study had bachelor's degrees in various subjects other than Jewish Studies, and 8 of them (62%) earned master's degrees (7% points higher than the national public school teacher average). As per the discussion immediately below, the conclusion reached in the 2019 meta-analysis of Nguyen et al., that there is no statistically significant correlation between teacher attrition rates to educators holding graduate degrees, is supported by these participants' statistics. There is, however, one confounding factor present here: all of the interviewees' master's degrees were earned in Jewish education, a fine qualification for a teacher or administrator primarily involved in the world of K-12 Jewish education, but of such limited scope as to offer little added value outside the world of education. The fact that 62% of these now former teachers had invested their human capital in a career that was neither associated with revered respect nor known as a source of generous compensation by earning master's degrees and thus going beyond the minimum level of requisite education employment standards, as well as specifically focusing on teaching in Jewish day schools, demonstrated their initial commitment to the field of Jewish education (Salomon, 2010). Furthermore, the narrow range of study that a master's degree in Jewish education provides undoubtedly restricts the employment prospects of and materially differentiates these individuals from new teachers possessing more widely appreciated credentials and levels of education, teachers whom Addi-

Raccah (2005) suggested would have "greater the opportunities in relatively better (e.g., higher paying) non-teaching careers." In fact, Feng (2009) posited that the additional human capital investment made by teachers through post-graduate degrees should afford them increased job mobility, and correspondingly greater attrition rates, but because the degrees were restricted to education, the educators' marketability outside the world of education was limited. This is even truer of graduate degrees in Jewish education.

Not one of the interviewees answered in the affirmative when asked if they had (1) formal pre-teaching classroom training or (2) any type of teaching certificates. Chaim, who had his graduate degree in Jewish education, gave a typical response:

> No other certificates. The only thing that I had were these informal NCSY things and within them, they have their mini trainings, you know, that they have before they hire you. Or, you know, at the beginning of summer camp but no classroom training.

Another former Jewish educator and post-graduate degree holder, Gershon, echoed a similar sentiment:

> While I was in *semicha* (rabbinical ordination) at YU, one of the corequisites they required, one of the choices was to pursue a master's in Jewish education. Yeah, of course. Why not do that with a free tuition scholarship, but I had no classroom training. My only classroom training came when I did part-time teaching as an assistant teacher and that was training by fire.

Faygie, who fostered a lifelong ambition for teaching and had her graduate degree as well, said regretfully:

> I enrolled in the joint program when I was at … and got my master's. And when I look back at them, I'm not so sure that most of the classes were so helpful. Like I feel I had some minimal classroom observation. They should have been giving other classes. I just don't feel like I got the best education there. Back then I just felt like now I'm in a in a master's program and I'm really like learning what to do in the field but didn't.

The lack of teaching certificates of those interviewed is not unusual for Jewish day school teachers, as Ben-Avie & Kress highlighted the fact that 44% of the North American Jewish day school teachers randomly sampled in their study "did not have a valid teaching certification that is both (a) recognized by the state or province in which they teach and (b) is not an emergency credential" (2008, p. 24). Each state sets the minimum education and certification requirements for public school teachers in their state, whereas the standards for educators in Modern Orthodox day schools is set by each individual school. Absence of minimum standards was illustrated by Ephraim, a former seventh- and eighth-grade Talmud teacher whose only degree was a Bachelor of Science in mathematics, who noted the stresses of classroom management as one of his principal reasons for leaving teaching. He described his hiring and his teaching credentials as follows:

> I saw this ad for a Jewish Studies teacher and I went in for the interviews and it was kind of like, well, you basically showed up to the interview so the job is yours. I know Hebrew. So that's my qualification and I can teach over Parshas Toldos, you know, Parshas Bamidbar and Parsha Naso, so no problem. But that's

all I got. I don't have any formal training other than that. So, they hired me. They wanted a body.

Although these former teachers did not consciously associate their choices to terminate their teaching careers with their individual levels of education or with any deficiency in their teaching credentials, their testimony does point to their inadequate training and eventual discomfort with teaching in a classroom. Despite having postbaccalaureate Jewish education degrees, none of the participants had any pre-teaching classroom training. It should not come as a surprise, then, that novice educators with no classroom training, who were placed in front of a classroom filled with K-12 students would, regardless of background, experience discomfort and perhaps question their future as teachers.

Gender.

The interviewees revealed conflicting thoughts about gender. None of them felt that their gender directly or even indirectly influenced their leave decisions, although many of them did believe that women teachers bear a heavier teaching burden than men, and that ordained male teachers (since only men can be ordained in mainstream Modern Orthodoxy) held the most coveted positions.

Heschel, a high school Talmud teacher with five years of teaching experience, and Faygie, the a sixth-grade Tanakh (Bible) educator who taught for four years, each responded that gender made "no difference whatsoever" on their decision to leave. Dovid taught Tanakh for two years in high school and assigned no role to gender in his own decision-making. At the same time, he could see how it might affect the decisions of female teachers, although he had not encountered cases of this personally: "I say it

wouldn't shock me if it did but I don't have a strong sense of it." Another teacher who reported that gender made no difference to him personally but did perceive inequalities disfavoring women was Aaron, who taught Talmud at the fifth-grade level for three years:

> I think the women Judaic Studies teachers had it, you know, had it a lot harder. For whatever reasons. I don't know the reasons why, but their workload was always a lot higher. And they were complaining a lot more, you know, justifiably, rightfully so and crying too. We [men] were definitely more lax or we didn't let it get to us as much. And the men, kind of, we would just like look at each other like, we just don't work as hard. But other than that, I can't think of any differences.

The final sentence seems to downplay the significance of the preceding sentiment, which we also find in his statement concerning the potential boon to male teachers of having rabbinic ordination:

> When I told people I was getting semicha, we thought it would have some positive effect, it didn't, it didn't make a difference. Maybe, I'm sure salary wise it did. It may have been viewed as an extra degree or something like that, but no real difference.

Judith, a seventh-grade teacher who left after one year, spoke to the difference in respect afforded men and women by the students and fingered the parent body as the culprit. She stated:

> I don't have any hard data to point to, but I think part of it is kind of what we talked about before about perception, you know, an appearance of men being

> more authoritative and how it might be easier to achieve things. But I don't think by the school, but I think by the parents and I think it was kind of like men versus women and so it's kind of like if you were a male teacher, you're getting the most respect.

Chaim supported this with his reflections too. He surmised that his being male probably extended his career to three years. He was a Talmud teacher for the sixth and seventh grades and described the relatively poorer treatment of women in the following words:

> Unfortunately, I think that some of the female teachers are not given the same respect they deserve. Not the same, you know, as men, who are just held in a higher opinion. Unfortunately, even if some women know so much more than I do in many areas of Torah, because I had the term Rabbi, you know, that I was, you know, respected in some ways more, you know, again, seen as knowing more. I think there needs to be a lot of work done in that area for women. So then that, if anything, that that made me stay longer. You know, because I, if I was treated like a woman would have been treated, I probably would have left sooner.

Chaim added his personal view on the excess burdens borne by men, which also impacted the school workload factor, addressed more fully below in this Discussion section. In response to being asked whether male teachers had more opportunities for advancement in the school, Chaim responded:

> If I had to, you know, call the car company to bring in my car for scheduled service, if I had to call my kids' doctor or to call anyone or do anything to take care of my own personal finances or other responsibilities, it had to be fit into

> those business hours because a lot of these places only accept calls during business hours. And right or wrong, a whole lot of these responsibilities fall on the father, even in 2020. Again, I don't, I don't want to sound sexist in any way. I think there are just certain realities that men deal with these things still in 2020 and the women don't. So, if I'm dealing with these during my hour-and-twenty-minute break, if I'm lucky, I have no time to prep or do other things.

All told, gender appears to have been an unimportant criterion in the interviewees' choices to leave the teaching profession, leaving almost no imprint. The comments offered were generally the participant's observations or impressions regarding the effect of gender on their colleagues, not themselves, except for Chaim's reflections on how the male role in his family created time constraints.

Compensation.

Consistent with the variable conclusions regarding the importance—or lack thereof—of compensation on stay-or-leave decision-making in the various studies examined in the literature review, the interviewees were split on the issue. Less than a third (31%) suggested that compensation had any material influence. None of the participants ranked salary as the primary reason for their voluntary termination. Those who did list compensation as a motivating factor were each initially satisfied with the compensation offered by the Modern Orthodox day school for which they worked; it only became a noteworthy factor after the teacher experienced a familial (e.g., expanding family) or school-related (e.g., burnout) change.

Mattis and Kaleb illuminate how such shifts can directly alter thoughts on compensation. Mattis, whose wife was expecting their first child, said a primary

motivation to quit was the time burden of a long commute to and from the school that he taught in, and to and from the new graduate program he had just begun. Initially, he reported, his compensation was “fine”; it appeared on his radar as an issue only in conjunction with the prospect of parenthood:

> The entire commuting inconvenience of me starting grad school, it just wasn't feasible. And the second thing is that as we were expecting a child. I needed more money. So that was the decision.

In regard to Mattis’ commuting issue, a 2013 (Marinell & Coco) study of New York City middle-school teachers found “all else being equal, teachers with longer commutes were much more likely to consider leaving their schools than teachers with shorter commutes. The starkest difference was between teachers with a commute of 20 minutes or less and those with a commute of one hour or more: 35 percent of teachers in former category considered leaving their school, as compared with 47 percent of teachers in the latter category” (p. 20).

Kaleb, who became disillusioned with teaching and drained by constant classroom management battles, said about compensation:

> I think I was paid somewhat decently. If you're really loving what you're doing, then the financial challenge is something that you can work out but once you get to a point and you feel like you really don't love teaching and you’re really not into it anymore, so then the financial part is something which is going to then have more influence, have more of a role. So my leaving was not because of financial reasons. But was more because of the overall feeling of just, I wasn't

> feeling a certain way about teaching. Coupled with the fact that it's financially challenging and I got to the point of realizing it's time to make a move.

Salomon (2010) unambiguously pointed out that teachers' "satisfaction with their decision to teach is highly dependent on their ability to retain their entry motivations, while simultaneously integrating the teaching realities into their initial teaching beliefs" (p.131). Like most of the interviewees who were well aware at the outset of the low financial rewards the teaching profession offered relative to other professions, Judith, a single, seventh-grade teacher was not disappointed by her compensation. The major motivation to be a teacher and a well-honed knowledge of the profession were both provided by Judith's mother, a long-term grade-school Jewish Studies teacher. Judith made clear that compensation did not influence her decision to leave teaching:

> I mean teachers don't really make a lot of money. I was pretty prepared for that. I think sometimes it did feel frustrating to feel like I have a full second job, doing school related work that begins when I leave the classroom that I'm not compensated for at all.

