

JEWISH EDUCATION IN NEW YORK STATE

2022–2025

Matty Lichtenstein, PhD



Jewish Education in New York State 2022-2025

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Executive Summary

There are approximately 550 schools registered as “Jewish” in New York State. These schools serve students from a broad range of Jewish communities, from Yiddish-speaking children who rarely engage with outsiders to children who celebrate both Hannukah and Christmas. Despite their differences, Jewish schools share a commitment to raising and nourishing a new generation of proud American Jews. Yet current studies tell us little about these schools beyond basic administrative and Jewish identity data.

To address this gap, a team of 13 researchers, directed by Dr. Matty Lichtenstein, worked on an innovative, large-scale, mixed-methods data collection project on Jewish education, which unfolded in two parts:

1. We built a **comprehensive database of religious affiliation data** on all confirmed Jewish schools in the New York State Education Department (NYSED) dataset for 2022-2023. We cross-referenced this dataset with other public data to provide information on schools’ counties, student age, and student gender.
2. We highlighted the diversity and challenges of Jewish education through an in-depth qualitative **investigation of curricula in 171 grades across 85 New York Jewish schools**, representing the full spectrum of Jewish religious affiliation.

A snapshot of the schools:

- **544 Jewish schools** serve at least **180,914** students, including:
 - **36 Sephardic schools** (4.8% of total), serving **8,688** students, reflecting a community that has been entirely overlooked in previous reports.
 - **264 Hasidic schools** (49% of Jewish schools in New York State), serving at least **111,549** students (61% of all students in New York Jewish schools).
 - We identified the **specific sects of 232 (out of 264 total) Hasidic schools**, highlighting the cultural and educational variation within this group.
- Jewish school students make up **14%** of all (public and private) school students in New York City, **45%** in Rockland County, **25%** in Kings County, and **22%** in Orange County.
- At least **17 non-registered schools** serve ultra-Orthodox Jewish students in New York.

What the schools teach:

- Most Jewish schools seek to provide a **dual curriculum** of Jewish and secular education.
- Many Hasidic and some non-Hasidic all-male schools provide very limited secular education: **14 all-male high schools, and two K-12 schools, provide no secular studies.**
 - However, some Hasidic all-male high schools do provide secular curricula, and Hasidic special education students receive significantly more secular studies than students in mainstream Hasidic schools.
- **100%** of the surveyed all-female Hasidic schools, as well as all Modern Orthodox and Community schools of both genders, teach **math and English language arts.**
- More Hasidic schools teach social studies than teach science.

In sum, this report lays the groundwork for a new, mixed-methods, data-intensive approach to understanding Jewish education in New York. In doing so, it highlights the great diversity and the challenges across the entire spectrum of Jewish education in New York.

Introduction

In 2022-2023, there were 554 schools registered as “Jewish” in New York State, serving at least 180,914 students.¹ These schools serve a wide range of Jewish children, spanning those with minimal Jewish affiliation, whose parents prioritize white-collar professional success, to Yiddish-speaking children from communities that value religious devotion and reject much of secular culture. What unites these schools is a commitment to nurturing the next generation of Jewish adults who will navigate life in American society.

Despite their diverse ideologies and practices, existing studies tell us little about these schools beyond basic administrative and Jewish identity data. We do not know their specific religious affiliation or ethnic identity, educational norms, or the cultural and socioeconomic needs of the students they serve. We also lack information about the subjects students study and about the time the schools devote to teaching secular and Judaic education. We do not know if and how schools’ educational programming differs by the gender of students. Finally, most research tends to conflate Hasidic sects because of the paltry data on their educational or cultural differences, and there is no research on the growing number of Sephardic Jewish schools in New York.

The lack of nuanced information regarding these schools presents obstacles to Jewish educators, school administrators, and policymakers who seek to make informed decisions about school curricula, effectively educate students, and to understand how curricular norms vary throughout the Jewish world. This lack of information is also problematic for families seeking schools that best fit their personal, religious, and educational needs and aspirations. For families, choosing the “right” school is formative; schools are vital forms of socialization and educational legitimization across global society (Meyer 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1978). For Jews in particular, schools play a crucial role in Jewish families’ identities, and function as a way to enact their commitment to Jewish continuity (Chertok et al. 2007; Fishman and Goldstein 1993); alumni of Jewish day schools, for instance, are more likely than other Jewish young people to say they feel close with the Jewish community and to report that their Jewish identity “is very important to them” (Epstein 2025).

Jewish schools matter to more than just Jews. Jewish school students make up 13.9% of all (public and private school) New York City students, and 8.8% of all New York State students, as well as significant percentages of some counties (see Table 8).² Their educational attainments will shape their future contributions to Jewish and secular communities, the state’s taxpayer base, and their chosen professions. Moreover, and contrary to prevailing demographic trends toward declining birth rates, many of these Jewish schools serve Orthodox communities with high fertility rates, making them the fastest-growing segment of New York’s educational institutions.

¹ The number rose to 567 in 2023-2024 and then 583 in 2024-2025. For both years, these numbers do not necessarily reflect reality on the ground; we found that schools sometimes reported different divisions as separate schools and that some registered schools do not exist; however, we also found 17 non-registered schools in our research, as well as schools whose enrollment numbers appear underreported, based on interview data.

² The New York State Education Department (NYSED) provides annual databases of nonpublic schools and their religious affiliation, as well as enrollment, gender, and other administrative data, at <https://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/statistics/nonpublic/>. Public school enrollment data is available for New York State at <https://data.nysed.gov/> and New York City at <https://www.schools.nyc.gov/about-us/reports/doe-data-at-a-glance>, all accessed 07/15/2025. Together this data allows us to calculate the percentages provided here. Note that there may be some students that are not included in these lists, such as charter school students, and that Jewish school students are likely underreported.

As a significant—and growing—minority in the state, students of Jewish schools, and the education they receive, matter not only to Jewish communities, but to stakeholders across New York, including policy makers and education officials.

This report seeks to fill these knowledge gaps by documenting the results of two simultaneous data collection efforts. First, we collected data on the curricula of 171 grades across 85 Jewish schools, gleaned through interviews with school employees and close relatives of currently or recently enrolled students. These data allow us to analyze and compare how much time schools devote to secular and Jewish education, including time devoted to prayer, and to chart the range of curricular norms among schools from across the religious spectrum.

Second, we researched the specific religious affiliation of every Jewish school in New York, using categories such as Sephardic, Modern Orthodox, Community, or Hasidic—documenting the specific sect when possible. Based on this data, we created a comprehensive and validated dataset of all 544 Jewish schools whose existence we confirmed, which details each school’s religious affiliation, the gender of the students served (male, female, mixed), enrollment numbers, and location. This enables us to show how distinct types of religious schools are distributed by county and by student gender across New York State. The dataset both builds on and corrects errors in existing datasets, and includes schools that other datasets omit or mis-categorize.

Our research includes the following key findings:

Hasidic schools dominate the New York Jewish educational landscape, though there is variation among Hasidic schools’ cultural and educational norms. We also identify 36 distinctly Sephardic schools, highlighting the growth of New York’s Sephardic communities, whose cultural and ethnic distinctions have long been overlooked in American Jewish research on community and education. In that way, the project joins other efforts across the Jewish world to attend to, highlight, and visualize the Sephardic experience.³

Through an in-depth qualitative and quantitative data analysis of curricula in Jewish education, we highlight the diversity and challenges of Jewish educational institutions in New York. In particular, we find that all-female schools—including Hasidic and Litvish (ultra-Orthodox non-Hasidic) schools—as well as mixed-gender non-Orthodox (Community) and Modern Orthodox schools seek to provide a balanced and potentially challenging program of Jewish and secular studies. In contrast, although Hasidic all-male schools vary in their curricula, the vast majority of Hasidic schools provide no secular studies whatsoever in kindergarten and first grade or grades 9-12, and provide only limited secular studies in grades 2-8. Coupled with our data showing that nearly all these Hasidic schools serve boys whose primary language is Yiddish, these findings prompt concern about whether graduates are adequately prepared to join the broader American workforce, given a deficit in English communication skills and foundational knowledge in science, history, and mathematics, which are educational expectations for their peers across New York.

These distinct, gendered differences in education are important for many reasons, especially because Hasidic schools comprise a growing majority of all Jewish schools in New York, and because the consequences of such under-preparation can threaten the financial stability

³ See for example: <https://www.jimena.org/>; <https://pjllibrary.org/beyond-books/sephardic-stories-initiative>, accessed 7/15/2025.

of young Hasidic men and their families (YAFFED 2025).⁴ However, our report also shows that some Hasidic high schools do in fact provide limited secular education, and that the schools vary in the specific subjects they offer and hours spent teaching them. These findings belie the common notion, promoted by media coverage of this issue, that Hasidic schools are all similarly opposed to any substantive secular education (Shapiro, Rosenthal, and Markowitz 2022).

In sum, this report lays the groundwork for a new, mixed-methods, data-intensive approach to understanding Jewish education in New York. In doing so, it highlights the great diversity of schools and curricula across the spectrum of Jewish institutions in New York, where the largest number of Jewish schools in the United States are concentrated.

In the remainder of this report, we will first describe the methods used in our two simultaneous data collection projects. We will then describe key findings of the curricular data collection project, followed by the main findings of the religious affiliation data collection project. We will also explain errors in existing research on Jewish education that our project corrects and conclude with suggestions for further research that builds on the data infrastructure we have developed for this report.

Existing Research

Existing datasets provide only limited data on Jewish schools, their students, and their needs. The New York State Education Department (NYSED) produces an annual list of nonpublic schools categorized by broad religious affiliation, such as Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Muslim. However, this limited administrative dataset does not reflect the vast cultural and socioeconomic differences within Jewish society.

