

**A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY TOWARDS AN  
EDUCATIONAL TRANSITION IN A JEWISH DAY SCHOOL**

by

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## ABSTRACT

Carmel College, a Jewish Day School, was established to provide Jewish education for the children of the Durban Jewish community. Inasmuch as the school has always had a small contingent of non-Jewish students, a decision was made in 1994 to fill the school to capacity with non-Jewish students. Although, Carmel is in essence, a multi-cultural school in that it has a nearly fifty per cent non-Jewish population, implementing a multi-cultural education programme would be counter-productive to the goals of Jewish education. In that Orthodox Judaism is not assimilatory, it can be conjectured that Jewish education is incompatible with multi-cultural education. This study investigates the attitudes of the Jewish community towards the educational transition taking place in Carmel College, as a result of the change in the student population ratio.

The study commenced with a generative phase which comprised of a review of relevant literature, document analysis, semi-structured interviews and a situational analysis. Issues that emerged from this phase of the research became the focus of further investigation using questionnaires.

Findings have revealed the dilemma of managing a Jewish school in a multi-cultural environment. Whilst parents believe in the importance of Jewish

education many are unaware of its unique and separate nature. The filling of the school with non-Jewish students has raised important issues. The findings indicated that Jewish studies teachers feel inhibited in their classes and are unable to deal with sensitive issues. The increased enrolment of non-Jewish students has not only created greater potential for assimilation but undertones of cultural dissension within the student body were also evident. As there is little provision made for multi-culturalism, non-Jewish students are recipients of a curriculum which lacks relevance and is foreign to their needs.

If Carmel is to continue to provide Jewish education for its community it will have to re-structure the curriculum in order to provide a more intense Judaica programme for Jewish students and at the same time cater more effectively for non-Jewish students. To this end, parents and other stakeholders will have to be enlightened about the purpose of Jewish education and the need for change.

## DECLARATION

I , Michael George Workman, declare that this whole thesis is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Carmel College, a Durban Jewish Day School, was established in 1964 to provide Jewish education for the children of the Durban Jewish community. Although Carmel has always accepted non-Jewish children, it is first and foremost a Jewish school. Its purpose is to imbue a strong sense of Jewish Identity by socialising children into Judaism.

Due mainly to emigration, enormous strain has been placed on the Durban Jewish community to finance and resource its many organisations, including Carmel College. In 1991 the total Durban Jewish community was 4 883 people but by 1995 the population had decreased to 3 739. Demographic statistics supplied by Notelovitz (1995) reveal that there has been a loss of 100 families (5,78 % of the total population) over a period of twenty-eight months. The population decrease obviously has implications for the school, which although subsidised by the state, relies heavily on communal funding. In 1994, in an attempt to alleviate the financial burden of sustaining the school, the Durban Hebrew Schools' Association (DHSA), the umbrella body responsible for Carmel College, took a decision to fill the school with non-Jewish children. In 1989 the school had an enrolment of 78,3% Jewish students. The enrolment of Jewish

students in 1996 had decreased to 53 % of the total student population (figures obtained from school records 1989-1996).

In 1994 due to concerns expressed by the DHSA that the changing student population may have significant implications for Jewish education, a Jewish Ethos Committee was formed. The purpose of this committee was to be mindful of the goals of orthodox Jewish education and endeavour to devise strategies to provide authentic Jewish education within the framework of a more multi-cultural environment. Although the Ethos Committee was useful in helping to maintain the focus on Jewish education, there remains the likelihood that the increased enrolment of non-Jewish students could have serious ramifications for Jewish education at Carmel. Since Carmel College is supported by the Durban Jewish community it is essential for the DHSA to take cognisance of the opinions of all its stakeholders. Prior to 1992 the non-Jewish proportion was below thirty per cent of the total student enrolment. The increased enrolment of children from other cultural affiliations has raised many important issues that are not only relevant to the school but to the broader Jewish community in Durban. The increased potential for assimilation and the relevance of the present curriculum are two key issues that need to be explored. The possible changes to the ethos of the school and the impact this could have on Jewish identification also need to be investigated.

The aim of this study was thus to investigate the attitudes of the Jewish community towards the educational transition taking place at Carmel College and to identify issues which may prove of great importance for school policy and future curriculum planning.

In order to clarify and contextualise the study a situational analysis was undertaken. This included an external analysis of the broader Durban Jewish community and a more specific internal analysis of the educational changes taking place within the school as a result of the increased enrolment of non-Jewish children.

To understand the relevance of issues that emerged through the process of research it was necessary to have a theoretical awareness of the nature and purpose of Jewish education. The conceptual framework for this study, which is an analysis of the underlying principles, values and assumptions on which the Jewish Day School movement is rooted, is outlined in Chapter Three. By making reference to this conceptual framework it was possible to gain a clearer insight as to whether the nature of Jewish education at Carmel is congruent with the goals of Jewish education.