So here was Judith, fully prepared for the relatively meager financial rewards from teaching, and yet the other "entry motivations" that led her to teach in the first place were eroded by the lack of support, respect. and overburdening workload, as discussed in the Contextual/School Factors section below, which triggered her departure for greener pastures. With respect to compensation, Judith also made the following remarks:

> If I would have felt like the school was really the right place for me and I was really enjoying it, it might have been like, oh, I wish they paid me more. But ultimately, it wouldn't have been a deal breaker. I can say that the job that I left

> for paid considerably more. It has been sort of mindboggling to me for a long time that teachers are paid so poorly given how crucial, they are. It's weird that they don't make significantly more, but I didn't feel like it was part of my decision. It wasn't part of my motivating factor to leave.

Along a similar lines, Johnson's (2004) research concluded that salary by itself was typically not the reason that teachers leave, but when combined with other "aggravating factors," such as difficult working conditions or lack of support, low compensation levels eased the way for teachers to depart. Aaron, for example, came from a family of teachers, but he left education due to burnout after teaching Talmud for three years. He shared some of his frustrations:

> There's no benefits in teaching. I mean like in other jobs, you get a bonus. I felt like I was getting paid nicely for a teacher. I was aware that the school, you know it's a higher-end school and they wanted to pay their teachers well relative to teaching, but it wasn't, you know, it's not sustainable for somebody that wants to live in a Jewish community and send their kids to Jewish schools. Most practical reason for why I left was that it was just definitely not sustainable. There's never any, you know, hopes or aspirations of getting another significant bonus or anything like that. I didn't even feel the, you know, the passion to go into administration at that point. But that's really the only way to make a significant salary increase and to move up in the field.

Aaron raises an issue that is quite particular to Modern Orthodox Jews: the significant costs of raising an observant family, stemming primarily from astronomical Jewish day school tuition. In addition, the financial demands of maintaining a Modern Orthodox

lifestyle are substantial. Faygie, a sixth-grade teacher for four years, attributes the financial pressures of her growing family as one of the principal reasons for her leaving teaching to become a speech therapist, but only after other aggravating factors generated dissatisfaction with teaching. As Faygie explained:

> The money part, I mean, it's such a full-time job. It's so hard and I don't know what other schools pay, but the school that I was working in really, really didn't pay a lot at all, at all. The money, you just you make so much more money as a speech therapist than a teacher. And that's a big deal. It's a lot of money to raise a Jewish family. I had a Jewish Education master's, so public school really wasn't even an option for me. I think the factor that made me decide I'm going to leave was that teaching was extremely difficult and then it ended up changing to the money issue.

Heschel, who taught high-school Talmud for five years but wanted greater professional opportunities than the rabbi-teacher position provided, similarly noted the vast financial drain that raising a Modern Orthodox family entails, especially in light of the fact that he was single when he began teaching at age 25 and rapidly added three children to the family. However, Heschel did see the upside to teaching in a Modern Orthodox day school due to certain benefits it provided, including tuition savings, Jewish holidays off, pre-Sabbath early dismissals, and completely free summers, allowing teachers to earn additional income. In his own words:

> The compensation was completely fair but if you want to live with a family in a Modern Orthodox way and you're the primary breadwinner it's very tough to stay as a teacher full time. I think the benefits probably aren't there. Certainly not the

> retirement benefits or medical benefits or other things. You have to account for the tuition benefit when you think of your compensation. Yep. I just put it in the number and the calendar is as good as you ever going to get if you're an observant Jew. Like, I've always worked in the summer.

The remaining seven interviewees were either satisfied with or indifferent towards their basic compensation. For example, Gershon, an unmarried Talmud teacher who left after five years due to workload pressures and his self-described overinvolvement in caring for his students offered that "comp was not an issue, my parents helped as well." Likewise, Dovid, a twelfth-grade Tanakh teacher with two years of experience explained, "I didn't leave that job because of compensation. I left that job for other reasons. The pay was abysmal, but I didn't care." Some participants were actually pleased with their pay, such as Chaim, a third-year, sixth-grade Talmud teacher:

> I think I was paid higher than most Jewish educators in my position. I was very surprised, you know, at the salaries being offered at my school. It seemed pretty fair. The salary was generally the same or maybe even higher sometimes, but the benefits are horrendous compared to public school. There's no, you know, I'm exactly the same as someone 20 years above me unless you go into administration, and for teachers who want to keep teaching, there's no there's no incentive for them. And I would say it's more about job security than the actual amounts of money.

Batya, a married mother of two, who taught ninth to eleventh grade Tanakh, was the sole income source for the family, and she left teaching to make *aliyah*. She too was quite satisfied with her pay, though she scoffed at the cost borne by employees for certain

benefits: “I was offered positions in other places that were, like, significantly less. So that was definitely something that was like, really nice and I paid for health insurance through the school. It was extremely expensive.” Another interviewee, Ephraim, felt almost exactly the same about his pay and the cost of insurance. A father of two who taught Talmud for two years and left teaching due to the stress. felt that:

> My pay was reasonable. They had medical insurance that you could opt in for but was so expensive that it was not at all, I didn't know a single person there who had opted in. And if I were to do it, it would have been, I think, almost half my monthly wages to do.

The views generally expressed by the interviewees regarding compensation essentially conform to the conclusions reached by Lanner’s (2009) analysis of the 2007 Educators in Jewish Schools Study data regarding the relationship between salary and satisfaction. Satisfaction is an oft cited correlate to retention. That analysis found no statistically significant connection between compensation and teacher satisfaction, suggesting there is no meaningful relationship between compensation and retention either. While a small minority of the participants in this study shared the opinion that their comparatively low compensation had an influence on their decision to leave the teaching profession, salary was never given as the primary reason for departing. Furthermore, even the interviewees who did note their pay as a partial explanation for leaving framed it in terms that parallel Przygocki’s (2004) study of Catholic school teacher retention. That is to say, the real incentive to continue teaching comes from internal motivators, such as dedication to faith, community, and mission. All four participants in this study who said they were partly influenced to leave on account of

their compensation were also no longer driven by their initial internal motivations to stay in the profession.

Merit Pay.

As a recent meta-analysis study of teacher merit pay points out, there is a "paucity of knowledge connecting pay incentives with teacher turnover" (Pham, Nguyen & Springer, 2020, p. 24). This is all the more true with respect to merit pay and Jewish day school teacher attrition, on which no research has been done, perhaps due to the very limited employment of such merit or performance pay programs in the Jewish day school system. This scarcity may explain the interviewees' readily apparent lack of familiarity with merit pay systems, as well as their relative indifference to its potential effect on teacher retention. Most participants merely envisaged it as a method of gaining some additional compensation, but not as a motivator to remain in education. When asked if they thought having a merit pay arrangement in place would have made a difference to their remaining as teachers, four of the interviewees said identically, "I don't think so." These include Batya, who left teaching to move to Israel and was overwhelmed by the teaching workload; Dovid, who left to pursue his doctorate and to escape a bad work environment; Judith, who felt under-supported and overworked; and Mattis, who blamed his long commute for leaving. Ephraim and Gershon, both of whom attributed their self-termination to the stresses associated with teaching, were also apathetic about the potentially beneficial effect merit pay would have had. Kaleb, who said he lost all satisfaction from being in the classroom, similarly suggested that an opportunity to earn merit pay would have made little to no difference in his decision. Heschel, having left teaching for the potential to rise in the world of technology and to escape putting on the

rabbi persona required by the school, was slightly more excited about the concept of merit pay, but he doubted if it would have made a measurable difference:

> So, I would say, probably not, but it would be interesting to have seen that only because it would presuppose that there was a really good system for feedback and analysis. And so, whether it leads to money or not, it would be a great thing for schools to have a real conversation around, you know, not whether or not you're going to get a letter of intent next year, not a yes-or-no question but more thoughtful feedback. I mean more pay is always good, right?

Several of the other participants had more positive reactions to merit pay. "Yeah, I think the decision would have been harder to leave and I might have stayed," said Chaim, who blamed his leaving the profession partly on the lack of meaningful feedback from the school's senior administration and the absence of clear assessment standards, which triggered constant concerns regarding job stability. Accordingly, the presence of structured and transparent performance pay guidelines would presumably have eliminated some of Chaim's concerns.

Faygie, another former teacher who left the profession primarily due to stress and a lack of guidance, and secondarily due to compensation, was noncommittal about merit pay: "That may have made a difference. Um, I think it would. Honestly, I think so." Aaron, who also listed compensation as his second main reason for resigning (burnout was primary), showed the most interest in a merit pay structure, although he viewed this simply as an opportunity to obtain more compensation:

> Yeah, I think any financial, I mean any extra money would, it would have made a difference. So any anything extra would have been enticing. Yeah, that's tough.

> It's, I believe, that's the first time I've ever heard of it, but I know, once I kind of found out a little bit more about what really constitutes as merit and who's deciding it and how much, it definitely sounds like something very interesting.

Unsurprisingly, it is widely believed that teachers, especially those employed by parochial schools, leave the profession because of inadequate compensation. It seems to be an almost universally held belief that, relative to other professionals, teachers are underpaid. Arguments have been mustered against this, especially where extensive summer breaks, short workdays, generous health and retirement subsidies are added to the compensation equation, at which point the deficiency in teacher compensation exploratory assumption may be more easily overcome. Only four of the interviewees in this study pointed to inadequate salary as a major influencing factor in their decision to abandon teaching, and even then, dissatisfactory compensation was only a secondary, contributing factor and not the primary one. In every one of the participants' cases, issues other than compensation were the principal explanations for their discontent with their chosen profession, which suggests that the answer to novice Jewish Studies teacher attrition does not lie in raising teacher compensation, neither by raising base salaries nor by implementation of a merit payment structure.

Loss of religious commitment.