A recent report by the Teach Coalition, an organization that seeks to advance sustainable Jewish education, identified more specific religious affiliations of the NYSED-listed Jewish schools (Aaronson and Kiwala 2023). But it did so only in rough outlines, such as determining whether a school is Hasidic, or co-ed or single-gender Orthodox. Though useful for its illuminating investigation of long-term enrollment trends, the report's broad-level analysis does not capture the nuances of distinct religious identities.

The AVI CHAI Foundation, before it shut down funding in 2019, issued five independent national surveys of Orthodox schools; while important, this data does not map onto the educational information reported to NYSED⁵ and thus is not applicable to

Contributors

The project was conceived and directed by Dr. Matty Lichtenstein, a professor of sociology at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.

A team of 13 researchers assisted in data collection. An additional 11 people provided Jewish affiliation data on schools. Much of the foundational data cleaning and analysis for this report on religious affiliation was conducted by the project data manager (and one of the 13 researchers) Israel Edery, a research specialist at the University of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Rachel Somerstein, an associate professor of journalism at SUNY New Paltz, provided editorial assistance. Dr. Pearl Beck, a Jewish community researcher, contributed advice throughout the entire arc of the project.

Most expenses for this project were covered by funding from Young Advocates for Fair Education (YAFFED). YAFFED is an advocacy group that focuses on improving secular education in Hasidic yeshivas. Despite its work as an advocacy group, YAFFED leaders respected the academic independence of the researchers and were not involved in data collection, analysis, or in the writing of the final report.

⁴ The author of this report had no involvement with the YAFFED 2025 report.

⁵ AVI CHAI does not use identifying information that helps organize NYSED data, like institutional ID numbers, which make it far easier to ascertain that schools are currently open and registered. The schools are self-reported to

our New York-specific research objectives (Besser 2020). Moreover, AVI CHAI does not release its data, precluding transparent and open access to information that can help parents, educators, and policymakers make decisions about how to improve educational services.

Last, and importantly, none of these datasets specifically accounts for Sephardic or distinct Hasidic sects, thus overlooking significant cultural and social differences among the schools and the communities they serve.⁶

Data Sources and Methods

This report describes findings from two distinct data collection projects:

Jewish School Curricula: Methodology

To obtain curricular data on schools, we interviewed people with direct and current connections to schools. These included teachers, administrators, and other school employees; parents or close adult relatives of currently registered students; and recent adult graduates, if they were able to provide data on curricula from no earlier than a year before the interview. While we would have preferred to systematically and randomly sample every sub-type of religious schools, this was not possible for two reasons: 1) Until we published our dataset on religious affiliation in this report, comprehensive data on the religious affiliation of New York Jewish schools did not exist, so it was not possible to prospectively sample them. 2) Schools that represent culturally-insulated communities, like Hasidic and Litvish communities, are unlikely to respond to a researcher cold-calling them for survey responses; doing so would lead to a low response rate from the communities that make up the great majority of Jewish schools. We therefore used convenience sampling, but we ensured that we selected sufficient numbers of each type of school so that our sample is relatively proportionate to the kinds of Jewish schools that exist throughout the state. Specifically, we intentionally over-selected interviews about Hasidic and Litvish schools, to reflect their disproportionate numbers in the population of Jewish schools in New York. (See *Table 2. Schools interviewed by affiliation* in the findings section for more details.)

To reach these interviewees, we rigorously trained 13 researchers with connections to school employees and student family members. Between late winter 2023 and spring 2025, researchers successfully interviewed 72 subjects, following a written protocol to ensure consistent and reliable responses. Interviewees were granted absolute confidentiality, with ID numbers used in place of names. From these 72 interviews, we obtained comprehensive information on curricula for 171 total grades drawn from 85 Jewish schools. Some interviewees were qualified to speak about multiple grades and schools. Although the total number of interviewed grades exceeded 171, during the data review and cleaning process, we excluded

the survey, and AVI CHAI only counts 437 Jewish day schools in New York (as of the latest 2019 data), while NYSED counts 554 in 2022. We suspect that this discrepancy is partly a matter of how schools are registered in New York – i.e. they may register elementary and preschool grades separately with NYSED but AVI CHAI data combines them. It's also possible that AVI CHAI simply missed some schools.

⁶ There are also other studies on Jewish education in New York and elsewhere that provide interesting but insufficient information on this issue. These include Matty Lichtenstein on religious school advocacy (Lichtenstein 2022); the YAFFED study of Jewish education in New York (2017); and some studies of ultra-Orthodox education in Israel (Perry-Hazan, Barak-Corren, and Nachmani 2024). These studies, while important, are limited both methodologically and substantively—they are studies of only ultra-Orthodox schools, and do not capture the diversity of the Jewish educational spectrum in New York.

interview data if too many data points were missing.⁷ (See Table 9 in Appendix A for the number of grade-specific interviews by Jewish affiliation and gender.)

Each grade functions as its own unit of analysis, with data on subjects, as well as time spent on secular and Jewish studies. We calculated daily modal hours and weekly total hours for secular and Jewish studies for every grade. For the purposes of analyzing the data effectively, we divided the grades into the following groupings: grades K-1, 2-5, 6-8, and 9-12. (See Table 10 in Appendix A for a breakdown of grade groupings by Jewish affiliation). We analyzed them by gender and religious affiliation, using a mixture of Python and Excel functions, to investigate variation in educational norms. We had 16 duplicate interviews (of the same grade in the same school), which often had slight variations in the data. For such duplicate cases, we either averaged the difference or reviewed the data to assess which was the more reliable source. We also integrated available data from NYSED, such as the NYSED-issued SEDREF datasets, which include addresses and other data points on schools,⁸ as well as other public data sources. This allowed us to analyze geographic variations in our sample, and to estimate student populations, among other analyses.

To address concerns that we were skewing our results by including multiple grades from the same school in the same grade grouping—for instance, grades 2, 3, and 4 from the same school—we conducted a secondary analysis where we removed all but one grade from the same school in that grade grouping, if the curricula taught was identical. Upon reanalyzing the data, however, we did not find that including multiple grades from the same grade grouping impacted our findings significantly. As a result, we retained our original analysis, which accounts for all of the data reported to us.

Jewish School Affiliation: Methodology

To determine schools' Jewish affiliation, we circulated an Excel file listing all Jewish schools in the 2022-2023 NYSED dataset⁹ to 21 researchers, and asked them to identify the schools' religious affiliation based on their personal knowledge. A researcher's determination that a school is "Modern Orthodox," for instance, counts as a single vote. We then combined these files and assessed them for validity. We checked for conflicting data and reviewed the number of votes each school received—that is, the determination of religious affiliation researchers provided for each school. Two matching votes were generally considered sufficient for data validation, as was direct information from the school (either via school websites or by phone interview). Teach Coalition data also counted as one vote. Any instances of conflicting religious affiliation were highlighted for further validation, which we obtained by triangulating with other sources, including school websites or other online materials provided by the school, or by calling schools for confirmation.

Assessing the gender of the students served by each school posed particular challenges. NYSED data identifies the gender of students attending a given school by noting the number of male, female, or non-binary students in each grade. We sought to identify the primary gender of

⁷ We also made informed estimates for some schools, if minimal data was missing. For example, for some Hasidic high school interviews, we were missing information on breaks. Based on other interviews that did provide this data, we conservatively estimated at least 2 hours worth of study breaks for a Hasidic high school, including 45 minutes for lunch, 1 hour for prayer and 15 minutes for other breaks. We also estimated grades for Hasidic schools who did not have grade data, or did not use standard grade systems.

⁸ See <https://www.oms.nysed.gov/sedref/home.html>, accessed 7/15/2025

⁹ See <https://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/statistics/nonpublic/> and <https://www.oms.nysed.gov/sedref/home.html>, accessed 7/15/2025.

the entire school, as either all-female (1), all-male (2), or mixed-gender (3). We extracted this information from the NYSED data, but when we compared the NYSED data to Teach Coalition data we found 42 schools where NYSED and Teach Coalition data conflicted regarding enrolled students' gender.

We revisited each school to double check the enrolled students' gender. We found that in 35 instances, NYSED categorized schools with mixed-gender Pre-K programs as co-ed even if the remaining grades were single gender. By contrast, Teach Coalition generally identified these schools as single-gender, as there were significantly more students of one gender in the older grades than in the younger grades. We generally agreed with Teach Coalition's approach, identifying those schools as single gender, and noting in the dataset that the pre-schools are co-ed. We resolved other conflicts on a case-by-case basis, which sometimes meant overriding NYSED designations that were seemingly erroneous. (See "errors" section.) Finally, we could not independently verify the religious affiliation for four schools, so we used Teach Coalition's designations of Hasidic for those.

Based on this data, we were able to cross-reference religious affiliation with county data, to ascertain where different types of religious schools are most concentrated. Once we updated and corrected for errors in gender in the NYSED dataset, we analyzed data by gender, which is important given that some groups have distinct educational requirements and cultural expectations for girls and boys; meanwhile, mixed-gender schools, beyond pre-school, are only administered under Modern Orthodox and non-Orthodox auspices. We also integrated NYSED grade data to show what grades each school serves.

School Categories

We used the following designations across both datasets—religious affiliation and curricular data—to categorize Jewish schools.