As a refining process for the study a generative procedure, based on broad problems identified in the situational analysis, was used to initiate the research

process. Three phases were employed, the first phase consisted of a review of literature, a document analysis, and semi-structured interviews. Information gathered from this phase was used to expand themes which were further investigated in phase two by using questionnaires administered to parents and students. Simple random sampling (reference to Chapter Four) was used to draw a sample from the school community. Provision was also made for further interviews if unexpected issues emerged through the process of inquiry. Phase three was an analysis of the research findings.

The research procedure, however, outlined in Chapter Four, was not without its obstacles and certain modifications to the original methodology had to be made. These are discussed in Chapter Five, the Conduct of Study.

The analysis of the findings, discussed in Chapter Six not only enabled one to better understand existing conditions at the school but also revealed many issues and complexities of managing a Jewish school within a multi-cultural environment. In Chapter Seven recommendations are made in the light of the research findings and the mission of Jewish education.

This study is therefore intended to do more than just survey the opinions of the school community but rather to describe the research setting in such a way so as to illuminate the many issues which have relevance to Jewish education at

Carmel College. There is an inextricable bond between the school and the community. Since Jewish education is paramount for Jewish survival, the Jewish Day School is faced with the enormous burden of ensuring that children from the community are imbued with a strong sense of Jewish Identity. A major issue which this study addresses is whether the increased enrolment of non-Jewish students could influence the nature of Jewish education. The intention of this research therefore is to identify problems and issues which have relevance to Jewish education at Carmel.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

Jewish education is sustained in the context of the Jewish community. Therefore in order to locate and contextualise the study this chapter will take the form of a descriptive analysis of the research setting - the Durban Jewish Community. In undertaking this task, I have drawn largely on Skilbeck's (1982) concept of situational analysis which incorporates an analysis of both external and internal criteria (p.24-27). The external analysis, will include an historic, socio-economic and political review of the Durban Jewish community. The internal analysis will focus more specifically on the Jewish community school, Carmel College. Problems and issues relevant to the school and pertinent to Jewish education will be identified.

#### EXTERNAL ANALYSIS

##### **The Community**

Carmel College is a Jewish Day School which was established to provide Jewish education for the children of the Durban Jewish Community. Bozzoli (1987) defines a community as a group of people with common organisations and the ability to conjure up images of supportiveness (p.82). It is a place of kinship ties

and of cross-class co-operation. Ben-Meir (1992) propounds that Jews have always, since biblical days, organised themselves in communities. Judaism, as a religion has always attached pivotal importance to the community (p. 16).

Since its inception in the second half of the 19th century, the Durban Jewish community which was predominantly Anglo-Jewish in composition grew mainly from other communities within South Africa. According to Cohen (1982) this predominance within the community had, to a certain extent, tended to be an inhibiting factor in the emergence of Jewish communal institutions. The Jewish leaders in Durban, who were English in all but their religious affiliations, had not experienced the need to maintain a branch of Jewish National Movement or exclusive Jewish social and cultural forums. It was only after the influx of East European refugees after the Boer war that Jewish and Zionist associations were established. The arrival of Jews from Eastern Europe in Durban caused consternation in the community since these people had come from an environment steeped in Orthodox tradition and the level of Orthodoxy and the nature of Jewish education which was provided by the Hebrew congregation caused much antagonism. This dissatisfaction resulted in a split in the community in 1909 with the emergence of the Durban New Hebrew Congregation. Although this general dissension continued well into the 1930s, because of the mutual concern for Jewish education or rather, lack thereof, the United Talmud Torah (Orthodox Hebrew School) responsible for organising

Jewish education for both congregations was brought into being. The United Talmud Torah also played a significant role in the community by bringing the two congregations closer together. In 1935, the Durban Hebrew Congregation and the Durban New Hebrew Congregation combined bringing to an end twenty five years of disunity. It was not until 1947, however, that the creation of a Reform Congregation in Durban brought about the end of religious uniformity and the complete dominance of Orthodox Judaism. Nevertheless, through the efforts of the community leaders, religious diversity was not allowed to cause communal disunity. According to Cohen (1982) unity without uniformity came to characterise the Jewish community in Durban.

### **Socio - Economic and Political Uncertainty**

Despite the split between Orthodox Congregations, there were still positive signs of community growth, such as the establishment of the Council of Natal Jewry<sup>1</sup> in 1930. This organisation encompassed and represented all the different Jewish associations in Natal. Further development in the community was severely hampered, however, by the Quota Act of 1930 which limited the immigration of Jews to South Africa. This was subsequently exacerbated by the Aliens Act of 1937 which effectively stopped Jewish immigration. This period was characterised by economic hardship, political uncertainty and by an upsurge

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<sup>1</sup> Which was renamed in 1995 as the 'Council of KwaZulu-Natal Jewry' (CKNJ).



in anti-Semitism, due to the anti-Semitic influences of Nazi Germany which had overflowed into South Africa. However, according to Cohen (1982), despite all the hardships of these times the social and general life of Durban was not completely dislocated, and members of the Jewish community were equally caught up in the whirl of activities of the time, including further investigation into the inadequacy of Hebrew education.