Ilan was brought up in a relatively typical Modern Orthodox, suburban family and regularly attended synagogue. For the first few years of schooling he attended a Jewish school for students of various Jewish backgrounds, and thereafter was a student at Modern Orthodox day schools and summered at Modern Orthodox sleepover camps. He earned his both of his secondary degrees at a New York based university: a B.S. in

Management and an M.S. in Jewish Education and Administration. Ilan had no professional aspirations other than wanting to be an educator and taught Tanakh to fifth and sixth grade boys for one year. During that first year of teaching, Ilan experienced a personal crisis which prompted questioning of his lifelong religious beliefs; though he continued to identify as Modern Orthodox, he had significant reservations about his commitment to Orthodox Judaism and observance of its strictures. This, in turn, impelled him to leave teaching altogether. He described his feeling as follows:

> It's not so much anger at God, it's I guess the way that I coped was, we never know. It's not I did something wrong, this is what happened, and we'll never know when God has a master plan, and we won't know. But then when you get into the classroom and you're trying to teach kids that this is what the Torah says, and you have to do it and, in my head, I really don't know and I'm not sure myself, how do I teach them? I never found the joy again. It didn't click and so at the end of that year I pretty, I had decided that I was going to look for something new.

Similarly, in a study of public and Catholic school teachers who left early in their careers, Torres (2012) noted that two of the Catholic school teachers who departed, who together constituted 20% of her interviewees, did so because "these teachers began to question their Catholic faith…. As a result, their commitment to teaching in Catholic schools declined" (p. 143). Ilan's additional comment, "it's always a leap of faith, it's just I'm feeling the leap gets further and further," aligns perfectly with the Torres' interviewee's mindset.

Although Ilan's loss of faith was attributable to his specific circumstances, Salomon's (2010) research study provides a backdrop for Ilan's decision to leave teaching as "Jewish day school teachers' passion for Judaism is a predominant reason for choosing to enter, and to stay in, the profession" (p. 107). Accordingly, having lost that essential passion and belief, Ilan could no longer remain committed to teaching in a Modern Orthodox day school and left the profession entirely.

Aliyah.

Aliyah, the Hebrew word for "ascent," refers to the immigration of diasporic Jews to the Land of Israel. It is so called in Hebrew because the Bible itself describes going to the Land of Israel/Canaan from Egypt and other surrounding lands as an act of ascent, and the reverse as descent. While it is generally accepted by observant Jews that living in the Land of Israel fulfills a religious precept, Modern Orthodox Judaism in particular views the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 as an epoch-making event, often tinged with messianic import. Many Jews in this sector believe that one should not only move to Israel, but participate fully in the modern state, including army service or its equivalent. Making *aliyah* typically involves significant cultural, social, and economic risk and disruption, which cannot necessarily be accounted for by rational or logical decision making. This is especially true of observant Jews, whose inspiration to immigrate is at least partly informed by religious convictions.

Two (15%) of the former novice teachers interviewed for this study chose to make *aliyah* and thus terminate their teaching in U.S. Jewish day schools. Lior's *aliyah* was not planned. After having taught Jewish Studies to second graders for one year in a Modern Orthodox day school in New Jersey, Lior traveled to Israel to study education at

the Pardes Institute of Jewish Studies, and then earned his master's degree in education at Hebrew University. All this was with the full intention of returning to teach in the U.S. While in Israel, however, he met his future wife, and they concluded that Israel was where they wanted to live. As far as teaching was concerned, Lior explained his thinking as follows:

> It wasn't a question of staying in teaching. And then she didn't say to me, listen, we're staying in Israel, and you can't do teaching, but it was more practical. It's not really practical to go into education here [in Israel] and be able to really make a good living. So I had to pivot and how. I wanted to continue teaching and I know had I pursued that here in Israel, it was just something that is, it's not going to be practical.

Thus, in Lior's case, *aliyah* was the principal explanation for his departure from teaching, although the facts he provided could obliquely assign his motivation to family and compensation factors.

Batya, a married mother of two children, taught Tanach to high school students for three years before making *aliyah*. Her explanation for *aliyah* and leaving the U.S. teaching profession followed a far simpler path than Lior's. "Look," she said, "I left because I made *aliyah*. We always wanted to make *aliyah*, you know, since we started dating and we started dating in 12th grade." Batya epitomizes the novice educator that Johnson's study (as cited by Torres, 2011) described as having entered teaching with "a short-term commitment to the profession," and refers to people who enter the teaching field either to make some type of contribution to humanity, as an entrée into the larger world of education, or as a stop along the way to another professional endeavor. Batya

enjoyed teaching and developed positive relationships with students, colleagues, and senior administrators, and she certainly wasn't interested in leaving her teaching position. Nevertheless, her long-term pledge to make *aliyah* easily surpassed her dedication to teaching in the U.S.

Aliyah is a concept that is certainly unique to Judaism and not one that has been researched with respect to its effect on attrition in any profession, let alone educators in Modern Orthodox day schools. The Jewish Agency of Israel reports that in 2020, 28,000 new *aliyah* application files from Western countries were opened, double the number of files opened in 2019. Of those files, there was a 41% surge in those opened for young adults aged 18-35, leading to speculation about how the material increase in those expected to make *aliyah* will impact the retention of novice teachers in U.S. Modern Orthodox day schools.

Contextual/School Factors

Workplace conditions and workload.

The burden created by the excess workload placed upon the novice teachers in this study was listed as one of the three main reasons for their leaving the profession by six (46%) of the participants. As Ephraim reported, "the number one reason I left was the amount of stress I was under in terms of the amount of classes I was teaching and having to balance all that was extremely difficult and just extremely stressful." Faygie also considered workload her prime motivation for departing from teaching:

> So every night, I would come home, and I had to prepare for the next day and I was learning the material. I was learning that information. So there was definitely work every single night. It's exhausting. Just beyond exhausting. And

> my friends that were in this school and they all started off working part time and then eventually they did a full day as head teacher in the morning and in the afternoon, and slowly but surely each one said, “I can't do it anymore, it's too hard,” and they each ended up going back to part time because the burden was just difficult to be head teacher. Also, I just want to add in, it's a lot of preparation.

Ephraim’s and especially Faygie’s explanations for leaving the profession merge seamlessly with Vuilleumier’s 2019 longitudinal research study of workload and 1150 novice educators, which concluded that teachers who were assigned a lower number of students or classes in their initial teaching year quit the field at a lower rate over the next four years compared to those teachers who had full teaching loads in their first year. After five years of teaching, Gershon, who is single and holds a master’s degree in Jewish Education, acknowledged that “I cared too much” and believed that the workload and related stress caused him to feel like he had a “massive weight” on his head and shoulders “around the clock.” He elaborated:

> I remember sitting back on the couch once with my brother-in-law and he's like, “why do you look so exhausted.” And he said, “you don't even have kids,” and I said, “yeah, you have four kids, but you don't understand. I have 72 kids.”

And in response to being queried regarding whether the excessive workload with long hours was amongst the primary impetuses for his departure from teaching, Ephraim made it quite clear that it was significant enough to be both the first and second reasons. He then added, “The short answer is yes, both on the prep and administrative side.”

Although, Batya's principal reason for leaving the teaching profession after three years was to make *aliyah*, she highlighted that, as a married mother of two, her school workload played a major factor in her decision:

> I think that the prep and definitely the amount of work, took a significant toll on me. You know, I had a young family, building family and dealing with other responsibilities. And I was assigned six classes, which meant that each year that I was there, added up to 120, 130 students.

Batya did indicate that had she not made *aliyah*, she would have either left teaching to pursue some other career or reduced her teaching to part time, supporting her contention that being a full-time teacher demanded too much time.

"There was too much asked of us," said Chaim, a married father of two, who earned a master's degree in Jewish Education and taught for three years. Workload qualified as his tertiary motivation to leave. Here is how he put it:

> We had six classes a day, every day, or more, and that's in addition to having to do substitutions for other teachers. They didn't have a permanent sub, mind you. So we did do substitutions, lunch duties, and meetings that they scheduled during free times. There was, there was almost no free time, you know, on a regular basis. Yet to be a good teacher, you have to work at home, you have to do stuff at home, a significant amount at home. They want constant communication with parents, and I had about 120 students. Everything has to be done at home. And by the way, you know, it's not just a matter of our time. This will spill over into all my other, you know, issues, why I left. We have families. We have mental health. We have physical health, spiritual health.

Chaim's description of the demand on his time and the multitude of responsibilities placed on his shoulders echoes Kozikoğlu's 2018 study in which the teacher workload was described using such terms as: torture, drudgery, military service, stress ball, endless seminars, documents and forms.

Judith stated that burnout was her primary justification for leaving and that workload was her number two reason. However, given that the research literature clearly indicates that excessive workload often leads to burnout (Ganster & Rosen, 2013), one could perhaps call her ranking into question. While teaching, Judith, who was single, was also studying for a master's degree. She described her work commitment in the following terms:

> The job doesn't end when you leave the building, and lesson planning and grading was taking time that I needed to, you know, to be prepared, but I would say if the school had been excellent I think I would have told myself, "you can find a way to make this work," and I probably would have stayed. But I think the bigger problem was that I had 137 students and I was a first-time teacher. I definitely think part of that was the number of students I had, because an enormous amount of time is taken up just by grading things. So, even if I was going to assign a one-page, written response to something, that meant I was going to be hand-grading and -marking 137. And I think grading took up an enormous amount of time. It was an enormous amount of work. I basically spent evenings and weekends grading and lesson planning.

Kaleb, a married rabbi with three children, resigned due to his no longer finding any gratification from teaching, after five years in the profession. Kaleb provided his

own distinctive approach to handling what would have been an unbearable workload for him:

> I'm not an overachiever. I've always been the kind of person that will try and identify where's the bare minimum, and make sure I get to that point. Part of my workload was due to me trying to control my workload. You know, one of the most annoying things as a teacher is, you know, grading and marking things. So, I don't it, I don't want to do it. So that had an impact on what I assigned. So, I control my workload in that way. In school, the teaching itself was never such a burden. Some years was hard because I taught five classes, that's four preps, that's really hard. If I was really going to do it the right way, I would have no time and the workload would not be manageable. But if your nature is to do what you need to do to get by, then it's more manageable, but it's not effective.

Kaleb's method and attitude with respect to the teaching workload was certainly not representative of the other interview participants, half of whom who either (1) found the burdens of teaching overbearing enough to want to leave teaching, as described above; or (2) who never considered the amount of work or time associated with teaching to be a burden. In the second category, for example, was Dovid, for whom the amount of work had little effect on his stay-or-leave decision: "workload was not a real influence on my quitting."

The ratio of the interview participants who indicated excessive workload and the stresses of teaching as one of their prime reasons for leaving the profession, as well as their relatively emphatic descriptions of the associated time pressures, indicates that this might be a key factor influencing the attrition rate of novice Jewish Studies teachers.

Further exploration and analysis of the effects that workload has on teacher attrition rates in Modern Orthodox day schools would likely be productive.