- **Community.** These schools serve children from a range of Jewish backgrounds, including non-observant families. Some have predominantly Orthodox leadership; others do not. Curricula integrate Jewish content and Hebrew-language skills.
- **Conservative.** Schools inspired by the tenets of Conservative Judaism that often serve children from a range of religious backgrounds, from families who observe many Jewish traditions to those with minimal religious engagement. We definitively identified only two schools as Conservative in the NYSED list of New York Jewish schools, and we did not collect curricular data on these schools.
- **Hasidic.** These schools serve Hasidic communities, which tend to be centered around devotion to a Rebbe (spiritual leader), strict observance of Jewish law, and a range of unique cultural and social norms. Secular studies are usually emphasized less than in other types of Jewish schools, especially for boys. While many Hasidic schools are associated with a specific Hasidic sect, some Hasidic schools serve a mix of Hasidic families, or families that see themselves as generally Hasidic, who aren't affiliated with a specific sect.
- **Litvish.** This is the category that surveys like AVI CHAI refer to as "Yeshiva world." However, we believe "Litvish," which means Lithuanian in Yiddish, is a more historically accurate term, one commonly used within the community, to describe this broadly ultra-Orthodox, but non-Hasidic, segment of Orthodox Jewish society in the United States. Schools in this category adhere to a strict definition of Jewish law as interpreted by

scholarship derived from Lithuanian yeshivas; revere Talmudic scholars in the Lithuanian tradition and heads of Lithuanian or Litvish-style yeshivas; and tend to offer a mix of secular and Jewish studies. There is, however, usually more emphasis on religious studies in boys' schools, especially high schools. College attendance is more common than in Hasidic communities. Although strongly supportive of the state of Israel, they are not generally Zionist in ideology in the manner of Modern Orthodox schools. They also have much stricter dress codes, similar to Hasidic schools.¹⁰

- **Modern Orthodox.** These schools follow traditional Orthodox interpretations of Jewish law and promote deep beliefs in religious Zionism and a connection to the state of Israel. Compared to Hasidic and Litvish communities, Modern Orthodox Jews are usually more liberal about social and academic gender mixing, and they exhibit more openness to secular culture and norms. These schools place a strong emphasis on secular studies and have high college attendance rates, with their graduates far more likely to attend secular colleges than those from other types of Orthodox schools.¹¹
- **Reform.** Schools inspired by the tenets of Reform Judaism that serve children from a range of religious backgrounds. There is only one school that we could definitively identify as Reform in the NYSED list, and we did not collect curricular data on this school.
- **Sephardic.** These schools specifically serve members of Sephardic (also known as Mizrahi) communities, who generally descend from communities among a range of countries in the Middle East and North Africa. They follow traditions distinct from Ashkenazi Jews, who constitute the great majority of the schools in the other categories. Most of the communities that these schools represent adhere to Orthodox interpretations of Jewish law, with a special focus on the rulings of Sephardic authorities. Many of the schools in this dataset serve Syrian communities, but others serve Bukharian, Persian, and other Sephardic Jews. Note that Sephardic Jews also attend non-Sephardic schools.
- **Other.** This category covers a mix of schools that do not fit the other categories well; seven of them are religious outreach schools, which focus on increasing religious observance of their students.
- **Special education.** In recent decades, as federal and state funding has increased for education for children with differing abilities, new schools have been established to serve these populations. Many of these schools serve ultra-Orthodox communities, but some serve Modern Orthodox or Sephardic communities, or students from a range of Jewish backgrounds.

Hasidic Sect

We provided a sub-category of religious affiliation for Hasidic schools: Hasidic sect. We did so because of variations among sects' religious and social practices, as well as the range of

¹⁰ A specific breakdown would distinguish between the more religious "Yeshivish" versus centrist Litvish, with many Yeshivish all-boys yeshiva high schools offering a much more limited secular studies program. However, we did not collect such a granular level of Litvish religious affiliation data in this report. Similarly, we did not collect data on specific types of Sephardic schools.

¹¹ The AVI CHAI foundation report distinguishes between Modern Orthodox and Centrist Orthodox, which this report does not. As the author of the latest report (2018-2019) notes, however, the category of Centrist Orthodoxy has largely faded away, with such schools generally now viewed as either more centrist Litvish or Modern Orthodox schools (Besser 2020).

their educational and curricular norms. We identified each school’s Hasidic sect where possible. If the school serves either a mix of families from distinct Hasidic sects, or Jews who identify as generally Hasidic, without a specific Hasidic designation, we identify the school as “mixed Hasidic.”

Findings on New York Jewish Schools: Geographic Clustering and Students Served

Hasidic schools dominate Jewish schools in New York, both in number of schools and in students enrolled. This dominance emerges in our findings, shown in Table 1 and Figure 1, which show the 544 schools for which we confirmed Jewish affiliation.¹² Litvish schools follow distantly behind, with Modern Orthodox schools, Sephardic schools, and special education schools (many for ultra-Orthodox students) next. These schools serve 180,914 students, a number we drew from NYSED data and which is likely an underestimate, due to underreporting we confirmed at several schools.¹³

Our interview sample on curricula for 171 grades in 85 schools, as shown in Table 2 and Figure 2, reflects these proportions. Hasidic schools (45.9 percent) and Litvish schools (25.9 percent) are in the lead; Modern Orthodox (14.12%) and (4.71%) Community schools are slightly over-represented, because we wanted to ensure that we collected data on a variety of schools within each category, including the smaller ones. We also sought, with varying degrees of success considering the nature of the sampling method, to interview subjects with information on a broad range of grades and genders. (See Appendix A, Tables 9, 10, and 11, for more details on the gender and grade range in every religious affiliation studied.)

Table 1. Sum and percentage of New York State schools and enrollment, by Jewish affiliation

Jewish Affiliation	Total Schools	Percent Schools	Student Enrollment	Percent Enrollment
Chabad Community	6	1.10%	513	0.28%
Community	17	3.13%	4,394	2.43%
Conservative	2	0.37%	674	0.37%
Hasidic	264	48.53%	111,549	61.66%
Modern Orthodox	46	8.46%	15,094	8.34%
Other	11	2.02%	1,571	0.87%
Reform	1	0.18%	319	0.18%
Sephardic	36	6.62%	8,688	4.80%
Litvish	129	23.71%	33,039	18.26%
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)	6	1.10%	3,480	1.92%
Special Education	26	4.78%	1,593	0.88%
Total	544	100.00%	180,914	100.00%

¹² See “Errors, Survey Conflicts, and Resolution” section on the schools we found that were either closed or non-Jewish. See also Note 1 above for more information on the number of schools and students.

¹³ This enrollment estimate is higher than the Teach Coalition estimate of 177,252 students enrolled in Jewish schools in 2021, in part due to natural growth, and in part because we included the small number of “ungraded” students that were not assigned a specific grade, which Teach Coalition did not (Aaronson and Kiwala 2023: 8). These students were sometimes enrolled at special education schools that do not use standard grades.

Figure 1. Jewish schools, by affiliation

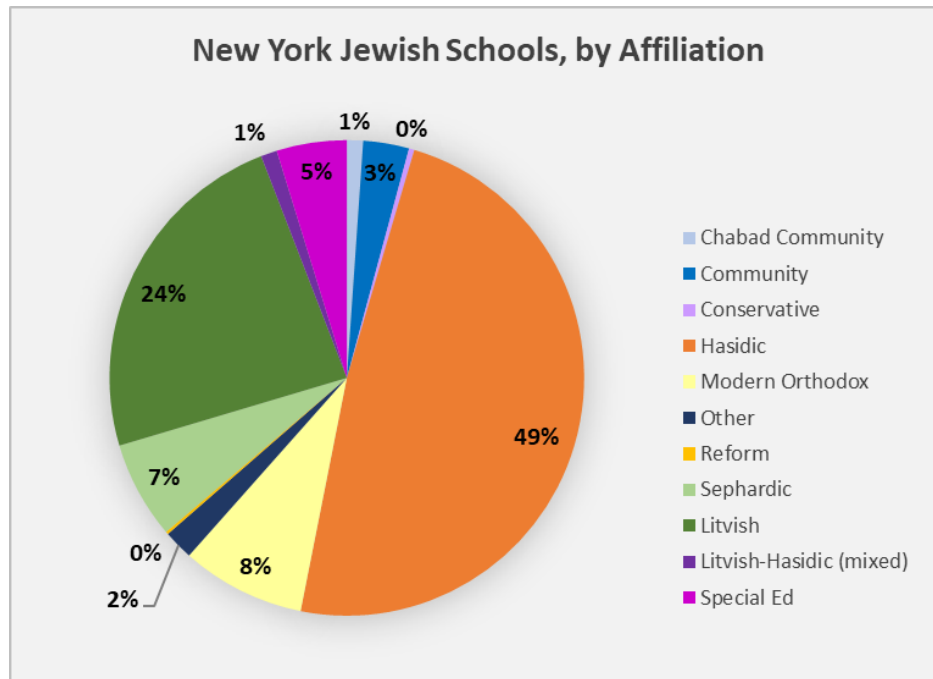


Table 2. Schools interviewed, by affiliation

Jewish Affiliation	Schools Interviewed	Percent
Community	4	4.71%
Hasidic	39	45.88%
Litvish	22	25.88%
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)	1	1.18%
Modern Orthodox	12	14.12%
Sephardic	3	3.53%
Special Ed	4	4.71%
Total	85	100.00%