### **The Necessity for Jewish Education**

At the request of the Committee of the Durban United Talmud Torah, the Council of Natal Jewry (CNJ) commissioned an enquiry into Hebrew and religious education in Durban. At this time according to Cohen (1982) there was, "a disquieting state of affairs insofar as the general attitude of parents towards the Jewish upbringing of their children was concerned" (p.607). Despite, all the efforts to popularise the Talmud Torah, there were still many parents who did not realise the importance of Jewish education. Various parents stopped sending their sons to the Talmud Torah after their Barmitzvah and many girls, because of the absence of a Batmitzvah, failed to receive any Hebrew education. One of the reasons for the failure of the Hebrew School to attract the attention of parents was that Judaic lessons took place in the afternoons which placed a great deal of stress on children, as they had to continue their studies after a full school day. Another problem was that children who attended the Hebrew School could not partake in afternoon sporting activities. Because of these hindrances,

in 1942 the Talmud Torah registered with the Natal Education Department as a day school and began to teach secular subjects at Standard One level. This made it possible to combine Hebrew and Jewish education with secular education, relieving the burden of attending lessons after school. Although there was considerable optimism from the Talmud Torah regarding the expansion of the school there were only enough pupils to ensure a Standard Two class. With the departure of their teacher and only four children in the standard, the school was closed during 1944 and the pupils transferred to other schools. Jewish education instead of advancing actually suffered a serious setback. Parental anxiety over general world news, problems of transport and lack of qualified teachers contributed to this state of affairs. The general apathy of the community resulted in plans for a day school being temporarily discarded.

### **The Establishment of Carmel College**

It was only with the return of Mr Ernst from active service abroad that Jewish education advanced from an unenlightened state of affairs. Mr Ernst's reputation as an exceptional educator gave the impetus required to finally launch Jewish education. He was appointed headmaster of the Talmud Torah and Director of Jewish education in Natal. He thereby assumed responsibility for Hebrew education for all Jewish youth in the province. According to Cohen (1982), "with Mr Ernst at the helm, Jewish education in the city was placed on a sound footing" (p. 874). It appeared that for the first time with Mr Ernst in charge,

Jewish education now had some form of direction. Once more plans were made for the extension of existing facilities. In 1950 a decision was made to change the name of the Durban United Talmud Torah to Durban United Hebrew Schools<sup>2</sup>. Whilst it was Mr Ernst's intention that the entire community would make full use of the schools, there was little doubt that the school had an Orthodox bias. The Reform Congregation, dissatisfied with this state of affairs established its own nursery school but the facilities of the Durban United Hebrew Schools were made available to those members of the Reform Congregation who wished to pursue Hebrew education at a later stage. It was apparent, however, that Jewish education had finally found momentum. For the first time the nursery school was forced to limit its numbers and there was generally a long waiting list for pupils seeking admission. The nursery school continued to cater for Classes One and Two and further provision was made to extend the classes to include Standard One, thereby creating a nucleus for a Jewish Day School. In 1950 the Ilana Nursery School in Durban North was established and this led to the development of Akiva Junior Primary School, also located in Durban North. This was followed with the establishment of Sharona Junior Primary School in 1957 (Berea campus) and, because of its rapid growth and development, funds were raised by the community resulting in the founding of Carmel College in 1964 (Glenmore campus). It is clear from what Cohen (1982)

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<sup>2</sup> This name was amended in 1971 to : Natal Hebrew Schools' Association (NHSA). In 1995 the name was again amended to: Durban Hebrew Schools' Association (DHSA).

had to say, that the establishment of Carmel College did enjoy the support of the community :

By the end of 1961 the state of Jewish education in Durban was a cause for much pride and satisfaction, with a larger percentage of the Jewish child population receiving a Jewish education. ( p.1246)

However, with the school now becoming increasingly more recognised as an educational agency for Jewish education to transmit Jewish cultural heritage to the rising generation there were immense burdens placed on it, as Cohen (1982) recalls :

With the generally low quality of Jewish aspiration and Jewish living in Durban and the general communal indifference to, and neglect of, Jewish culture and Jewish religious observance, borne of Jewish ignorance and illiteracy, the Jewish Schools had to bear an extraordinary and unfair burden. Instead of complementing the knowledge and commitment acquired in the home, the Synagogue or the community, the schools were largely expected to single handily arouse and imbue that knowledge and commitment. (p. 1247)

## **Emigration**

Added to the lack of commitment of the community towards Jewish education and the struggle of the schools to inculcate a strong sense of Jewish Identity , emigration began to erode the community. According to Dubb (1994) during the period 1970 to 1991, an estimated 39 000 Jews emigrated from South Africa. Dubb attributes this wave of emigration mainly to the violence of 1976 and other such factors as isolation during the apartheid years and a protracted economic recession. The Durban Jewish population peaked in 1980 at 5 990. 1995 figures supplied by Notelovitz (1995) indicated the population to have fallen to 3 739.