Mentoring/induction of novice teachers.

Only one of the participants suggested that the total absence or weakness of formal induction and/or mentoring programs in their schools had any effect on their stay-or-leave decision-making, which is consistent with the 2010 study of Glazerman et al., which found that school induction-mentoring programs offered to teachers during the first two years of their employment had no effect on the teachers' retention rates over the next several years in comparison to a control group of new teachers. Several interviewees did not even know what an induction program is. For instance, when asked whether his school had a formal induction program for new teachers, Ephraim said, "I'm going to say no because I don't know what that is. So, probably not." After receiving an explanation, Ephraim declared, "Kind of love it. I'll tell you they hired me about five days before the school year started so, no induction before or during." Also unaware of the existence of induction programs, Aaron ventured that he didn't think his school had anything "other than like a one-day orientation and not for Judaic studies."

Most of the interviewees, when asked about induction programs, gave a response along the lines of Lior's:

> There definitely was not any type of induction program for new teachers nor any formal training or anything that I was given besides signing a contract and setting up whatever financial stuff had to set up with their controller. No sort of come in for, you know, a week before school to get trained or any on the job training throughout the year, none of that.

Lior commented further that he felt that "mentorship is extremely important. It can't be stressed enough, and it can't be the sort of thing where they, you know, shut it off after a year. I think this should go on for a while."

Mattis, echoing Lior, explained:

> I think there are some serious things lacking. The example I like to give is that on the first day of school when I walked in, like, I didn't even know where the teachers' room was to get a cup of coffee that I'd seen others with.

After confirming his school's lack of any formal mentoring or induction program, Heschel opined: "I think in many ways the first year of teaching, teaching is really sink or swim often here, unfortunately, I mean I've seen a lot of first year teachers come and go, who probably could have been cultivated." Others, including Zvi and Ilan, corroborated the induction program lacuna.

On a more positive note, several of the participants reported that the mentoring provided to them, especially through the Jewish New Teachers Project ("JNTP"), was helpful. Parenthetically, JNTP, which is part of the New Teacher Center and was a beneficiary of the Avi Chai Foundation, provides Jewish day schools with trained mentors for beginning teachers.

Mattis, the one interviewee who suggested that a true mentorship might have kept him in teaching, remarked:

> Professional development, and a real mentorship, I think that would have played an integral role. You don't want to feel like you're just floating, and that you're hoping you're doing good while you're not really sure how you're doing. There

> needs to be an investment in the employee if you want to keep the employee around.

Dovid explained that if his school was left to its own devices, “there would not have been any mentoring.” He then noted:

> The fellowship I was doing actually demanded that there was an onsite mentor. So she was great. She coached me a lot, gave me a lot of feedback on my lessons and just really helpful on a one-on-one, a lot of ways.

Kaleb was far less enthralled with his mentoring:

> Handholding wasn't there. They have what they call “the mentor program” that they paired the veteran teachers with the younger teachers. They had someone that ran the program. I didn't think the effectiveness of that was very great.

Judith, another interviewee whose decision to leave was not particularly influenced in either direction by her lack of in-house guidance or mentoring, said that, “it often felt kind of like I was flying blind and I didn't really have past experience to draw from.” Nevertheless, she provided a definitively positive description of the JNTP mentoring program that her school did provide:

> Meetings and seminars for the Jewish New Teacher Project, including online seminars that we were going to go to, and follow-up meetings, and I definitely felt like I was starting the year with a network of people who I could reach out to. So I think that was helpful because you knew, here's other new teachers I could talk to and there's mentors who are available to me. And then as part of that you get a mentor teacher and I would say she was helpful. I think part of it was that she was a member of the community. So, she understood. You know, sometimes I

> would just say a kid's name, and she would say, "Yeah, I know you don't need to explain what's going on," you know, she knew them, not just from school, but, you know, from shul [synagogue] or from being family, friends, or whatever. So, I think she often had good techniques to help deal with classroom discipline and I think it was helpful. Also, even for weeks when we would meet and we wouldn't really leave with anything concrete, it was helpful to have at least, kind of, you know, spoken to someone and been validated. So, I think that was supportive and I appreciated that.

My review of teacher induction and mentoring literature concluded that where such programs are established for novice teachers the rate of new teacher attrition is generally lowered. However, the question that remained open was whether those programs directly impacted the rate of attrition or had a secondary effect by increasing bonding, collegiality, identification, and the like. The responses recorded here are, for the most part, noncommittal with respect to the influence that such programs, or their absence, might have had on their stay-or-leave decisions. Nonetheless, those participants that did share their opinions on mentoring programs either were generally appreciative of the benefits that they reaped or conjectured that a properly conducted mentoring program would have been beneficial if it would have been offered to them. It is worth noting that mentoring and induction programs are occasionally considered as a subset of administrative support, however, given the importance placed on the latter by the majority of the former novice teachers interviewed, Administration has been addressed as a separate and independent factor in the following section.

Administration.

Despite the fact that many articles and education system reformers point to insufficient compensation as the foremost cause of high teacher attrition rates, the majority of participants in this study unequivocally indicated that it was not money that drove them to leave the profession but the dearth of support from and the lack of access to their schools' senior administrators. Seven (54%) of the early-career former teachers complained of insufficient feedback on their professional performance from aloof administrators, who provided perfunctory support at best, listing it as one of the three primary reasons for leaving, more than any other one reason. These former teachers spoke of needing recognition, support, and attention from the senior administrators, but found the principals, heads of school, and their direct reports to be too busy or generally inaccessible for any meaningful dialogue, with much of the feedback boilerplate or nonspecific, as if they were merely going through the motions. Owing to this, heads of schools and school boards seeking to retain their best educators may want to focus on this particular motivation for novice teacher departures. In their 2013 study of teacher attrition, Marinell and Coca surveyed 4,000 New York City middle-school educators, two thirds of whom (66%) stated that lack of support from administrators was very important or important, demonstrating that the responses by the interviewees in this study are not anomalous.

Aaron, a teacher with three years of experience, depicted a disheartening relationship with senior administration:

> I dreaded talking to the to the principal. The senior guys were walking around the halls and they were in their offices and that just became frustrating, so I very

> rarely got feedback. They would come into the room for a couple of minutes and then need to send some critique. It was just like they didn't care and weren't listening. You know, when I did interact with them it was huge. I would say that the relationship at best would be described as playing at a working relationship. It was easy to see through the façade. It was clearly a business and like a factory.

Asked why he left teaching, Aaron replied, “I didn't feel good about what I was doing at all, embarrassed to tell people I was teaching. That along with frustrations from the administration.”

Chaim gave a parallel account:

> I had basically no contact whatsoever with my Hebrew principal and the higher administration in general, unless there was in passing something. I barely spoke to the guy for three years, honestly. They've become fundraisers and spokespeople more than educators. Therefore, they don't spend much time in the classroom. They don't spend much time directly with teachers. I barely ever spoke to him [the principal]. But what I really do fault them in is that, ultimately, he makes the decision of: Do you still work here? Do you get fired? I don't like the fact that there's almost no communication between the person who ultimately decides your job and you. Very vague ideas of your assessment. That is part of what is the beginning of why I left. But again, to answer your question, it was a negative experience overall with the administration and also with other administrative personnel, Director of Operations and whatnot. It was very, very businesslike. It was a very big attitude of “let's protect ourselves legally and we'll

> pretend when we can to be warm and personal," but at the end of the day, it was a facade and it was all legal and business.

One interviewee, Dovid, specifically noted that even knowing that his pay was "abysmal," he never considered leaving on account of compensation. It was the unsupportive and intimidating principal in his school who was one of his primary reasons for leaving.

> If you have a terrible person leading, it's going to go terribly, no matter what the setup is. Right, so a principal has to make the teachers feel like they're supported. The rest of us knew she pushed us as hard as she could and even a little harder and we were even yelled at, or whatever. I think a lot of us commiserated about that. But the principal made it an incredibly hostile work environment.

Although Dovid spoke of a hostile environment, he was apparently addressing the atmosphere around the principal and those who reported directly to her, rather than the relationship with his colleagues, which he felt might have been actually been enhanced by the lack of leadership at the top, and the teachers' ensuing need to support one other.

Another relatively experienced novice, Faygie, had two primary motivations for leaving: stress and lack of support from senior school personnel. In this case, the latter might have caused the former. After teaching for four years she had the following recollection:

> For the first three years, there really wasn't much of a relationship. I like really tried to avoid going to the head of school. I really tried only speaking to him when it was necessary. The head of school came into my classroom once my first

> semester in my first year teaching there. It was for like ten minutes, and just sent me an email after, saying that he thought I was doing great but I could do better. For the first three years, nobody ever walked in. He was the only one that walked into my classroom ever to see what was going on. It was crazy. I could have been teaching a totally different *sefer* [book] than I was supposed to. And they would have never known. I really thought to myself: "I could be the worst teacher ever? Don't you want to know what's going on?" No one, no one cared, no one came.

Even the respondents who did not express lack of support as one of their three primary reasons for exiting the profession had negative comments about the role of their senior administrators. For instance, Kaleb who blamed his leaving exclusively on his loss of interest in teaching, had this to say:

> All the school's administrators were so bogged down, so busy that I just, you know, I never felt it was helpful. But I never felt that the support was coming from them. Got feedback from admin occasionally, but the feedback was unfair. I just feel that when you come into someone's classroom once every four months for seven minutes, then how can that feedback be accurate? And I learned principals, and bosses in general, they're not really looking to hear what you have to say. But it was just very frustrating that there was a very shallow assessment. The guidance that I've gotten from them was never helpful. It is like the admin says: "We need to have meetings. So what should we discuss?" Which is totally backwards thinking. It should be, "Let's identify what we need to work on. And then from there we'll see if have meetings or not."

Similarly, Heschel, who left teaching to seek better opportunities, was not particularly complimentary of the administrators of the school in which he taught for five years:

> In my world, administrators are exceptionally busy, oftentimes, the goal is to stay out of their radar. Stay out of their scope. If they don't hear about you, then you're fine. I think it's fair to say that I was probably left wanting a little bit on feedback. You know, you'd have these visits from principals, every once in a while, but irrelevant negative feedback is always easier to come by than positive.

Most of the interviewees' critiques of their senior administrators are nearly interchangeable, yielding homogenously negative commentary. Here are Ephraim's thoughts:

> I had the principal sit in on one class, I think but just once. And even then it wasn't for the entire class or anything like that, really, it was just sort of here for a few minutes, maybe, and not necessarily to see how I'm doing but more along lines of to see what they're learning. Nothing of what they were saying is constructive or helpful. I definitely felt a sense of a total disconnect between myself and the administration.