Figure 2. Schools interviewed, by affiliation

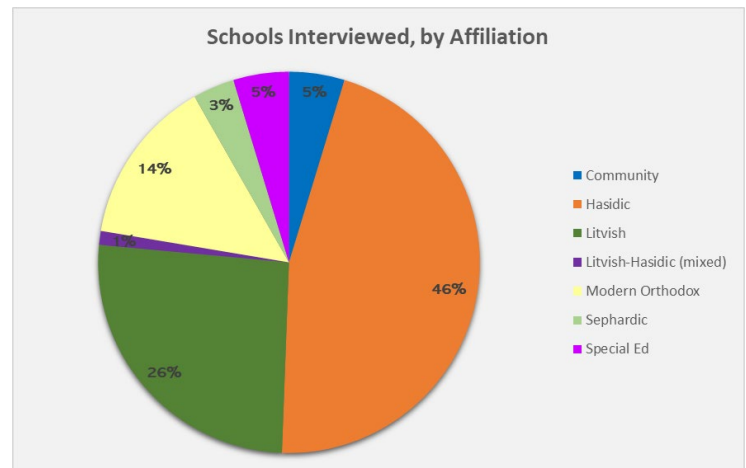


Table 3. Schools interviewed, by county

County	Interviewed Schools	Percent
Bronx	1	1.18%
Kings	44	51.76%
Nassau	5	5.88%
New York	3	3.53%
Onondaga	1	1.18%
Orange	7	8.24%
Queens	4	4.71%
Richmond	1	1.18%
Rockland	15	17.65%
Sullivan	3	3.53%
Westchester	1	1.18%
Total	85	100.00%

As shown in Table 3, the geographic spread of our interview sample corresponds with actual Jewish schools' concentrations in New York (see Table 8 below): 52% of the schools in the interview sample are in Kings County, similar to the 50% of the full NYSED population located in Kings; 18% of the interview sample is in Rockland, closely reflecting 20% of the NYSED dataset locates schools there too. Kings, Rockland, and Orange Counties were also the counties, in both our research and in the NYSED data, with the highest proportion of Hasidic schools.

Unfortunately, we do not have full information about how many students are represented by the interviews on curricula, because NYSED had no student data on 29 of these 171 grades. We know that the data correspond to the educational experiences of at least 6,415 students, of whom 2,454 (38%) attend Hasidic schools, 1,369 (21%) attend Litvish schools, and 1,867 (29%) attend Modern Orthodox schools. Again, because we're missing so much student population data, these numbers are likely significant underestimates, particularly for the Hasidic and Litvish schools. The Modern Orthodox numbers are also higher, proportionally, than expected for our sample, possibly because these schools are more likely to accurately report enrollment, given their ideological commitment to engaging with the secular and Jewish worlds.

Findings on School Curricula: Diversity and Divergence

Most Jewish schools, from Community to Hasidic girls' schools, offer a dual curriculum for all or most grades. These schools' curricula reflect the dual and sometimes competing expectations endemic to educating Jewish young people and socializing them into their Jewish identities: learning how and what it means to be a Jew; engaging in Jewish history, texts, and law; acquiring reading, writing, and speaking skills in Hebrew language; and developing skills in critical thinking, math, science, and English-language reading and writing.

Hasidic and Litvish Schools

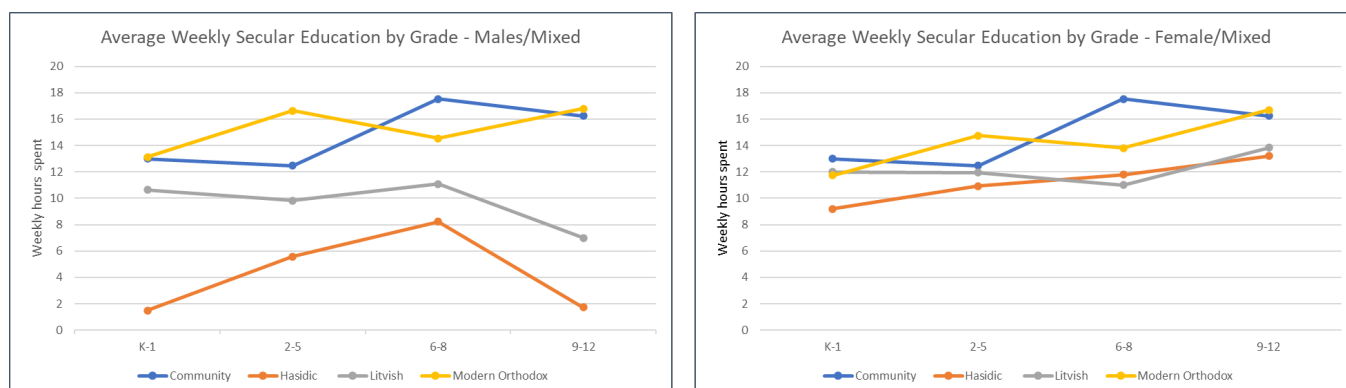
Hasidic all-male schools are an exception. Although they provide secular and Judaic curricula in most elementary education (roughly grades 2-7, though it varies by school), many do

not provide any secular studies in kindergarten or high school. In fact, at least two Hasidic schools—Satmar Bloomingburg in Orange County and Oholei Torah in Kings County—provide no secular studies to students of any age.¹⁴ In addition, we found that the primary language for most Hasidic students—in 56 of 59 all-male Hasidic grades in our study—is Yiddish. This means that students with already limited literacy are receiving minimal to no literacy education. The lack of secular education creates potential obstacles to Hasidic students’ skill development, resulting in fewer opportunities for economic mobility. As shown in a recent report, which uses a representative sample to analyze economic outcomes in Hasidic communities, Hasidic men have lower levels of English language proficiency, lower median income, and higher rates of under-employment than non-Hasidic men (YAFFED 2025).

Such data are emblematic of a significant cultural issue: the gendering of education. While Community and Modern Orthodox schools usually mix male and female students (although Modern Orthodox schools are sometimes single-gender, and even the mixed-gender Modern Orthodox schools may offer some subjects separately), Hasidic and Litvish schools are typically gender-segregated. These separately-gendered schools reflect the communities’ strongly gendered social roles. Torah study in particular is seen as a uniquely male obligation, which impacts the curricula that the schools offer to boys and girls, respectively. Girls, in contrast, are expected to learn just enough Judaic studies to enable them to be proficient in Jewish practice and the meanings behind the practices, as part of their obligation to transmit meaningful Jewish values to their (future) children.

The gendered expectations of educational achievement in Hasidic and Litvish schools are particularly evident in the older grades. Among older students in Hasidic and Litvish all-male schools, time spent on Jewish studies significantly increases and time devoted to secular studies decreases quite steeply, as can be seen in Figures 3-4 for secular studies and Figures 5-6 for Jewish studies. (Because most Modern Orthodox and all Community schools are mixed gender, it would not make sense to compare single-gender Hasidic schools to only single-gender Modern Orthodox schools, as the latter are relatively rare and not representative among Modern Orthodox communities. We therefore included mixed schools—albeit representing only Modern Orthodox and Community schools—and single-gender schools in the analysis below.)

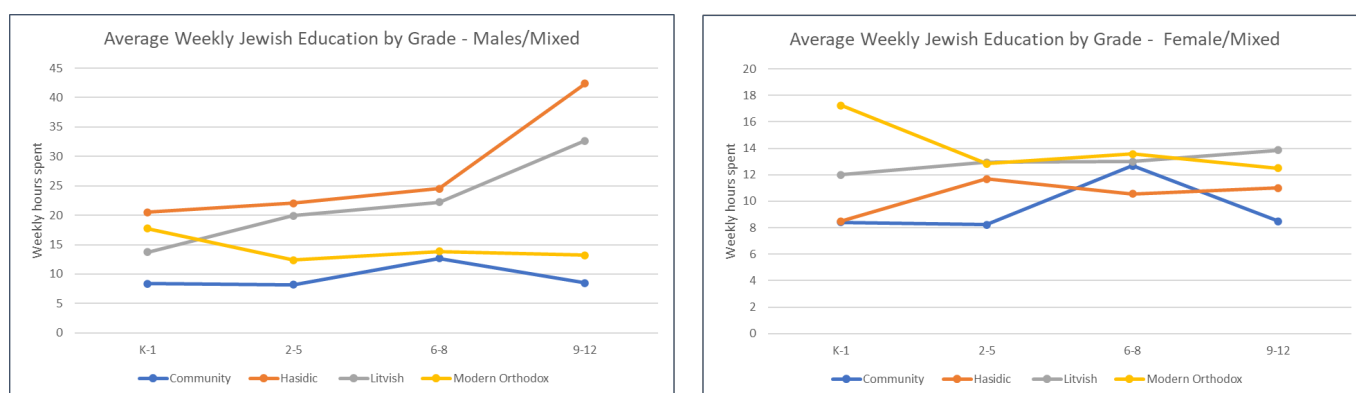
Figures 3 and 4. Comparison of average weekly secular education, by grade, gender, affiliation



¹⁴ We received data on Mosdos Satmar Bloomingburg as part of our data collection project. The curriculum in Oholei Torah in Brooklyn is documented in the New York City Chancellor letter to the school dated June 30, 2023, in which the school was reported as providing no substantive secular education and was deemed non-equivalent (Hakimi 2023; Shapiro and Rosenthal 2023; original letter in author private collection).

In contrast, female students in Hasidic and Litvish schools gradually increase the time spent on secular studies in the older grades, which is in line with what we might expect for increasing academic expectations among students at any educational institution—and what we see among Modern Orthodox schools for both male and female students,¹⁵ as well as the more commonly mixed-gender Modern Orthodox schools. This should be contextualized by data we analyzed separately on the length of the average day: The Hasidic school days tend to be longer, with correspondingly longer breaks, such as an hour or longer for a lunch break and for morning prayers and breakfast. By contrast, girls' Hasidic schools generally provide only a half-hour for lunch, as part of an overall shorter school day—one more in line with both non-Jewish and Jewish institutions.