Closer examination of the figures also indicate a loss of 100 families (5.78 %) over a period of 28 months. At the time of writing this study, emigration is continuing at a steady rate. The decreasing Jewish population has placed enormous financial burdens on the community. The United Communal Fund (UCF) budget allocation for the 1995-1996 campaign for the first time exceeded R2m. In 1990 the amount required to subsidise Jewish organisations was R730 000, showing an increase of 36% per annum year on year. According to Benn (1995) the new educational system recently introduced into South Africa has made it even more expensive to maintain a Jewish Day School in the community.

The cost of providing a firstclass standard of education is considerable and every effort is being made to require parents to bear a greater share of costs. At this stage, however, education is still a substantial percentage of our budget (p.12).

## **INTERNAL ANALYSIS**

### **Period of Transition**

Carmel College was established to provide Jewish education for Jewish students by providing an education based on "broadly national traditional lines" (Cohen (1982, p.882). This exposed students to a modicum of observance, and knowledge of basic texts, concepts and rituals of Orthodox Judaism and an identification with the Jewish national revival as epitomised by the Zionistic movement. Such a policy was intended to be flexible, allowing a tolerant attitude towards actual religious observance thus making Jewish education attractive to

all sections of the community. The school had also accepted, since its inception, children from other ethnic and religious groups, although its policy was to maintain a majority of Jewish students. In 1986 the school had 83% Jewish pupils, but with the diminishing Jewish population within the community this percentage decreased in 1993 to 70%. With the continued depletion of the community and fewer Jewish Students enrolling in the school it became necessary for the DHSA to re-examine its objectives which according to its 1971 constitution, lists amongst others, the construction, equipping and maintenance of day and/or boarding schools, and hostels in connection therewith for the education primarily of Jewish children. With the increasing costs of running a Jewish Day School and the financial burden on the community to support all its organisations the DHSA had to take measures to become more financially autonomous. For a large percentage of the community the school fees were already exorbitant and it was becoming increasingly difficult to subsidise school fees for parents who could not afford to pay either full or partial fees. Although, the DHSA receives a state subsidy as do most Independent Schools, the Association was mindful, that due to political uncertainty pertaining to private education, this subsidy could be reduced or withdrawn.

In 1994 the DHSA established a committee to investigate this predicament which after an extensive enquiry recommended two options :

1. To close the school to non-Jewish students thus cutting costs and ensuring a total Jewish milieu.
2. To fill the school by accepting children from other cultural affiliations until a maximum enrolment was attained thus making it more cost effective.

After much deliberation the DHSA decided on the second option but in doing so, initiated an 'Ethos Committee' which would investigate how quality Jewish education could be maintained within a more multicultural environment.

### **The 'Jewish' Curriculum**

At the commencement of 1995, the Jewish student population in Carmel College was 61%. The Jewish enrolment for 1996 was 52 %. The filling of the school has raised a number of educational issues, the most pertinent being that Carmel was established for Jewish children to receive Jewish education, and as such the curriculum differs from that of a state school. Apart from the normal range of secular subjects, Jewish education involves teaching Hebrew, Jewish studies, attending early morning prayers and acknowledging and celebrating Jewish festivals. Judaism is not only a religion, but a culture and therefore the curriculum is underpinned with Jewish values. These values are integrated into the curriculum. Jewish Identity and responsibility towards Judaism, the community and the state of Israel are fundamental dimensions of Jewish education. According to Goss (1961) Jewish children bring with them to school a legacy inherited from their past. It is within this informal milieu that the

authentic messages of Judaism are inculcated and perpetuated. These messages are enhanced through the teachings of the formal and informal curriculum (p.35).

### **Problems and Issues to be Investigated**

The changes taking place within the school did not evolve slowly. Within a short period of time the overall student population was balancing on a 50:50 non-Jewish to Jewish pupil ratio, with the Jewish ratio dropping to a level of 33% in the Junior Primary phase. Whilst Carmel has always accepted non-Jewish students, it has never had to assess its philosophy in terms of Jewish education, since the non-Jewish determinant was always fairly insignificant. It may be assumed that when there is a predominant Jewish milieu, there is also a strong Jewish ethos. The acceptance of more non-Jewish students means that Jewish children are exposed to values from other cultures. Orthodox Judaism is demanding as it entails rigorous attention to ritual observance, such as kashrut attending Synagogue on Friday nights and Saturday mornings and recognising and celebrating numerous festivals. Jewish children within a multi-cultural school environment are therefore exposed to various different value systems, which may appear more attractive than the 'ordeal' of being Jewish. The potential for assimilation therefore exists.