Like the interviewees mentioned above, Judith, a first year teacher, sought guidance and support that she very rarely received:

> The head of school really only spoke to you, kind of a handful of times. I think I spoke to him on like three occasions. Once was when they interviewed me and then maybe, one other time I saw him in the hall, and the last time I saw him was when I walked into the office to tell him I was giving my two weeks' notice. And

so I didn't really have much to do with them and or the assistant principal. I didn't really feel that I got any feedback.

A “supportive administration” can have differing meanings for each new teacher, especially given everyone’s personal self-assessment and identification of weakness. The specific definition, however, is relatively unimportant when the disapproval of senior school administrators vis-à-vis support and feedback is universal and independently confirmed across schools. As can be seen from the above reflections, these novice teachers, so desiring of feedback, guidance, and pedagogical support, experienced roughly the same lack of adequate response from their school leadership. “Quite simply, teachers don’t think the people they work for care about them or their efforts to improve” (Headden, 2014, p. 5). The responses provided by the respondents under each of the subject topics reveal that these novice teachers were concerned with a host of different issues throughout their short-lived careers, of which unsupportive administrations was the only factor that proved so critical to so many.

Availability and Accessibility of Resources.

According to human capital theory, educators base their decisions to stay or leave the teaching profession on a myriad of factors and on their individual perception of how such factors have affected or will affect their teaching careers. These career evaluations are a continuing process during which the opportunities presented by other career options are weighed against those of remaining in teaching. Availability and accessibility to a school’s resources constitute one of the major factors that often appears in the relevant literature, although the research points in different directions concerning their potential effect on teacher attrition. School resource, aside from salary, that teachers would

typically be most cognizant of include availability of assistant and substitute teachers, classroom teaching materials, support for special needs and extracurricular activities, assistance to and funding for guidance and counseling, and the like.

Neither resource availability and accessibility nor school wealth or the lack thereof were identified by any of the respondents in this study as having influenced their decision to leave teaching. Two plausible explanations are:

1) Novice teachers naturally tend to be more focused on their own immediate needs and the direct demands made on them, rather than on the broader view of the school's revenues and assets, regardless of the ultimate repercussions that a deficiency in the latter will cause them and their own classrooms. Accordingly, the teachers in this study assigned significant weight in their stay-or-leave decision to such factors as workload, absence of senior administrator support, and insufficient compensation, and not to broader school issues like resources.
2) The fact that these former teachers were all employed by relatively established Modern Orthodox day schools located in the New York metropolitan area might suggest that resources were generally not an issue for the schools and thus had no impact on the teachers interviewed. That is not to say that all such schools are financially well endowed as there are many that do struggle; however, most, if not all, of the schools these respondents taught in give the outward appearance of having reasonably sufficient resources.

Collaboration and Teacher Networking.

Teacher collaboration and networking are branches of the "welcome and assistance" tree, equal to the other branches of mentoring, support, induction, and senior

administrative feedback that researchers Kapadia & Coca (2007) asserted had considerable impact on novice educators' plans to continue in the profession. Nevertheless, the participants in this study did not consider collegial relationships to have had any real influence on their decisions to leave. At the same time, the interviewees did recognize that the level of coworker support affected their attitudes and the quality of their teaching.

Ephraim seemed to indicate very little interaction with colleagues, "We're all just individual teachers and we're just sort of on our own little islands." Mattis, who left primarily due to the heavy demands on his time from commuting and compensation issues described his relationship with colleagues as "tepid":

> I was a young teacher and I kind of expected more hands-on guidance. That the team might walk in and they say like, "Oh, how's it going and how are you? How's it going with the teaching and etc.?" But to be honest, I found the culture was pretty like structured, it was cliquey. So they weren't as interested in, like, actively reaching out. Nobody was ever rude, and nobody was ever mean. But it was just that my expectation that there would be more of an active effort to involve me in the culture and in the groups, than there was, as per my perception.

In following up with Mattis about what might have kept him in the profession, he suggested:

> Aside from the compensation and commuting issues, I just wasn't necessarily excited to go into work every day. Because of all those factors and even though the kids were great, but I also need a little bit different kind of human interaction

> as well, besides just hanging out with these high school boys, but I knew I wasn't gonna get it in the teachers' room.

Similarly, burned out from stress, workload, and inadequate administrative support, Judith emphasized the absence of collegial backing, which she partly blamed on her not having a Sephardic heritage, that is, she was not a Jew from Arabic-speaking lands:

> It's tricky at the start, they weren't supportive in the sense of, you know, here's a lesson planning tip or, you know, happy to watch the kids during recess if you want ten minutes or something. But if I got into a conversation with someone in the staff room they would say, "Oh, it's tricky at the start" and a lot of people told me, "Well, you know, you're from outside the community, people will take some time for people to trust you."

Aaron, Dovid, Gershon, and Heschel were much more positive when asked about their relationships with and the helpfulness of their coworkers. Aaron stated he found them to be "very positive, very amicable." Dovid reported that "I still talk to a bunch of them." Gershon felt that "there was a lot of great sharing of ideas," and Herschel commented that his school "provided a very supportive environment, very collegial planning and all that kind of stuff. Yeah, I mean, listen, it makes a difference." Finally, Batya, who left to make *aliyah*, shared her positive experience:

> It was a very collaborative work environment. Like, we shared everything. I made a sheet, I shared it; they made a sheet, they shared it. We used each other's stuff. So that support was amazing, it was really great. It became a very

collaborative environment that was very supportive and like mentor-based, even though it wasn't an official mentorship program.

The literature indicates that teacher collaboration leads to positive results in terms of teacher abilities, improved teaching methods, and more effective classroom management, and may improve the retention rates, especially amongst the newest educators, who would be expected to gain the most benefit from collegial support. This study reflects that the majority of the former novice teachers interviewed looked favorably on the collaborative effort they engaged in. Overall, despite there being positive and negative assessments of the collaborative backing available to them, the respondents gave no indication that the absence or presence of collegial support had any effect on their eventual decision to leave teaching.

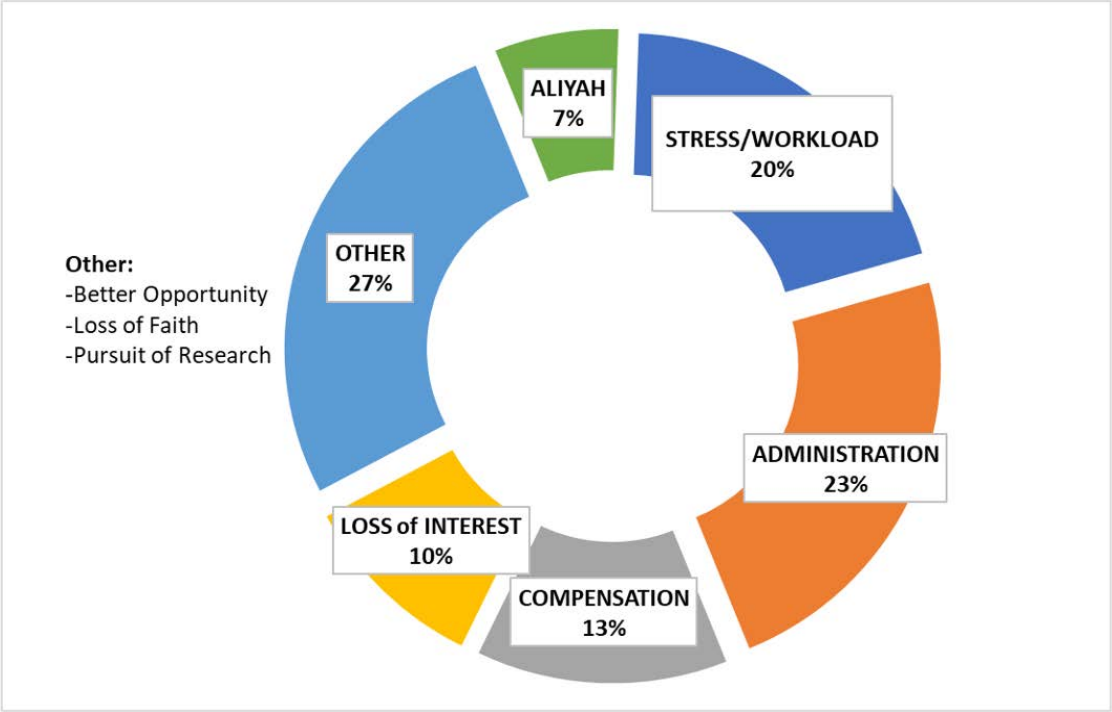
Ranking

As most of the former teachers interviewed for this study indicated, there were typically several factors that influenced their decision to leave the profession. Other than those who chose to make aliyah, none of the novice educators offered only one factor for leaving. Most did, however, point to one disappointing factor that initially led them to consider abandoning teaching. While each interviewee was asked about the effects of the various contextual and personal factors on their stay-or-leave decisions, the question of why they left teaching was also directly put to them. In addition, over the course of the interview the researcher probed initial responses to elicit more information, and the respondents adjusted their responses in kind. What almost always emerged is that a multiplicity of factors influenced each interviewee’s decision to leave. Towards the end of the interview, the former teachers were then asked to rank, in order of importance, the

three principal factors that motivated their departures. The subsequent coding of the interviews and the factor rankings offered by the respondents provides additional insight into the weight of the various factors in the novice teachers' decision to leave, as displayed in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6

Principal Factors for Participant Departures



Chapter VI

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Implications

The object of this study was to gain an understanding of why novice Jewish Studies educators who teach at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools leave the teaching profession, in order to educate the broad set of actors who wish to improve the retention rates of such teachers—school administrators, board members, parents, teachers, researchers, and the faculty of schools of education. The loss of quality teachers has been shown to lead to lower student achievement, strains on financial resources of which schools are almost always in need, and general disruption of a school's smooth functioning.

In formulating this study's approach to the essential objectives of determining why Jewish Studies teachers leave, three fundamental research questions were investigated (see Chapter III), the answers to which and implications thereof are provided below and are based upon the results of the qualitative phenomenological research performed (see Chapter V).

The three research questions are re-presented below, each immediately followed by a brief summary of the specific responses derived through this study's interviews of the former novice teachers.