Figures 5 and 6. Comparison of average weekly Jewish education, by grade, gender, affiliation



Special education schools are the exception to the lack of secular education for boys—including those that serve Hasidic students. These schools, for which we interviewed individuals linked to eight grades, based at four unique schools, devote an average of 16 hours per week to secular studies for students in grades 9-12. That's even higher than the number of hours Modern Orthodox or Community schools devote to secular studies for students of the same ages.

This finding further supports an argument in a previous publication (by this report author): that the hyper-focus on religious studies in Hasidic schools is not primarily about cultural insulation (Lichtenstein 2022). If it were, the girls' schools would also avoid secular studies. Instead, the intense focus on Judaic studies is a function of the community's goal to create a specifically male religious leadership steeped in Torah study. Girls and educationally-challenged boys are not seen as future community leaders, and so they paradoxically receive better quality secular education, rather than immersive religious studies. In the Hasidic world, because secular education is seen as less valuable, it is permissible only for students seen as less capable—not for young men viewed as future spiritual leaders of their society.

Ultimately, these different educational expectations mean that Hasidic women are more able to engage with tasks ranging from entry level employment to interfacing with secular actors like doctors or government agencies—capacities that, disproportionately, their male counterparts lack. Yet existing research demonstrates that Hasidic women are employed at lesser rates than

¹⁵ Note that there is a slight decrease in time spent on secular studies for Modern Orthodox schools between grades 2-5 and grades 6-8; this is largely because of a particularly high reported number of hours for secular education in grade 4 at Yeshiva of Flatbush. Because this is a small sample with only 2 interviewed grades for the grades 2-5 category of Modern Orthodox schools, this somewhat skews the analysis.

non-Hasidic women, which means that their families do not necessarily benefit from the full financial potential of their capabilities and education (YAFFED 2025).

The consequences of the lack of secular education or preparation in English language are significant for Hasidic men and Hasidic families, as evidenced both by the YAFFED (2025) report and by the interviews we conducted. For instance, Hasidic male median income is 30% lower than comparable non-Hasidic men, and nearly 40% of Hasidic families receive food stamps, compared to 15% of non-Hasidic families (YAFFED 2025: 6, 22), a result of factors including underemployment, lack of skills for more-remunerative work, and large families. As one interviewee for this project, a father of multiple children, reported: after Hasidic men graduate yeshiva and marry, “everyone runs for social services—food stamps, Section 8. Whatever the state gives. After they get married, they can do *kollel* [adult full-time Torah study]—many of them do that because they don’t have any skills for jobs. Yeshivas claim they’re educating all these people to be rabbis. What’s the US going to do with a million rabbis?” This participant, who works as a taxi driver and whose native language is Yiddish, noted, “I am not educated enough to even work in Walmart.” Because he does not make enough money to support his family, he supplements his work as a cab driver with government aid, and “running to every *chaluka* (free aid distribution)—wherever they [sic] giving things for free, I will get it!”

Modern Orthodox and Community Schools

Modern Orthodox and Community schools’ curricula differ greatly from Hasidic schools, reflecting differences in culture and socioeconomic aspirations. Modern Orthodox schools, for instance, showed higher numbers of hours devoted to secular studies than even Community schools do in some grades, which indicates a strong focus on secular education even as they are also devoted to Jewish studies. To some degree, that may be because many of these schools are serving families who expect their children to attain high levels of professional success. Such schools function similarly to other private, competitive high schools; their students seek a similar level of secular educational achievement, in the hopes of gaining access to competitive colleges and the social and economic success they believe such an education will bring.

At the same time, Modern Orthodox schools spend consistently more time than Community schools on all Jewish studies, across all grades. In fact, within the two quite different Modern Orthodox schools we examined, first graders spend an average of 17.75 hours on Jewish Studies each week—4.6 hours more than they spend on secular studies. These two schools may be outliers due to the small sample size, or they may reflect a wider trend of Modern Orthodox schools providing a stronger foundation in Jewish studies in younger grades.

How Students Spend Their Days

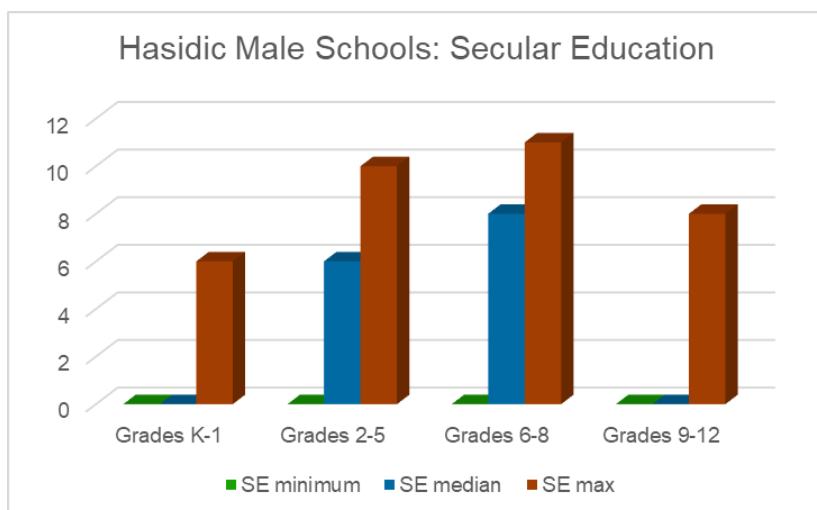
Hasidic all-male high schools have the longest day, coming in at around 10 hours on average, on both Jewish and secular education, as well as prayer time. Litvish all-male high schools follow, with an average day of around 9 hours (this time does not include breaks, which make the day even longer). Modern Orthodox schools vary by grade, but their high schools last between 6.5 and 7.25 hours per day. Unsurprisingly, younger grades across all school types tend to have shorter days.

How is the day spent in schools across the religious spectrum? Variation in how schools balance secular and Judaic education is brought into especially stark relief when we compare the

minimum, median, and maximum number of hours students spend learning Judaic and secular subjects. Specifically, we sought to show the lowest, highest, and median number of hours schools spend on secular and Jewish studies, for each religious group and each grade grouping. Across all grades, Hasidic all-male schools have a minimum of zero hours of secular instruction, something that does not occur in any other type of Jewish school. We found that 19 high school grades (based at 12 Hasidic all-male high schools, out of the 15 Hasidic all-male high schools we researched), as well as three K-1 (out of 8 total Hasidic all-male K-1 grades), offer zero hours of secular studies. The median number of hours offered by these youngest and oldest grades was also zero; see Figure 7 for a visual representation of the minimum, median, and maximum hours offered in Hasidic all-male schools, by grade.

In total, 24 grades at 19 schools that serve Hasidic male students from K-12 do not offer any secular studies whatsoever. Of these, only one school enrolls students who primarily speak English. In the other 18 schools, Yiddish is the primary spoken language. Consequently, the students are, culturally and linguistically, foreigners in their native land, and learn few basic skills to function in it.

Figure 7. Minimum, median, maximum hours of secular education at Hasidic all-male schools



We see a somewhat different pattern among all-male Litvish high schools; of the three in the study sample, one interviewee reported no secular studies, as did the interviewee for the one Litvish-Hasidic school in our sample. These findings are in strong contrast to all other types of schools, whether female Hasidic or Modern Orthodox mixed-gender, none of which reported zero hours of secular education. Table 4 shows one piece of this larger data analysis: the minimum hours spent on secular education in grades 9-12, by religious affiliation and gender, in grades for which we obtained data; “count” refers to the number of grades that provide this minimum number of hours. These findings help to conclusively demonstrate that for K-1 and high school grades, most Hasidic schools in our sample provide little to no secular education.

Note, however, that five grades (based at three unique all-male Hasidic schools) do offer 6-8 hours a week of secular studies, indicating a degree of diversity even within insular communities that may be indistinguishable to outsiders. Importantly, this finding indicates that it is not inherent to Hasidic socialization to refuse any secular education.

Table 4. Minimum secular education hours (weekly) in grades 9-12, by affiliation, gender

Grade 9-12	SE minimum	Total grades
Hasidic Female	12.5	4
Litvish Female	11.75	1
Community Mixed	16.25	1
Modern Orthodox Mixed	15.5	2
Hasidic Male	0	17
Litvish Male	0	1

Subjects Taught

Subjects taught vary by religious affiliation and by school, sometimes in surprising ways. Hasidic and Litvish all-female schools, as well as Modern Orthodox schools of every gender, teach English language arts (reading and writing), math, science, and social studies (which includes history, geography, civics, and politics) across every school in every grade, from grade 2 to 12. Litvish and Hasidic all-male schools vary subjects taught by grade range.¹⁶ Hasidic schools for boys all teach math for grades 6-8, but only 82% teach it in grades 2-5, and only 23% do so in grades 9-12. Litvish all-male schools all teach math for grades 2-8, but for grades 9-12, one out of the three grades we interviewed did not teach it, and so the percentage declines to 89%.

Interestingly, in Hasidic all-male schools, science appears to be less frequently taught than social studies, perhaps because the latter can focus more on Jewish history or issues relevant to Jewish communities. As seen in Figures 8-10, among Hasidic male students in grades 2-5 in these schools, 44% learn science; in grades 6-8, 50% learn science; and in high school, only 13% learn science. By contrast, half of the classes in grades 2-5 learn social studies, while 93% in grades 6-8 do, as do 26% of high school students. However, none of the interviewees for all-male Litvish grades 2-5—a total of 4 grades based at 3 all-male Litvish schools—reported social studies as a regularly taught subject. (Note that if there is no column this usually means zero percent of grades in that category teach this subject; however, grades 2-5 and 9-12 in Modern Orthodox all-boys schools appear as zero only because we have no schools in grade, not because they do not teach it.)