Non-Jewish children have been accepted into the school on the condition that parents are prepared to accept that the school is first and foremost a Jewish



School. To this end all students in the primary school phase have to study Hebrew and Jewish studies. In the high school phase Hebrew is not a compulsory subject for non-Jewish students although it is for Jewish students. The exacerbation of non-Jewish children into the school has raised a number of issues concerning Jewish education. In the primary school phase, it has become increasingly difficult to cater for the many students who have not studied Hebrew, and are entering the school at different levels. Since Hebrew is not compulsory in the high school for non-Jewish students, different subjects have to be offered to them. This has been problematic in as much as subjects such as Zulu also hold appeal for Jewish students. Prayers which are conducted in the early morning, have similarly created problems in that a large portion of the school are not involved, hence the necessity for devising an educational programme for these students. The integration of Jewish history, and Jewish thought is an important dimension of the Jewish curriculum. A programme such as this, becomes very difficult to implement within a multi-cultural setting because it often involves issues which are foreign to non-Jewish children. Keeping Shabbat, kushrut, anti-Semitism and assimilation are concepts that can only really be understood within a Jewish context. Obviously as more non-Jewish parents become involved in their children's education, they may want to have more influence in both the Parents' Association and the Board of Governors - which is ultimately responsible for school policy. The filling of Carmel College with children from other cultural affiliations has therefore raised

many issues which need to be investigated if informed decisions are to be made about the future of Jewish education. The following are some of the issues that require attention :

- In what ways is the ethos of the school changing ?
- Is Jewish Identity being diluted ?
- Is the current curriculum promoting Judaica adequately ?
- How effectively is the present curriculum being implemented ?
- If the present curriculum is not effective in promoting Jewish Identity, how should it be changed ?
- Should Jewish Identity lessons be taught in a class with a large group of non-Jewish children ?
- Are the values of non-Jewish children influencing the values of Jewish children ?
- What are the students' attitudes to the present Jewish curriculum ?
- What are the parents' attitudes to the present Jewish curriculum?
- What are the teachers' attitudes to the present Jewish curriculum ?
- Is it ethical to expose non-Jewish children to a Jewish curriculum ?

#### **The Necessity of this Study :**

Judaism has always placed great emphasis on education. Despite the hardships and differences experienced in the early days by the Jewish community it was

the necessity for Jewish education that united the Durban Jewish people. Jewish education is of paramount importance to Jewish survival. There is an inescapable and intractable relationship between the process of education and the community. It is however paradoxical that despite this, the school is assigned a disproportionate share of the task of educating. Notwithstanding this, especially within the context of Jewish survival, education is of essential importance in sustaining Judaism and ensuring the continuation of the community. Jewish education becomes even more important when the community itself lacks cohesion and a sense of direction. There is no doubt that the Durban Jewish community is tenacious, having experienced periods of political and economic difficulty. Jewish education has played a major role in focusing attention away from times of uncertainty and crises and giving the community a sense of purpose. The present filling of the school with non-Jewish children could have serious implications not only for the school but for the community. In Chapter Three I will focus more intensely on the purpose and nature of Jewish education as this should give a clearer insight into the problems and issues identified in this chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Arkin (1984) recalls how the extermination of six million Jews during the second world war destroyed the intellectual centre of world Jewry but at the same time created a traumatic self-awareness and solidarity among those who were left. It was from this tragedy and a passionate will for survival that the state of Israel was established. Zionism today demonstrates how people can shape their own destiny, rather than be manipulated by hostile forces. Arkin states that Zionism, in the broad sense, implies a concept of Jewish people as constituting one nation whose centre is in Israel, and whose future depends on the survival and prosperity of the state; and it is that aspect of Judaism which emphasises the centrality of Israel in the individual and collective outlook, commitment and behaviour of the Jewish people.

It is within this context of survival that the rationale for Jewish education is grounded. Hellig (1995a) says Jewish Identity is essential to Jewish survival and that education plays a cardinal role in Jewish Identity formation. Goss (1961) maintained that Jewish education ought to be the focal enterprise on which the Diaspora communities should build their future.

The late Rabbi Goss (1961) believed that a theory of education must be derived from a philosophy of life. Education he asserted must be based on present realities, and not divorced from the realities of where we find ourselves and our local conditions. He said that the general aim of education is to adapt children to the society of which they are to be members by a harmonious unfolding of their capabilities and by imparting to them the requisite supply of ideas necessary for them to be useful and well-integrated citizens. The purpose of Jewish education is epitomised succinctly in the words of Goss (1961) :

However, if the child is a member of a minority living in the midst of a majority which wishes to preserve its culture and national identity then that minority has to take steps to ensure the transmission of its culture and religious values by the establishment of schools in which these particular national values are taught. (p.14)

Jewish education is therefore a process to ensure that Jewish culture transfers itself across generations. Infeld (1995) postulates that culture instinctively transfers itself from generation to generation. "Something is going to come across to them, there is no vacuum that passes from one generation to another" (p.94). Within the Diaspora, especially in South Africa, Jewish education has become essential in promoting Jewish Identity and Jewish continuity. Lack of education, according to Infeld carries a message that being Jewish is not important. Jewish education is therefore pivotal in ensuring that 'Jewishness' is not diluted or distorted but has a significant role in promoting a positive transfer of Jewish culture.

Steinman (1995) confirms previous sentiments. Jewish education is about the transmission of knowledge and values from one generation to the next. He attests that Jewish education is perhaps the second most important element in the continuity of the Jewish people, the most important being the family. Fishman (1989) however, proclaims that such factors as feminism, the secular revolution, and the necessity of dual incomes to maintain a 'middle-class' lifestyle threaten the Jewish family. Ben-Meir (1992) is also concerned that the Jewish family is experiencing difficulty fulfilling its traditional role as the socialisation agent of Judaism and the Jewish people. She ascertains that :

...there are more Jewish singles, more divorced people, more single parents. Jewish families are having fewer children and many more Jews are intermarrying. (p. 60)

In such a context the traditional role of the family as the principle transmitter of Judaism is in jeopardy, especially in the South African context where the divorce rate according to Ben-Meir (1992, p.82) is nearly fifty per cent.