1. Why do novice Jewish Studies teachers choose to leave Modern Orthodox day schools?

Brief answer: The three primary factors, in descending order of significance, are: (1) Lack of senior administrative support and feedback, (2) excess workload, and (3) compensation. Other substantial factors offered by the interviewees for leaving teaching included (a) lost interest and (b) *aliyah*.

2. To what extent do life-cycle factors (i.e., birthing and raising children) influence novice Jewish Studies teachers to voluntarily resign from Modern Orthodox day schools?

Brief answer: Life-cycle events had a minimal direct impact on the decision to leave, although the birth of children prompted certain respondents to evaluate their need for additional compensation.

3. How important a factor is compensation in novice Modern Orthodox day school Jewish Studies teachers' considerations to stay or leave?

Brief answer: As noted in 1 above, compensation was the third most frequent factor offered by the novice educators for having left the teaching profession.

The novice teachers who shared their personal insights in response to these queries during the interview process provided an array of various motives for having left the teaching profession, but certain ones were cited more frequently and assigned greater emphasis by many. Since there is no one particular issue driving new educators away from the profession, Modern Orthodox day schools should consider a comprehensive approach to address as many of the ills cited by the novice teachers as is reasonably possible, recognizing the practical limits that exist in all private schools.

The absence of senior administration support and meaningful feedback was described by most of the former educators as one of the principal influences that

persuaded them to abandon teaching. Judith decried it as a "lack of scaffolding for new teachers" that made her feel as if she was "flying blind." These new educators sought guidance, encouragement, advice, and even criticism from those with more experience, only to find themselves routinely ignored, taken for granted, and/or fed hollow and template evaluations based on very brief and infrequent classroom observations. Clearly, throwing some additional compensation their way would not have stanched the bleed of talent.

For a school's executive leadership to provide the quality support and feedback essential to the novice teacher undeniably places an additional burden on them, but it pales in comparison to the burden of finding a replacement for a valued educator who quits. What is more, these critical evaluations and support need not come only nor directly from the senior school administrators but can also be the responsibility of more experienced teachers and mentors. School leadership must devise and implement a system of regular, periodic teacher observations that provides subsequent meaningful pedagogical feedback and advice. Qualified veteran educators, preferably with expertise in the same subject matter and/or grade level(s) taught by the novice teacher, should be enlisted to provide this essential support and mentoring (and, while beyond the scope of this study, they should be remunerated for doing so).

Though not stressed as one of the principal influences in their decision to leave teaching, several respondents mentioned the absence of collegial interaction as a professional impediment. Therefore, creating opportunities for new and experienced teachers to share pedagogical ideas, teaching plans and methods, and classroom

management skills with one another should also be embraced by school leadership, which should establish schedules to accommodate teamwork and group planning sessions.

Along the same lines, based upon the results of this study, a formal system of mentorship for each new teacher should be created, by providing an experienced teacher to offer professional guidance, support, and, as one of the interviewees put it, "someone to vent to" about workplace matters. If enough qualified in-house mentors are not available, school leaders should utilize outside sources. For example, several of the interviewees spoke about the support they received from mentors provided by the Jewish New Teachers Project. Again, for the mentoring to be effective and valued, the mentor needs to be matched appropriately with the mentee. The recommendations above do not, and should not, have to be siloed from each other, but can be melded into a supervised, inclusive program offering the support, guidance, and meaningful feedback that most, if not all, novice educators need and desire.

Let us now turn to the second most referenced influence on departure as expressed by the participants: teacher workloads. One respondent illustrated the problem in these terms: "My workload was enormous. There were many times where I felt like, to give a first year, pretty inexperienced teacher a workload and a class load like that, was kind of crazy." These new teachers were overwhelmed with classroom management, handling student behavioral issues, meeting administrative demands, preparing for classes, learning the school's *hashkafah* (ideological outlook and approach), reviewing homework, preparing and grading exams, crafting lesson plans, and more—all of this in addition to their own personal life challenges. Excess educator workload leads not only to higher teacher attrition rates but to stresses on teachers' personal lives and to the

provision of substandard quality service to their students (Scheopner, 2009). Schools should evaluate, through annual surveys and encouraged discussion, the impact that workload has on their newer staff, and plan accordingly. Teachers should be assigned manageable workloads.

One recommendation is to assign novice educators a special status that shields them from overload by limiting the number of classes, preps, and administrative duties they are assigned until they acquire the experience necessary to advance, similar to apprentice or beginner positions in other professions. Another proposal, especially now that so many educators have been compelled by the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic to learn new methods of teaching remotely, is for schools to consider relying on technology (e.g., Zoom's Speedgrader) that facilitates grading homework and tests, freeing up hours of teacher "homework" to which the interviewees objected strenuously.

To simultaneously address these novice former teachers' (1) work overload complaints and (2) frustrations provoked by insufficient collegial support and input, schools should allocate scheduled times for newer teachers to plan their lessons, class curricula, and exams together with more experienced educators, during which they share ideas and teaching techniques, eliminating the need for each teacher to engage in redundant preparations. This collaborative effort can introduce creative teaching ideas and skills to veteran and novice teachers alike.

Compensation is thought to be, by the general populace and many educators as well, the principal impetus for attrition of teachers at all levels of seniority. But the research is mixed on the influence that salary, including merit pay, has on novice and experienced teacher retention rates and their intention to stay or leave the profession.

Although compensation was the third most critical consideration for the interviewees' decisions to leave teaching, it was no one's principal reason and typically was associated with other precipitating factors (growing family). During the interview discussions it became clear that most of the respondents had no clear understanding of the makeup of their own compensation package, how it was determined, how it compared to other teachers' compensation, what they could have expected it to be in the future, nor what they could have done to improve it beyond assuming additional responsibilities. Recognizing Modern Orthodox day schools' limited resources, reliance on private funding and the already insanely high tuition costs, the oft-parroted call to "just raise teacher compensation" cannot be the solution, especially in light of research (Imazeki, 2005) that concluded that salaries would need to increase by at least 20% to have any real effect on teacher attrition rates. One simple approach to lower pay dissatisfaction and attrition rates involves offering educators a more structured and transparent compensation arrangement that stipulates clear guideposts and achievement targets, whereby teachers can earn base salary increases and/or one-time merit bonuses, and informing the teachers of the specifics (the what and the why) of their compensation packages. In lieu of the traditional "step and lane" compensation arrangements, by which teachers move to higher lanes of pay by attaining additional degrees and education credits and stepped-up compensation for each year of experience achieved, a merit- or performance-based system of compensation could provide novice teachers with sufficient incentives to stay in the profession. Among the suggestions and concepts that school leadership should consider is the establishment of targeted seniority dates for novice teachers to earn meaningful raises, so that newer teachers can attain higher salaries earlier in their careers.

The extra upfront cost attributable to the higher novice teacher salaries might then be offset by:

1. providing smaller annual raises to mid- and senior career teachers, whose compensation would already have been higher through the early career frontloading, and
2. reducing, or eliminating entirely, the financial rewards paid to teachers who earn post-baccalaureate degrees in a field other than the teacher's specific subject area of instruction, and
3. the savings generated by reducing the costly need to hire replacements for the novice teachers.

Aside from conserving financial resources, eliminating rewards for earning a graduate degree in an out-of-area subject is sensible in a general sense as well, based upon research (Bastian, 2019) which shows that such degrees have insignificant or even negative effects.

For U.S.-based Modern Orthodox day schools, teachers leaving to make *aliyah* represents an anomaly. Despite the negative impact it can have on the students, schools, and the profession writ large, the schools in question would find it difficult to convince these idealistic and spiritually motivated educators not to move to Israel. First of all, *aliyah* is driven primarily by ideology and spiritual reasons, as we saw with Batya, over which schools have no control. Second, the *hashkafah* of many schools considers *aliyah* a positive act and in some cases even a duty. Finally, many in the Modern Orthodox community would frown on any attempt to dissuade an impassioned teacher from making *aliyah*. As opposed to this study of why novice Jewish studies teachers leave the profession, Salomon's (2010) study of why Orthodox Jewish teachers decide to teach in

the first place similarly noted the aliyah versus teaching dilemma as "This … is especially disturbing because the passion for teaching and making aliyah are often both rooted in spiritual ambitions. It seems ironic that the attainment of one spiritual goal has to be at the expense of the other" (p.138).

Other suggestions emanating from the interviewees' answers and comments that may improve retention rates as well as the effectiveness of new faculty include:

- A more thorough hiring and interview process to ensure that schools employ more than "just a body," as Ephraim described his hiring. The interview of potential hires should confirm that they will fit in with the school's culture, have appropriate teacher training, are knowledgeable in their subject areas, and have a reasonably good idea of what teaching at the school is like.
- Schools should provide meaningful and ongoing induction programs for their new hires. Most of the relevant research makes clear that quality induction programs not only improve retention of new hires but also their performance and skills, leading to improved student performance.
- Several of the novice teachers interviewed, including holders of master's degrees in education, noted their absolute deficiency in classroom teaching preparedness by not having had pre-employment consequential hands-on classroom experience. Many teacher preparation programs offered by universities focus heavily on instruction in teaching methods, theory, and related social psychology topics, without necessitating an authentic student classroom teaching experience. These programs should partner with the schools in which they place their pre-teachers to ensure that the teacher candidates get exposure to and guidance from school

faculty who have teacher preparation experience and that they are involved in authentic classroom behavior management, lesson planning, test preparation, and grading. It may be advisable to bifurcate the classroom training experience, with half at the start of the program and half towards the end, so as to give the student teachers an opportunity to see early on what they are committing themselves to, and allow them to bring the problems and questions they observed and experienced to their own teacher preparation classroom instructors and fellow students. Furthermore, where practical, the first and second clinical classroom student teaching opportunities should be undertaken in different schools so as to provide the widest experiential learning experience.

Limitations

This study, undertaken to gain recognition of why novice Jewish Studies teachers employed by Modern Orthodox day schools leave the teaching profession, implemented a qualitative, phenomenological method by interviewing former novice Jewish studies teachers at such schools about their experiences in that environment that led to their departing the teaching profession. The following limitations constrain this study:
The interview candidates were selected by using purposive and convenience sampling, which may be prone to researcher bias and participant manipulation and may also generate generalizations and inferential statistics that are invalid. These phenomenological sampling methods lack the randomness that is typically sought in experimental researcher, although the subject of this study demands candidates who have had the experience being analyzed.