The lack of attention to science puts Hasidic schools at odds with recent efforts at the national, state, and local levels to emphasize STEM education. It also affirms that the schools bestow little value on preparing students to engage in an increasingly technologically-driven financial world, preferring instead to prepare male students for a future of spiritual community, religious practice, and an economy centered within an ethnic enclave.

¹⁶ Note that we removed grades K-1 from the analysis because most Hasidic schools do not teach secular studies until grade 2, and many other schools do not teach a standard set of subjects in pre-first grade programs.

Figure 8. Comparison of schools teaching science, across religious affiliations

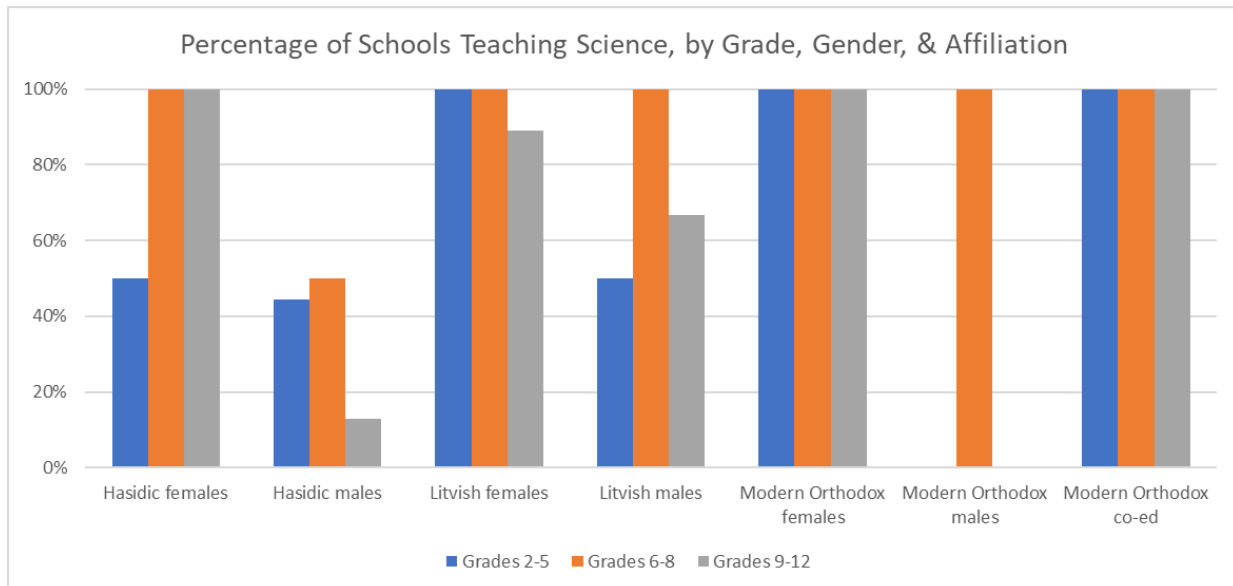
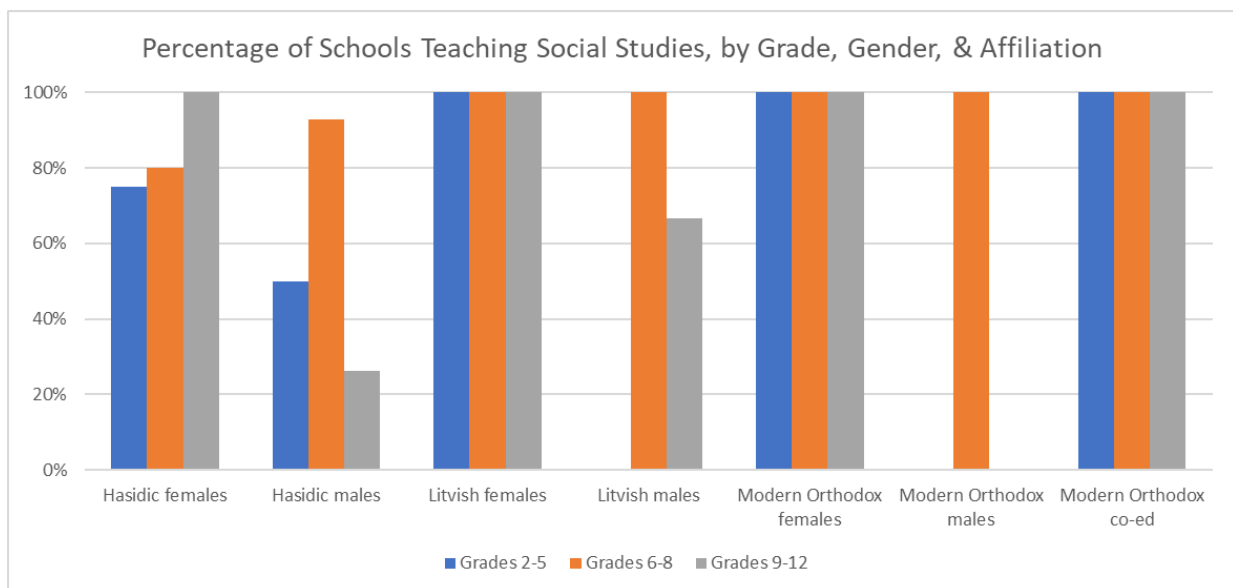


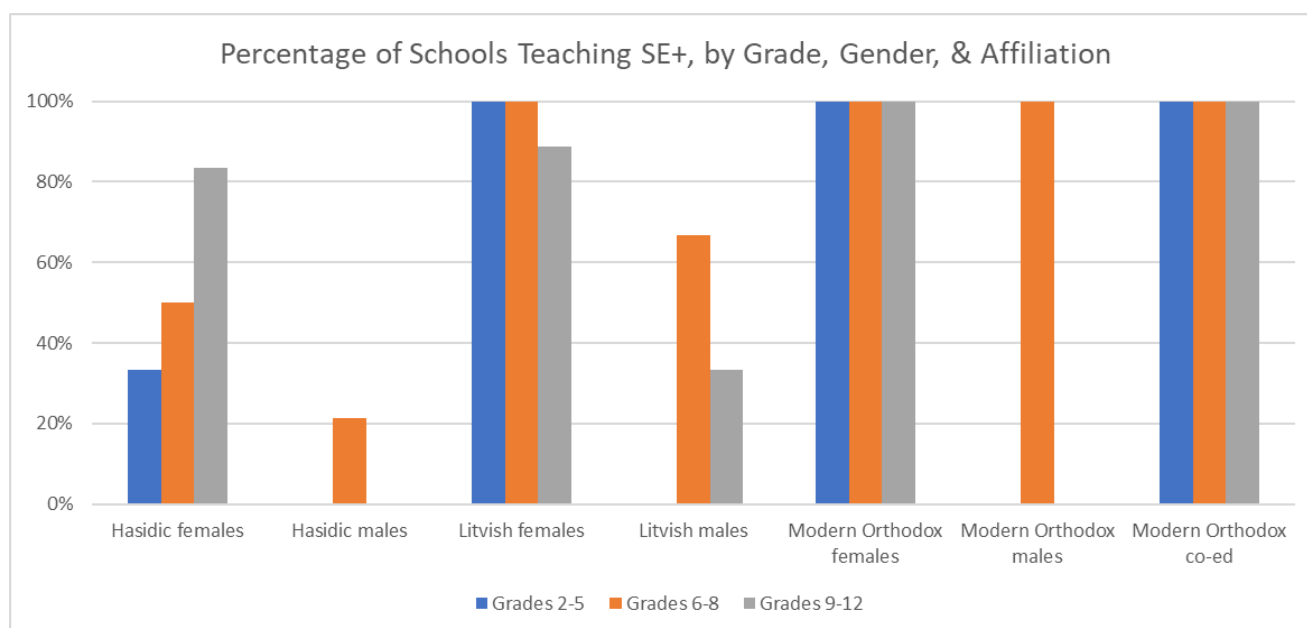
Figure 9. Comparison of schools teaching social studies, across religious affiliations



Note that there are no interviews of grades 2-5 or 9-12 for Modern Orthodox all-male schools.

We also collected data on whether schools teach subjects in addition to science, math, social studies, and English language arts, which we labeled as “SE+.” These might include classes in foreign languages, music, or technology. While a small number of Hasidic middle schools do indeed teach such subjects, interviewees described no education in such additional secular subjects in grades 2-5 or grades 9-12. As Figure 10 shows, Hasidic girls’ schools gradually increased the percentage offering such subjects as the students aged, while Modern Orthodox schools all offered SE+.

Figure 10. Comparison of schools teaching additional secular subjects taught, across affiliations



Findings on Religious Affiliation

We contextualize these interview findings, which represent a subset of the broader school population, with our second data collection project: verifying and cross-referencing the religious affiliation of all 544 confirmed Jewish schools in New York.¹⁷ Doing so provides a broader picture of the Jewish educational landscape in New York. Together with the curricular data described above, this data tells us more about the religious, geographic, and social communities these students inhabit, and the particular challenges they might face.

Three innovative findings stand out from our religious affiliation dataset analysis:

First, unlike all existing surveys of Jewish education, we identified 36 Sephardic schools serving 8,688 students, a unique and significant sub-population of New York Jewish schools.¹⁸ These schools represent a vibrant Syrian community primarily based in Brooklyn, but also serve strong Bukharian and other Sephardic communities in Brooklyn and Queens. Our dataset does not capture these specific sub-groups of Sephardic Jews, but that might be an excellent step for a research project that builds on this one.