Sklare and Greenbaum (1967) concur with Ben-Meir by explicating that Jewish parents want Jewish identification for their children and towards this end they put their hopes in Jewish education, however, they actively resist any education that might be construed as being 'too Jewish'. Goss (undated) believed the radical solution to be the creation of a new generation of parents. By giving children a thorough grounding and conditioning in Jewish knowledge and practice, they would become more committed Jewish adults. This is best done he believed by

establishing Jewish schools where Jewish children can be socialised within a Jewish environment and be exposed to an enriched Jewish curriculum. Such schools according to Goss are not solely for the survival of the Jewish minority, but are important for the needs of Jewish children so that they feel they belong to a group which recognises them as legitimate members , and concerns itself with them as human beings.

It is the TASK of Jewish education to show that Judaism is not a misfortune, the Jewish school must aim to foster in its pupils such Jewish loyalties and ideals as lend meaning, worth and purpose to life, even when life is beset with struggles, obstacles and suffering. This spiritual anchorage can only be obtained through a knowledge of the values which have evolved to satisfy the needs of the people. (Goss, p.15).

The Jewish Day School thus not only provides a wholesome synthesis of Jewish studies and Jewish living; it also affords children a vital inspiring Jewish environment, which may be missing in the home.

South African Jewish schools base their educational philosophy on 'broad national-traditional' policy. Such a policy is intended to be flexible in order to cater for the diversity of the Jewish community, which by nature is generally not religious and has been termed by Liebman (1964) as "non-observant Orthodoxy" (p.65). Notwithstanding, the role of the Jewish school, according to Goss (1961) is to produce a completely integrated Jewish personality, whose Jewish consciousness is rooted in the spiritual heritage and historic experience of the Jewish people - someone to whom Zionism is a viable component of Jewish Identity, and someone who feels comfortable with both.

National-traditional policy was formulated by the South African Board of Jewish Education to take into consideration the diverse nature of the Jewish community. Each school board therefore has the freedom to interpret the policy in accordance with the Jewish consciousness of the community. Such a policy, according to Shimoni (1980), signifies a tolerant and uncoercive attitude towards the question of actual observance and thereby reflects recognition of the rather lax mode of observance in most pupils' homes. Steinberg (1989) ascertains that the Jewish community in South Africa is a synthesis of the religious foundations of Jewish life. The influence of Zionism upon Jewish Identity in South Africa is a compromise that attempts to comply with the outlook of the average South African Jew who cannot be described as thoroughly Orthodox and yet for whom continued Jewish existence and group identity are vital considerations. Broad national-traditional policy thus represents the local realities of the community by incorporating fundamental principles of Orthodoxy, Zionism, and to use Goss's (1961) term, "The Hebrew Culture" (p.72). The policy is intended to be flexible, since any rigid definition would exclude one or other important sector of the Jewish community. The policy is also intentionally vague, because greater rigidity would restrict schools from admitting non-observant students, and would therefore only cater for religiously Orthodox Jewish people; a minority, in the Durban community. As a result a large majority of Jewish people would ultimately not be afforded the opportunity of Jewish education.



National-traditional education policy however, irrespective of its adaptability does not suit the requirements of all forms of Judaism. Within the South African Jewish community, especially in the larger centres, there are those whose Jewish Identity is manifested in an intensely religious and Zionist manner. At the other end of the scale, there is a small progressive Jewish community, which ascribes to a modified version of Judaism which challenges the Jewish traditionalism taught in most Jewish schools.

Jewish education ensures that the Jewish community continues not only to survive but to prosper, by developing and fostering a strong Jewish Identity.

Jewish Identity, according to Reisman (1979); is a multidimensional phenomenon. As Ben-Meir (1992) elucidates, it is shaped and formed by the person's family background, education and social environment. Jewish Identity is not, and has never been, static. Jewish Identity has undergone changes throughout Jewish history, from biblical times until today.

Although it is practically impossible to obtain general unanimity for a definition of Jewish Identity, the Orthodox Jews believe strongly that matrilineal descent is the only criterion of Judaism. The halachic definition of a Jew is one who is born of a Jewish mother or a mother who has undergone conversion to the Jewish religion. This definition is not, however, accepted by some Reform movements which believe patrilineal descent defines a Jew.