The pool of potential participant names was provided by New York metropolitan area schools, creating a relatively restricted selection of candidates from schools and environments that may differ significantly from what might be found in other regions of the U.S., with a potential corresponding impact on the responses of the interviewees. One of the other criteria for selection as a participant was that the former novice teacher had to have left the profession within the past seven years, allowing for increased probability of false memories of their teaching experience and their reasons for leaving.

Given the moderately sensitive nature of the issue discussed, the former teachers may not have been completely forthcoming with regard to certain factors they did or did not disclose with respect to the schools, administrative personnel, colleagues and/or themselves. Self-defense mechanisms may have prevented the interviewees from disclosing certain indirect motivating factors of their own creation, for example, inability to get along with colleagues or poor teaching performance.

Confidentiality prevented obtaining any feedback from the employer schools with respect to the teacher evaluations of the interviewee participants. Accordingly, it is impossible to determine if any of the candidates, all of whom left of their own volition, were subtly eased out of their positions by their schools' administration through the creation of a less hospitable environment. This would skew the respondents' observations and opinions of their schools and relationships. Further, the absence of feedback regarding the participants' teaching skills, abilities and fit creates a situation whereby responses that may be inaccurate, due to the interviewees' cognitive dissonance regarding their reasons for leaving. Similarly, no inquiry, aside from degrees attained, was made with respect to the interviewees' post-secondary education grade-point

averages or achievements, knowledge of which might provide some correlation between grades earned and novice teacher attrition.

While none of the participants raised parental involvement, or lack thereof, as having influenced their decision to leave the profession, other studies have focused on how parents can effect schoolteacher job satisfaction (El-Hilali and Al-Rashidib, 2014). This study's lack of a specific interview query regarding parental influence on the novice teachers' decision to quit the profession limits the ability to reach any conclusions in that regard.

Seventy-seven percent of the interviewee participants were male which, while reasonably representative of gender bifurcation across all Jewish studies course grade levels, may not be representative of the gender split within elementary school education, which is predominately populated by female teachers. Accordingly, it is difficult to arrive at representative conclusions regarding the general rationales for leaving the teaching profession based upon gender.

Although making every effort to avoid it, the researcher's subjective influence cannot be eliminated in phenomenological research, neither in the interview nor the analysis stages and thus, the conclusions arrived at lack a certain level of objectivity. Other limitations of this study that are applicable to some degree due to the nature and methodology of phenomenological research are noted here to acknowledge their potential effect on the data presented and include the difficulty of replicating the results, generalizability and validity issues, and the absence of a control or comparison group of novice Jewish studies teachers who stay in the profession.

Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this research study indicate several relevant areas of potentially productive research with respect to attrition of novice teachers from Modern Orthodox day schools. Whether the rates of attrition of such teachers mirror those of U.S. public, private, and/or parochial schools is certainly worthy of research. As noted in the Attrition section of the Literature Review, "Research to date on this specific aspect of turnover in Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools is essentially nonexistent." And the research might be easy enough: surveying Modern Orthodox day school principals/heads of school across the U.S. regarding their perceptions or actual statistics of novice teacher attrition. Furthermore, expanding the research beyond "modern" Orthodox day schools to include Yeshivish and Haredi educational institutions, both of which are considered "strictly" Orthodox, would provide greater insight into the reasons for attrition amongst novice Jewish studies teachers. Bifurcating the study into one that focuses exclusively on elementary school novice Jewish studies teachers versus one that concentrates only on such high school teachers would provide a richer understanding of the diverse factors that may influence novice teachers to leave their respective teaching levels, along with the additional benefit of providing greater insight into the gender differences for quitting the teaching profession, given the predominance of women occupying the ranks of Jewish elementary school teaching positions (Kobrin, 1999).

Although there are opposing views on the impact that compensation may have on teacher retention, research regarding how various categories of teachers are rewarded by Modern Orthodox day schools could be a valuable resource for senior administrators, board members, and educators. For instance, investigation whether there are different

pay scales for men and women, for teachers with and without semicha, for secular and religious studies teachers, is a scholarly desideratum. Other topics for future research on compensation and teacher attrition include: how Modern Orthodox day schools determine starting salaries, and how the total compensation packages of Modern Orthodox day schools compare to those of other schools in their respective geographic areas.

The use of merit pay by Modern Orthodox day schools should be studied as well. Attention should be paid to the criteria that are factored into deciding performance pay per awardee, who decides the amounts and recipients of the awards, how program details are conveyed to potential awardees, how transparent the merit pay program is, whether the program has fostered healthy or unhealthy comptetion, and, most critically, what the effects of merit pay are on teacher retention.

In light of the findings in this study, to wit, that most of the participants pointed to lack of senior administrative support as one of their principal reasons for leaving the profession, future research should explore methods of how senior school administrators can improve the quality and quantity of the attention, feedback, and support they themselves provide to their novice teachers, both directly and by motivating the experienced faculty to do the same.

Another area ripe for future study is the relationship between different programs of preservice student teaching and novice teacher job satisfaction and teacher attrition. It would be a boon to all involved to determine which preservice student teaching programs provide the best training for preparing new teachers for classroom management, programming, and teaching, thereby resulting in lower attrition rates.

It would certainly also be of interest to understand what novice teachers who remain in the teaching field say about the very same factors that were proferred for quitting by their counterparts who left the teaching profession.

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APPENDIX A

REQUEST LETTER TO PRINCIPALS

IDENTIFYING POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEES

Name

Principal

Yeshiva_____

Address

Dear_____,

I am a doctoral student at the Azrieli School of Jewish Education and Administration at Yeshiva University and am also a professor at Y.U.'s Sy Syms School of Business. I am writing my dissertation for Azrieli on the reasons novice Jewish studies teachers at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools choose to leave the teaching profession. The purpose of this research is to combine insights from these former teachers' experiences with current research on teacher retention to better understand why such teachers leave early in their careers and the interrelationships between factors related to attrition.

I plan on conducting this research by interviewing Jewish studies teachers with up to five (5) years of teaching experience who voluntarily terminated within the last seven (7) years who did not transfer to another educational institution.

As opposed to the numerous studies involving new teacher attrition at public, non-Jewish parochial and other private schools, explanations for novice teacher attrition from Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools has rarely, if ever, been explored and the results of this study will help to better understand the phenomenon, and hopefully improve novice teacher retention rates at such venerable educational institutions such as yours.

My initial step will be to contact the former educators, outlining the purpose and goals of the study and requesting their voluntary, completely confidential participation. The generic results of these interviews will be shared with the participants and the schools from which they terminated. The sources identifying the former teachers, whether former colleagues, school administrators, or any other person or institution will remain anonymous.

Accordingly, I would appreciate you're providing the names and, if available, contact information of four to five (4 to 5) novice Jewish studies teachers who voluntarily terminated from your school and the teaching profession within the last seven (7) years.

If you have any questions or concerns related to this research study and/or are ready to provide the requested information, please do so via any of the following:

Cell phone:

Email address:

Postal address:

Many thanks in advance for taking the time to contribute to my research.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX B

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEE PARTICIPANTS

Dear _____,

You are being invited to take part in a research project on the reasons novice Jewish studies teachers at Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools choose to leave the teaching profession. My name is Len Fuld and I am a doctoral student at the Azrieli School of Jewish Education and Administration at Yeshiva University, as well as a professor at Y.U.'s Sy Syms School of Business and I am writing my dissertation for Azrieli for the purpose of combining experiences and insights from former beginner teachers with current research on teacher attrition to better understand why teachers, such as yourself, leave early in their careers and the interrelationships between the factors related to such attrition.

I plan on conducting this research by interviewing Jewish studies teachers with up to 5 years of teaching experience who voluntarily terminated from a Modern Orthodox Jewish day school within the last 7 years who did not transfer to another educational institution. Therefore, I am asking for your participation in this study because you fit the profile of desired participants.

I expect the interview would take about an hour during which I will ask you questions about your teaching experiences, your background, and your reasons for leaving the teaching profession. The interview could be done via videoconference (e.g., Zoom) at a time that fits your schedule.

Your participation in this project is voluntary and will be completely confidential. If you are willing to participate or if you have any questions about this research project please contact me through e-mail at **lfuld@yu.edu** or call me at **201 220-9998**.

Many thanks, in advance, for taking the time to contribute to this research.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX C

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION OF HUMAN RESEARCH TRAINING

CITI PROGRAM

Completion Date 02-Sep-2018
Expiration Date 01-Sep-2023
Record ID 28352944

This is to certify that:

leonard fuld

Has completed the following CITI Program course:

Not valid for renewal of certification through CME. Do not use for TransCelerate mutual recognition (see Completion Report).

Human Research (Curriculum Group)
Group 3.SBR - Ferkauf, Wurzweiler and Azrielli Students (Course Learner Group)
1 - Human3/Student-Basic (Stage)

Under requirements set by:

Albert Einstein College of Medicine

CITI
Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative

Verify at www.citiprogram.org/verify/?we53f8be3-5331-4dc6-8f08-386954ca9746-28352944

APPENDIX D

ORAL CONSENT SCRIPT

Hello

My name is Leonard Fuld, and I am from Azrieli Graduate School of Jewish Education and Administration of Yeshiva University and would like to talk to you about a research study on why novice Modern Orthodox Jewish day school Jewish studies teachers leave the teaching profession. We ask you to join this study because you moved from the education profession within the first five years of your teaching at a Modern Orthodox Jewish day school. You do not have to participate. It is your choice. Your decision will not affect your rights or benefits.

If you say yes, I will ask you to interview questions at a time that is convenient for you and the interview will be conducted using Zoom. It will be done in one session that is anticipated to be take up to one hour in length. Although it is not likely, I may follow-up with you in another Zoom session of no more than fifteen minutes to clarify any unclear or misunderstood responses.

You may be uncomfortable answering some questions. You do not have to answer all the questions and you may stop at any time.

A risk of taking part in this study is the possibility of a loss of confidentiality or privacy. Loss of privacy means having your personal information shared with someone who is not on the study team and was not supposed to see or know about your information. I plan to protect your privacy.

You will receive no direct benefit from this study. We will not pay you to join this study.

We will do our best to keep your information safe by using a special code. We do not plan to share the information from this study with other researchers. Your study information will be kept as long as it is useful for this research.

Information from this study will not be used for future studies. We will destroy the study data when the study is complete

If you change your mind and don't want your information used for the study anymore, you can call or text me at 201 220-9998. Or, you can call Azrieli Graduate School of Yeshiva University at 212 960-0186. They will let you know how to write to the Principal Investigator to let her/him you want to stop participating. Just remember, if we have already used your information for the study, the use of that information cannot be cancelled.