Second, we identify 17 schools serving Jewish children that are **not** registered with the state in the 2022-2023, 2023-2024, or the 2024-2025 NYSED lists of registered nonpublic schools. These are primarily Hasidic and Litvish boys' schools; see Appendix B for a full list. We discovered these unintentionally, as part of our broader interview research, which means that there might be more non-registered schools. These schools may be a matter of interest for New

¹⁷ Note that we confirmed that 10 of the 554 Jewish schools in the 2022-2023 NYSED data had closed or were not Jewish. Additionally, the 2024-2025 NYSED dataset includes another approximately 40 Jewish schools not included in this study, and excludes about 30 that are. For the most recent Jewish enrollment data, see Teach Coalition's update: <https://teachcoalition.org/research/update-on-nys-jewish-school-enrollment-2024-25/>, accessed 7/15/2025.

¹⁸ Sephardic schools were likely merged into Modern Orthodox or Yeshiva world categories in the AVI CHAI study.

York state education administrators who seek to ensure that all children in the state receive an adequate education, as mandated by law.

Last, we establish that Hasidic schools dominate the Jewish educational landscape. We also go beyond previous surveys to identify the specific sect of Hasidic schools for 232 of the 264 Hasidic schools identified in this dataset. We can then map these findings onto the interview data, by showing how the curricula in specific Hasidic schools might be indicative of how other schools from that sect teach Jewish or avoid secular subjects. Taken together, this material demonstrates the educational and cultural diversity among Hasidic schools.

Hasidic and Litvish Schools

Hasidic schools make up 49% of Jewish schools in the 2022-2023 NYSED dataset (see Figure 1, above). Among Hasidic schools, the Satmar sect dominates the student population, with 57 Satmar schools enrolling 44,358 students. Although Chabad (Lubavitch) is well known and influential, it counts fewer students in affiliated schools than several other groups, including Skver, Bobov, and Vizhnitz. (Notably, this data is specific to New York; the ratio of Chabad to other sects is likely larger in other states, where, due to their outreach mission, Chabad is often the only Hasidic sect present in smaller Jewish communities.)

Table 5. Number of Hasidic schools and Hasidic students

Hasidic Sect	Total Schools	Enrollment Sum	Percent Enrollment
Aleksander	3	618	1%
Belz	6	3,758	3%
Bobov	16	8,164	7%
Boyan	1	209	0%
Breslov	3	348	0%
Chabad – Lubavitch	23	6,432	6%
Ger (Gur)	5	1,395	1%
Kasho	2	325	0%
Krasna	2	629	1%
Lelov	1	71	0%
Mixed Hasidic	19	3,474	3%
Munkacz (Munkatch)	3	630	1%
Nitra	9	1,676	2%
Pupa	9	3,796	3%
Rachmastrivka	5	1,931	2%
Sanz (Sanz-Klausenberg)	13	3,785	3%
Satmar	57	44,358	40%
Shopron	1	584	1%
Skver (New Square)	20	8,981	8%
Spinka	3	740	1%
Stolin (Karlin-Stolin)	3	1,169	1%
Tzelem	1	547	0%
Unknown	32	6,172	6%
Vien	8	2,606	2%
Vizhnitz	19	9,151	8%
Total	264	111,549	100%

We identified six schools as mixed Litvish-Hasidic. These schools are essentially the ultra-Orthodox version of a Community school, because they serve children from multiple backgrounds, with both Litvish and Hasidic cultural influences. They reflect a growing number of people in ultra-Orthodox society who see themselves as “culturally” Hasidic, or what they might refer to as “neutral” Hasidic or “Heimish” Hasidic, but without fealty to any specific sect.

Schools by Gender

There are significantly more all-male schools than all-female schools among New York Jewish educational institutions (see Table 6). This unevenness is probably due to the predominance of boys’ schools among Hasidic and Litvish schools, as can be seen in Table 7. The greater number of male schools may be due to the cultural norm of creating smaller schools to serve the Torah-learning needs of specific, small groups of Hasidic and Litvish youth.

Table 6. Jewish schools in New York State, by gender

School Gender	Total Schools
Female	168
Male	272
Mixed/Coed	100
Other	4
Total	544

Table 7. Schools by Jewish category and gender

Jewish Affiliation	Female	Male	Coed	Other	Total
Chabad Community			5	1	6
Community			17		17
Conservative			2		2
Hasidic	94	163	4	3	264
Litvish	44	81	3		128
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)	4	2			6
Modern Orthodox	6	5	35		46
Other	2	2	6		10
Other Orthodox	2				2
Reform			1		1
Sephardic	13	15	8		36
Special Ed	3	4	19		26
Total	168	272	100	4	544

Geographic Data

Drawing on publicly available data,¹⁹ we calculated the percentage of all (public and nonpublic school) students in each county that are Jewish. We found that Jewish students make up significant percentages of all students in three counties, as shown in Table 8: 45% in Rockland, 25% in Kings, 22% in Orange, as well as nearly 10% in Sullivan, where there are indications of a recent growth in Jewish population. In terms of schools, we found significant clusters in Kings and Rockland Counties, which is where ultra-Orthodox schools are most concentrated. A more detailed breakdown is found in Tables 12-13, Appendix A, which shows the total Jewish schools per county, as well as the schools by religious category in that county. Kings County, again, features prominently, as the home to 61% of Hasidic schools (and 51% of our Hasidic interviews are from Kings County), and 75% of Sephardic schools. (Note that there are no known Jewish schools in Suffolk county, and it was therefore not included in the table.) In total, Jewish school students constitute 8.8% of all New York State (public and nonpublic) students.

Table 8. Number and percentage of Jewish school students by county

County	Total Students	Total Jewish	Percent Jewish
ALBANY	40,915	152	0.37%
BRONX	185,287	1,961	1.06%
BROOME	25,882	21	0.08%
ERIE	124,753	75	0.06%
KINGS	376,993	93,802	24.88%
MONROE	103,954	232	0.22%
NASSAU	225,297	8,968	3.98%
NEW YORK	198,649	4,380	2.20%
ONONDAGA	68,687	49	0.07%
ORANGE	78,444	17,550	22.37%
QUEENS	301,459	13,280	4.41%
RICHMOND	72,781	814	1.12%
ROCKLAND	80,534	36,422	45.23%
SULLIVAN	10,622	1,012	9.53%
WESTCHESTER	161,575	2,196	1.36%

The geographic findings have implications for resource distribution and political power, by offering a definitive portrait of where these educational institutions are concentrated and, correspondingly, which administrative and political representatives are responsible for serving them. In that way, these findings not only highlight new and hitherto under-studied populations, such as Sephardic Jews; they also indicate that policymakers across New York, and in Rockland, Kings, and Orange Counties in particular, must pay closer attention to their communities' specific educational needs.

¹⁹ Nonpublic school data is available at <https://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/statistics/nonpublic/>, and public school data is available at <https://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/statistics/enroll-n-staff/ArchiveEnrollmentData.html>, accessed 7/17/2025. Note that some schools, such as non-registered or charter schools, may be excluded from these lists.

Errors, Survey Conflicts, and Resolution

Our research uncovered an array of errors in the datasets we used in our analysis. We list a selection of these issues here, while acknowledging that data collection is difficult, and there may be errors in our research as well.

Perhaps most significantly, we found ten schools listed in the NYSED 2022-2023 data that we believe to be closed or non-Jewish schools. Of those, only three were removed in the 2025 NYSED data; the rest appear with the same or similar information.

In addition, there were a significant number of errors in the NYSED data. Examples include misspellings of school names, incorrect listings of grades (for example, for the “Gan Academy” school), and the listing of one Hasidic high school—Yeshiva Bais Hillel—as serving only non-binary students (previous years had shown this school is all-male and this was further confirmed by a researcher with direct knowledge of the school). Our researchers found that some schools were listed at incorrect addresses or did not account for separate male and female-serving schools (see, for example, Mosdos Satmar of Bloomingburg). As previously discussed, we also had to work through 42 conflicts between Teach Coalition and NYSED’s gender designations of schools, usually where NYSED would identify a school as co-ed and Teach Coalition marked as single gender, or vice versa.

Finally, Teach Coalition authors assumed that schools marked as co-ed are usually Modern Orthodox. However, we found that a significant number of co-ed schools are in fact ultra-Orthodox special education establishments, or Sephardic schools. There were a few small mis-identifications that we corrected as well (such as two schools identified as Hasidic that we found were Litvish and Hasidic-Litvish mixed, respectively), but overall, their categories were broad enough to ensure that there were few errors in affiliation. Our project could thus build upon theirs to more specifically identify Litvish, Sephardic, Modern Orthodox, and other types of Jewish schools.

We also found some notable differences between our findings and other datasets of Jewish education. While we have limited ability to make comparisons across surveys, our research identified 264 Hasidic schools, compared with the 190 schools listed in the AVI CHAI report and 219 in the Teach Coalition report. We find correspondingly higher numbers of Hasidic students: 111,549 in our study instead of the 100,188 noted in Teach Coalition.²⁰

The number of Litvish students, however, differs in the opposite way: we identified 129 Litvish schools (100 when we removed potential duplicates) representing 32,923 students, while AVI CHAI found 143 schools educating 41,990 “yeshiva world” (Litvish) students.²¹ This might be accounted for partially by attrition; in recent years, people have moved to places like Lakewood, New Jersey, as Teach Coalition’s 2023 report suggests.