Emancipation, the granting of civil and political rights to Jews - a process which accrued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be traced back to its starting point for the quest for a new Jewish Identity. Prior to this, Jews lived in cultural and social isolation from their gentile neighbours. Their lives were regulated by Jewish law and they never needed to question their identity. With emancipation, Jews moved out of physical and cultural isolation. They began to socialise with non-Jews and were exposed to different mores and values. Katz (1971) says that the emancipation was a decisive turning point in the history of the Jewish society. For most Jews, their societal-cultural frame was transformed by its relocation from a Jewish to a non-Jewish milieu. According to Reisman (1979) modern concepts of rationality and individualism significantly weakened the foundation of the traditional-based Jewish society. For the first time Jewish children were exposed to alternative schooling thus experiencing values from a non-Jewish world. Jewish laws and customs were stripped of their sacred aura and for many, Jewish consciousness, which had formerly been almost exclusively shaped by Jewish influences, now had to cope with new influences coming from the non-Jewish sector.

Ben-Meir (1992) maintains it is because the majority of Jews live in pluralistic, democratic societies with no fear or shame of being Jewish, that the contemporary Jew is grappling with the question of what it means to be a Jew. Contemporary Jewish Identity is therefore as Reisman (1979) explicates, a

dilemma - individual freedom with broad ideological and cultural options or the certitude of a traditional belief system as well as the security afforded by being part of a compatible community. Berger (1973) describes the transition to modernity as being characterised by “the creation of a neutral society where individuals are not obliged to belong to a specific group and to attain their identity from this membership. There is a movement from ‘fate’, where the pattern of one’s life is largely determined by external factors, to ‘choice’, where individuals are responsible for constructing their identity” (p.133).

Emancipation introduced a new possibility : the Jew no longer needed to remain a Jew. Consequently many Jews have relinquished their Jewishness and integrated with the surrounding society. Assimilation according to Ben-Meir (1992) can be regarded as having a converse relation to Jewish Identity : the more the Jew is assimilated the weaker is his/her identity. Assimilation undermines those elements which have preserved the Jewish people : the religious tradition, the family and the community.

In South Africa, Jewish Identity is presently being threatened by a new movement; that of a post-apartheid democracy. Rubenstein (1995) explains how during the apartheid years all South Africans were primarily members of ethnic sub-groups rather than South Africans as such. This ethnic ‘group membership’ provided the essence of the individual’s identity and culture. This was reinforced

by the government's ideology of apartheid which promoted rather than negated ethnic and cultural differences that functioned to legitimise and maintain a Jewish separateness central to Jewish Identity. Ascheim (1970) says that during these years there was no 'melting-pot' syndrome and consequently there was little pressure on a Jew to become an unhyphenated<sup>3</sup> South African, as there was no commonality apropos a South African identity. The 'new' South Africa, Rubenstein hypothesises, could set in motion forces that will progressively erode the unique social structure in South Africa, which has been so successful in artificially maintaining Jewish Identity. There will be an increasing pressure to conform to an over-arching South African identity, and a delegitimisation of primary allegiance to an ethnic-national group.

Within the South African context Jewish education is therefore a prerequisite to reaffirm the essence of Judaism and discover authentic identity. From a traditional perspective Jewish Identity consists of two components, namely: religion and nationalism, which today is expressed in the form of Zionism. It is these two components that form the essence of the national-traditional philosophy of Jewish education as it is implied in South African Jewish schools . According to Mink (1984) it is broadly acknowledged that in order to become a well-integrated, creative personality, the Jewish child needed not only to be fortified by a religious tradition, but had also to be made fully conscious of the renaissance of Jewish national life, which had culminated in the establishment of

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<sup>3</sup> The term unhyphenated is used by Ascheim to describe the 'blending' of different ethnic groups.

the State of Israel. In order to understand the philosophy of Jewish education, as it is applied in South African Jewish Schools, it is first necessary to have a conceptual idea of what is meant by these components.

Hellig (1995b) says that 'Jewishness' could be assessed by observing its ritual dimension, because traditional Judaism is replete with observable ritual within a social context. The doctrine, mythological and ethical aspects constitute an integral part of what it means to be Jewish. Rubenstein (1995) says that religion plays an important role in community identification and the synagogue is clearly the core of Jewish community identification. Dubb and DellaPergola (1988) found that there is an apparent preference for public and family-orientated rituals rather than private rituals such as prayer and *tefillin*. Rubenstein concurs that South African communities are not religiously observant but that religious observance is more a means of identification rather than a disciplined practice. Jews do not experience discomfort belonging to an Orthodox synagogue while observing relatively few Orthodox practices. Dubb and DellaPergola's research findings indicate that there is a pattern emerging of a community deeply affected by certain characteristics of traditional Jewish culture, through the selective choice of observed traditions such as celebrating Shabbat. Hellig (1995a) says the majority of 'mid-range' Jews are to be found among the 'non-observing orthodox', who are still attracted to a traditional Jewish way of life without necessarily being bound by all the requirements of Orthodox Judaism. Religion

therefore is a means by which Jews can identify themselves as part of a distinct and separate group, though it is not necessary for them to be religious.

Arkin (1984) says that Zionism in South Africa has provided an anchor for Jewish ethnicity. He suggests that for almost a century Zionism, more than any other factor, has given the South African community the will, and the cohesiveness, to resist the tremendous forces of assimilation.

Ultimately, however, Zionism is about Jewish survival, and in the western world today (including South Africa), the principal threat to such continuity does not come from anti-Semitism and persecution but from assimilation. Under modern secular conditions and mass urban living, it is easy to slip out of one's Jewish Identity (p. 86).