Do you have any questions? You may ask me now or contact me in the future about your questions or problems with this study.

May I begin?

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

_____		_____
Printed name of participant		Date
_____	_____	_____
Printed name of the person conducting the consent process	Signature	Date

APPENDIX E

IRB EXEMPTION

1019 39th Ave SE / Suite 120
Puyallup, WA 98374
855-818-2289
www.wcgirb.com

November 25, 2020

Leonard Mark Fuld, BS, MBA, APC
Yeshiva University
500 West 185th St
Belfer Hall 406
New York, New York 10033

Dear Leonard Mark Fuld:

SUBJECT: IRB EXEMPTION—REGULATORY OPINION
Investigator: Leonard Mark Fuld, BS, MBA, APC
Protocol Title: NOVICE JEWISH STUDIES TEACHER ATTRITION IN MODERN ORTHODOX JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

This is in response to your request for an exempt status determination for the above-referenced protocol. WCG IRB's IRB Affairs Department reviewed the study under the Common Rule and applicable guidance.

We believe the study is exempt under 45 CFR § 46.104(d)(2), because the research only includes interactions involving educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures, or observations of public behavior; and there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of data.

This exemption determination can apply to multiple sites, but it does not apply to any institution that has an institutional policy of requiring an entity other than WCG IRB (such as an internal IRB) to make exemption determinations. WCG IRB cannot provide an exemption that overrides the jurisdiction of a local IRB or other institutional mechanism for determining exemptions. You are responsible for ensuring that each site to which this exemption applies can and will accept WCG IRB's exemption decision.

WCG IRB's determination of an Exemption only applies to US regulations; it does not apply to regulations or determinations for research conducted outside of the US. Please discuss with the local IRB authorities in the country where this activity is taking place to determine if local IRB review is required.

Please note that any future changes to the project may affect its exempt status, and you may want to contact WCG IRB about the effect these changes may have on the exemption status before implementing them. WCG IRB does not impose an expiration date on its IRB exemption determinations.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

We're going to discuss your teaching experience and the reasons why you left the profession. I'm going to ask you a series of questions about these subjects and I encourage you tell me to explain any questions that need clarification. I'm here mostly to listen. You're the expert on your experiences, so I want to hear as much as possible directly from you.

A. Participant Background Information

1. To get started, please tell me about your education, training and religious background, leading up to the start of your teaching.
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. Where did you grow up?
        ii. Which schools did you attend and what were their religious affiliations, if any?
        iii. How would you describe your religious affiliation through today?
            1. While growing up?
            2. When you were a teacher?
        iv. Tell me about your college and grad education, including schools, degrees, concentration/major, grades.
        v. Please describe any teaching certificates or pre-employment teacher training you might have had.
    b. What motivated you to become a teacher?

2. Can you fill me in on what school(s) you worked in, and the subjects and grades you taught?
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. How long were you a teacher?
        ii. When and where did you teach?
        iii. How old were you when you started teaching?
        iv. When did you leave teaching?
3. Please describe your family situation/status during your teaching years?
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. Are you married and were you when you began teaching?
        ii. Did you marry before you left teaching?
        iii. Do you have any children?
        iv. If so, when did you have them in relation to your teaching years?

B. Attrition Factors

1. How were your working relationships with your colleagues in the school?
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. What kind of support did colleagues provide?
        ii. What was your relationship like with colleagues?
    b. Was there an induction program in your school for new teachers?
        i. Can you describe it?
        ii. Can you tell me if you found it beneficial and how so?
    c. Did you have a mentor and if so, can you describe how it worked and if it was positive?

2. Can you describe how things went in general with the school administration?
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. What kind of feedback did you receive on your performance?
        ii. What kind of guidance did you receive from the administration?
        iii. Did the administrators listen to you? How did you know?
        iv. What kind of support did you receive from the administration?
            1. For example, as a new teacher, were you provided with any of the following:
                a. Decreased teaching schedule or fewer preparations
                b. Shared planning time with colleagues in your subject
                c. Extra assistance, such as teacher aides
                d. Teacher training
3. How would you describe your workload during and outside of school hours?

Compensation

1. Please tell me about your compensation in the school(s) where you taught.
    a. How did you feel about your overall compensation?
        i. Fair, too high, too low?
    b. How was compensation determined for each teacher?
    c. What is your opinion about day school teacher compensation in general?
        i. How do you think it compares to public school teacher compensation?
2. Tell me your thoughts regarding teacher benefits beyond salary.
3. Were you entitled to:

a. insurance (health, dental, vision)
b. tuition break for children
c. parsonage – tax
d. child care
e. summer's off
f. holidays off
g. grants
h. other

4. What is your opinion about teacher bonus or merit pay?
    a. In what way might a bonus/merit pay system have induced you to stay?
5. How important was your compensation to your household's overall income?

Decision to Leave

1. Can you tell me about your decision to stop teaching?
    a. Can you tell me more about (any of these that were not covered)?
        i. What initially prompted you to contemplate leaving?
        ii. What ultimately persuaded you to actually leave?
        iii. How did your compensation impact your decision to leave?
            1. Did other financial considerations effect your decision?
            2. Did your spouse's/partner's income come into the equation?
            3. Did any other income sources or access to funds play a role in your decision?
        iv. Did being married and/or having a family impact your decision to leave?
            1. Did having a child(ren) bear on your decision?
            2. Do you think your gender impacted on your teaching experience?

3. In what ways do you believe a teacher's gender influences their opportunities?
4. What are your thoughts regarding teachers who were Rabbis with respect to such things as school advancement and compensation relative to non-Rabbi teachers?

v. Could anything have changed that would have led you to stay in teaching?

vi. Did the students' level of religious observance and commitment influence your decision?

vii. What are your thoughts as to whether your age affected your teaching career decision?

b. Recognizing that several factors may have influenced your decision to leave the profession, what would you suggest were the three principal factors that motivated your departure, ranked in order of descending importance?

Other

1. How did your pre-teaching expectations about teaching compare to reality?
2. Would anything make your return to teaching in a Modern Orthodox environment attractive?
3. Do you have regrets for having left the profession? Can you elaborate?
4. What recommendations would you make to day school senior administrators to improve novice teacher retention?

5. Do you have any other ideas or comments you'd like to provide regarding why newer teachers, in general, leave Modern Orthodox Jewish day schools?
6. Any other thoughts you'd like to share?

APPENDIX G

CODE LEXICON

Background		
Gender		Male/Female/Other
Age		Provide age
	Current	At the time of the interview
	Began teaching	At start of teaching career
Birthplace		Where born
Where raised		Descriptions of where participant grew up
Education		Descriptions of:
	Elementary	Name, location and type of school (religious affiliation)
	High School	Name, location and type of school (religious affiliation)
	College	Name, location and type of school
	Major	Major/area of concentration
	Minor	Secondary area of concentration
	Graduate	Name, location, degree and area of concentration
	Post-Graduate	Name, location, degree and area of concentration
	Education courses	Classes that focused on pedagogy
Summer Camp		Descriptions of type and experience
Religious Identification		Descriptions of your affiliation (e.g., Orthodox, Reform, Charedi, etc.)
	Childhood	
	While teaching	
Family Background		Descriptions of family dynamic, including any role models or teachers in the family
Pre-teaching Training		
	Seminars	Descriptions of pedagogical conferences
	Student teaching	Descriptions of student teaching experience
	Informal (e.g. NSCY, camp)	Descriptions of group coaching, instructions, etc.

Teaching		
	Why	Reasons for having chosen to teach
	Why Jewish Studies	Reasons for having chosen to teach Jewish Studies
	Why Orthodox JDS	Reasons for having chosen to teach at an Orthodox day school
	Subjects	Descriptions of Jewish studies subject matters
	Grades	What grade levels were taught
	Schools	Descriptions of schools (e.g., location, size, politics, culture, etc.)
	When	Provide dates taught at which schools
Status		
	Marital	
	When stared teaching	Married, single, other
	When left teaching	Married, single, other
	Children	
	When stared teaching	How many children, if any, in family
	When left teaching	How many children, if any, in family
	Spouse's profession	Description of occupation and significance of income to household
Why left teaching		Explain reasons for leaving profession
	Individual/Personal Factors	
	Salary	Descriptions of compensation and its role in re leave decision
	Merit pay	Descriptions of merit pay, if any, its role in re leave decision, and potential affect
	Benefits	Descriptions of benefits package and its role in re leave decision
	Age	Explanations of the factor and its importance to leave decision
	Gender	Explanations of the factor and its importance to leave decision
	Family	Descriptions of family status and its role in re leave decision
	Semicha	Explanations as to whether semicha affected teaching status and its role in re leave decision

Education	Descriptions of teacher's level and quality of education and its role in re leave decision
Licenses/Certificates	Explanations of the factor and its importance to leave decision
Unprepared for Classroom teaching	Explanations of the factor and its importance to leave decision
Religious Commitment	Explanations of the factor and its importance to leave decision
Aliyah	Descriptions of decision to make aliyah and its role in re leave decision
Contextual/School Factors	
Mentoring	Descriptions of availability and quality of mentoring and its role in re leave decision
Induction	Descriptions of availability and quality of induction program and its role in re leave decision
Administration Support	
Principal/Head of School	Descriptions of support provided and its role in re leave decision
Other Senior Administrators	Descriptions of support provided and its role in re leave decision
Workload	Descriptions of workloads and its role in re leave decision
Resources	Descriptions of available resources (e.g., technology, supplies) and its role in re leave decision
Collaboration	Descriptions of collegial collaboration and its role in re leave decision
Colleagues	Descriptions of social interactions and relationships with non-mentor coworkers
Stress	Descriptions of stress and its role in re leave decision
Burnout	Descriptions of burnout (e.g., lessened performance, creativity and productivity) and its role in re leave decision
Other	Descriptions any other factors leading to departure and their role in re leave decision

Parent Behavior	Descriptions of teacher interactions with student's parents
Student Behavior	Descriptions of teacher's interactions with students
Opportunities	Description of pursuits other career paths
General	
Initial impetus	Descriptions of factors that first caused thoughts of leaving
Primary factor	Descriptions of principal reason for leaving the teaching profession
Secondary factor	Descriptions of second most motivating factor for leaving the teaching profession
Tertiary factor	Descriptions of third most motivating factor for leaving the teaching profession
Other	
Prevent leaving	Descriptions of what factors could have averted departure from teaching
Return to teaching	Descriptions of factors could draw former teacher back to teaching
Why colleagues leave	Thoughts on why colleagues leave teaching