Similarly, AVI CHAI only counts 23 Modern Orthodox schools with 13,445 students; we find 46 (38 if we merge potentially separate grades within possibly unified school institutions) with 15,094 students. The Teach Coalition data assumed that many of the schools that are co-ed and Orthodox are likely Modern Orthodox. We found, however, that 18 of these are special-

²⁰ Teach Coalition is using data that is one year older than ours, but our total number is still significantly higher than the expected rate of growth of 2.4% that the Teach Coalition report predicted (Aaronson and Kiwala 2023). While some of this difference may be accounted for by growth, we believe that the difference is likely due to finding schools that other datasets missed and thus identifying more Hasidic schools and students than prior surveys.

²¹ Teach Coalition does not identify Litvish schools as a unique category.

education schools, some of which have been established relatively recently, and many of which are geared toward ultra-Orthodox children.

Data Limitations

Our research project has several limitations, which we hope future research will address. First, asking research assistants to fill out spreadsheet surveys presents methodological challenges. Research assistants are not as reliable as school administrators, and sometimes made errors, though a multi-step verification process was in place to identify and correct as many of these as possible. While we tried as much as possible to rely on at least two researcher votes for each school, or to triangulate with online documentation, such as a school website, we sometimes relied on more limited data based on what was available. For example, we relied on Teach Coalition data to identify four Hasidic schools we could not otherwise confirm. Finally, our interview data has the potential risks of any qualitative project, even a large-scale one like this one: qualitative data is not always reliable. So while we gathered two or more interviews for 16 grades in 9 schools, we only have one interview for each of the remaining schools. By gathering as much data as possible on multiple schools affiliated with each religious category and systematically quantifying this data, we sought to keep the rate of error relatively low.

Conclusion

The religious affiliation information presented in this report builds on prior work by researchers of Jewish education, while generating an innovative, multi-method dataset that has produced a significantly higher level of detail about New York Jewish schools. Our curricular data collection is the broadest and most diverse study of its kind on Jewish educational curricula. Overall, the research described in this report is the first step in a potentially generative research program about Jewish education in New York and the United States. Next steps can include the following:

- There is significant potential for cross-referencing this data with other regionally-specific data, including political district data, to generate more knowledge about where different types of schools and communities are concentrated and to enable their local representatives to appropriately respond to their needs.
- We can reinforce the data validity through a survey and gain more information to confirm and expand the curricular data component, so that we have a more validated and broader sample of Jewish curricular norms.
- We can further refine the “Litvish” and “Sephardic” designations, by designating schools with more refined and specific types of Litvish and Sephardic communities.
- This research can be expanded to other states, and to New Jersey in particular, which has seen a significant growth in Jewish day school enrollment in recent years.

This project makes important contributions to the field of Jewish education research. We establish that Hasidic schools serve the majority of children enrolled in Jewish schools in New York. We were also able to identify specific sects of most of Hasidic schools, allowing us to highlight their cultural and educational diversity. And finally, the report brings some much-needed attention to the Sephardic communities that have been entirely overlooked in prior

research investigations; we hope future projects can further build on this preliminary research to develop in-depth studies of the world of Sephardic education.

Drawing on interview data, this project portrays the great variation, by gender and religious affiliation, of the standards for secular and Jewish education. Across the board, we find that Jewish schools—from those serving non-observant, English-speaking families to ones serving deeply observant, Yiddish-speaking children—share a common value: text-based education, with a strong emphasis on Jewish cultural identity. How that manifests varies tremendously across the religious spectrum, but we found that schools of widely varying ideologies consistently devote considerable resources toward educating and socializing Jewish children to inhabit American society as proud Jews.

This project seeks to capture some of the complex challenges and successes these schools experience in meeting this goal. We hope this dataset contributes to broader knowledge of Jewish schools in New York State, and that it is of service to all stakeholders in Jewish education, including educators, parents, students, and policymakers.

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Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

Table 9. Number of grades interviewed, by religious affiliation and gender

Jewish affiliation	Female	Male	Mixed	Total
Community			22	22
Hasidic	19	59		78
Litvish	17	14		31
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)		1		1
Modern Orthodox	5	3	14	22
Sephardic		5	4	9
Special Ed		6	2	8
Total	41	88	42	171

Table 10. Distribution of grade groupings by religious affiliation

Jewish affiliation	K-1	2-5	6-8	9-12	Total
Community	5	9	7	1	22
Hasidic	8	22	19	29	78
Litvish	6	8	5	12	31
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)				1	1
Modern Orthodox	2	3	6	11	22
Sephardic	3	6			9
Special Ed		1	1	6	8
Total	24	49	38	60	171

Table 11. Grades interviewed, by religious affiliation, sum, and percent

Jewish Affiliation	Grades Interviewed	Percent
Community	22	13%
Hasidic	78	46%
Litvish	31	18%
Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)	1	1%
Modern Orthodox	22	13%
Sephardic	9	5%
Special Ed	8	5%
Total	171	100%

Table 12. Number and percentage of Jewish schools by county

County	Total Schools	Percent
ALBANY	2	0%
BRONX	6	1%
BROOME	1	0%
ERIE	1	0%
KINGS	270	50%
MONROE	4	1%
NASSAU	40	7%
NEW YORK	19	3%
ONONDAGA	1	0%
ORANGE	24	4%
QUEENS	34	6%
RICHMOND	10	2%
ROCKLAND	111	20%
SULLIVAN	9	2%
WESTCHESTER	12	2%
Total	544	100%

Table 13. Schools' religious affiliation, by county

County	Chabad Community	Community	Conservative	Hasidic	Modern Orthodox	Other	Other Orthodox	Reform	Sephardic	Litvish	Litvish-Hasidic (mixed)	Special Ed	Total
ALBANY		2											2
BRONX		1				2				2		1	6
BROOME		1											1
ERIE	1												1
KINGS		4		162	11	6	1		27	40	2	17	270
MONROE		1								3			4
NASSAU	2	1	1	2	15				5	11		3	40
NEW YORK	1	3			7			1		6		1	19
ONONDAGA		1											1
ORANGE				22						1		1	24
QUEENS	2		1	1	4	4			3	19			34
RICHMOND				3	2					5			10
ROCKLAND				65	1		2		1	36	3	3	111
SULLIVAN		1		4						3	1		9
WESTCHESTER		2		5	4					1			12
Total	6	17	2	264	46	10	3	1	36	127	6	26	544

Appendix B: Non-registered Schools

As noted in the report, we came upon these schools during the data collection process, but we did not systematically collect data on non-registered schools. It is possible that there are more of these non-registered schools, for which there is no publicly available information. We also confirmed that these schools do not appear in the 2024-2025 NYSED dataset.

Table 14. Non-registered Jewish schools, 2022-2023 (confirmed 2024-2025)

School name	School address	County	Jewish affiliation	Sect - Hasidic	Grade Grouping	Gender
DESHUNSKI	1623 44TH ST, BROOKLYN, NY 11204	Kings	Hasidic	Satmar	9-12	Male
DIVREI CHAIM	39 MOUNTAIN ROAD, MONROE NY 10950	Orange	Hasidic	Satmar	1-8	Male
HA'OR DOVID BEACON SCHOOL	2884 NOSTRAND AVE, BROOKLYN, NY 11229	Kings	Litvish		K-1	Male
LUBAVITCH SPARKS HIGH SCHOOL	506 E NEW YORK AVE, BROOKLYN, NY 11225	Kings	Hasidic	Chabad	9-12	Female
MESIVTA LUBAVITCH OF MONSEY	2 LANGERIES DR, MONSEY, NY 10952	Rockland	Hasidic	Chabad	9-12	Male
MESIVTA NACHLAS YAKOV VIEN YESHIVA GEDOLA	5520 GLENWOOD RD, BROOKLYN, NY 11234	Kings	Hasidic	Vien	9-12	Male
MESIVTA OF UTA KJ	16 BERDICHEV RD, KIRYAS JOEL, NY 10950	Orange	Hasidic	Satmar	9-12	Male
MOSHOLO	1535 63RD ST, BROOKLYN, NY 11219	Kings	Hasidic	Mixed Hasidic	2-5	Male
NITZOTZ BAIS YAAKOV HIGH SCHOOL	4420 15TH AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NY 11219	Kings	Litvish		9-12	Female
YESHIVA DARCHEI MOSHE	5822 11TH AVE, BROOKLYN, NY 11219	Kings	Hasidic	Mixed Hasidic	9-12	Male
YESHIVA GEDOLAH OF WASHINGTONVILLE	1882 RT. 208, WASHINGTONVILLE, NY 10992	Orange	Litvish		9-12	Male
YESHIVA KEREN ORAH	82 HIGH VIEW RD, SUFFERN, NY 10901	Rockland	Hasidic	Mixed Hasidic	9-12	Male
YESHIVA KOL ARYEH	168 SEVEN SPRINGS MOUNTAIN ROAD, MONROE, NY 10950	Orange	Hasidic	Mixed Hasidic	9-12	Male
YESHIVA MEOR HATALMUD	1368 39TH ST, BROOKLYN, NY 11218	Kings	Hasidic	Mixed Hasidic	9-12	Male
YESHIVA TIFERES MORDECHAI KALISH	1118 AVENUE P, BROOKLYN, NY 11229	Kings	Hasidic	Kalish	2-5	Male
YESHIVA TIFERETH MESHULIM FEISCH - TOSH	44 GREYCOURT ROAD, CHESTER, NY 10918	Orange	Hasidic	Tosh	9-12	Male
YESHIVA TORAS TZVI SPINKA	24 BULL MINE RD, CHESTER, NY 10918	Orange	Hasidic	Spinka	9-12	Male