Flusser (1979) attributes the continued survival of the Jewish people in modernity to Jewish national pride; Jewish affiliation in the Diaspora is through national affiliation. There is much evidence which indicates that the attitude towards Israel is an important element in Jewish identification (Cohen 1974; Dinur 1969; Farber and Gordon 1982; Lazerwitz and Harrison 1979; Kaplan 1981; Noveck 1985; Posner 1978).

The role of the Jewish school therefore, is to inculcate a strong sense of Jewish Identity by exposing students to a curriculum which incorporates both religious and Zionist dimensions. Central to the curriculum is Hebrew, which according to Goss (undated) is its nerve centre, since Jewish Identity as defined by

national-traditional policy is central to Zionism and religious tradition. The language of Israel and the language of the Synagogue is Hebrew. Goss refers to Hebrew as a “religious symbol of history, a promise of hope” (p.16). Schechter (cited in Goss, p.16) emphasises what he believes to be the significance of Hebrew: “ the disappearance of the Hebrew language was always followed by assimilation”.

It can be assumed therefore that Jewish education is paramount to Jewish survival. With modernity Jewish Identity is under continuous threat. This is especially applicable in South Africa where a new and democratic constitution is no protection for the separateness of Jewish ethnicity. Jews will be increasingly called upon to defend and justify their choices and identification with the Jewish community (Rubenstein, 1995). The burden placed on Jewish schools is immense. Whilst, national-traditional policy is intended to be flexible, reflecting the aspirations of the community, schools have to take serious cognisance of the mission of Jewish education. If the purpose of Jewish education is to instil a strong sense of Jewish Identity so to ensure Jewish survival then they would be remiss in their duty if they were only perpetuating the confusing sentiments of a community, which in a new South Africa is grappling to preserve its own identity. Rubenstein drawing on the work of Durkheim (1984) ascertains that schools are clear agents of their societies, precisely preparing their students to enter and function in society at various levels. But should the urgency of Jewish education

in the community be lacking to what extent will society tolerate a school which diverges from its value-consensus, if in fact there is such unanimity ?

In concluding this chapter a number of important issues regarding the nature and purpose of Jewish education with relevance to Carmel College can be deduced. The purpose of Jewish education is to ensure the continuance of the Jewish religion, Jewish heritage and the Jewish way of life. This is done by fostering a strong sense of Jewish Identity. As it has been ascertained, there are many factors threatening Jewish survival today and the Jewish family can no longer be relied upon as the sole agent for ensuring Jewish survival. For this reason the Jewish Day school is a vital instrument in socialising children into Judaism. Goss (1961) said that education is not only the absorption of formal knowledge but it is controlled equally by the influence of the environment. To this end Goss advocated that in order to raise children to take their places in the community, you must give them a Jewish environment at home and in the school. Whereas cultural identity according to Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985) is achieved by access to the elements of culture of a national or ethnic group it can be conjectured that access to such elements is best achieved within the context of a Jewish milieu. As it has already been established, a major factor threatening Jewish survival is assimilation. Assimilation as defined by Todd (1991) usually implies a straightforward, one-way process of a minority group adapting to a majority culture. Giddens (1989) asserts that assimilation is “the



acceptance of a minority group by a majority population, in which the group takes over the values norms of the dominant culture” (p.735). Carmel was established as a Jewish School for Jewish children, not a multi-cultural school for children from other cultures. The curriculum is underpinned by Jewish values and Hebrew and Jewish studies are important dimensions in the curriculum. Since the school does not implement a multi-cultural education policy, how compatible is a mono-cultural educational institution in a multi-cultural society?

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Contemplating the issues and problems identified in the situational analysis and reflecting on the purpose and nature of Jewish education, it can be argued that the nature of Jewish education at Carmel College is in a phase of transition. It has also been argued in chapter three that there are many reasons for this, the most salient being that Jewish education is not compatible with the notion of multi-cultural education in a plural society. It is not surprising, therefore, that the opening of the school to students from other cultures has raised doubts about the efficacy of Jewish education at Carmel College. Furthermore, it is also necessary to question whether in a multi-cultural society one has the right to the exclusivity of mono-cultural education. According to the White Paper on Education and Training (1995), every learner is entitled to basic education and equal access to educational institutions. Notwithstanding, the White Paper also states :

...there should also be mutual respect for our people's diverse religious, cultural and language traditions, their right to enjoy and practice these in peace and without hindrance, and the recognition that these are a source of strength for their own communities and the unity of the nation. (p. 22)

It therefore appears that an educational institution in South Africa, is entitled to implement a mono-cultural educational policy but cannot refuse students of alternate cultural and religious affiliations entry into the school.

The question that must now be asked is : Will the nature of Jewish education in this changing context, still fulfil its purpose of ensuring Jewish survival by instilling in students a strong sense of Jewish Identity ? The aim of this study therefore was to investigate the attitudes of the Durban Jewish community towards the changes in the nature of Jewish education at Carmel.

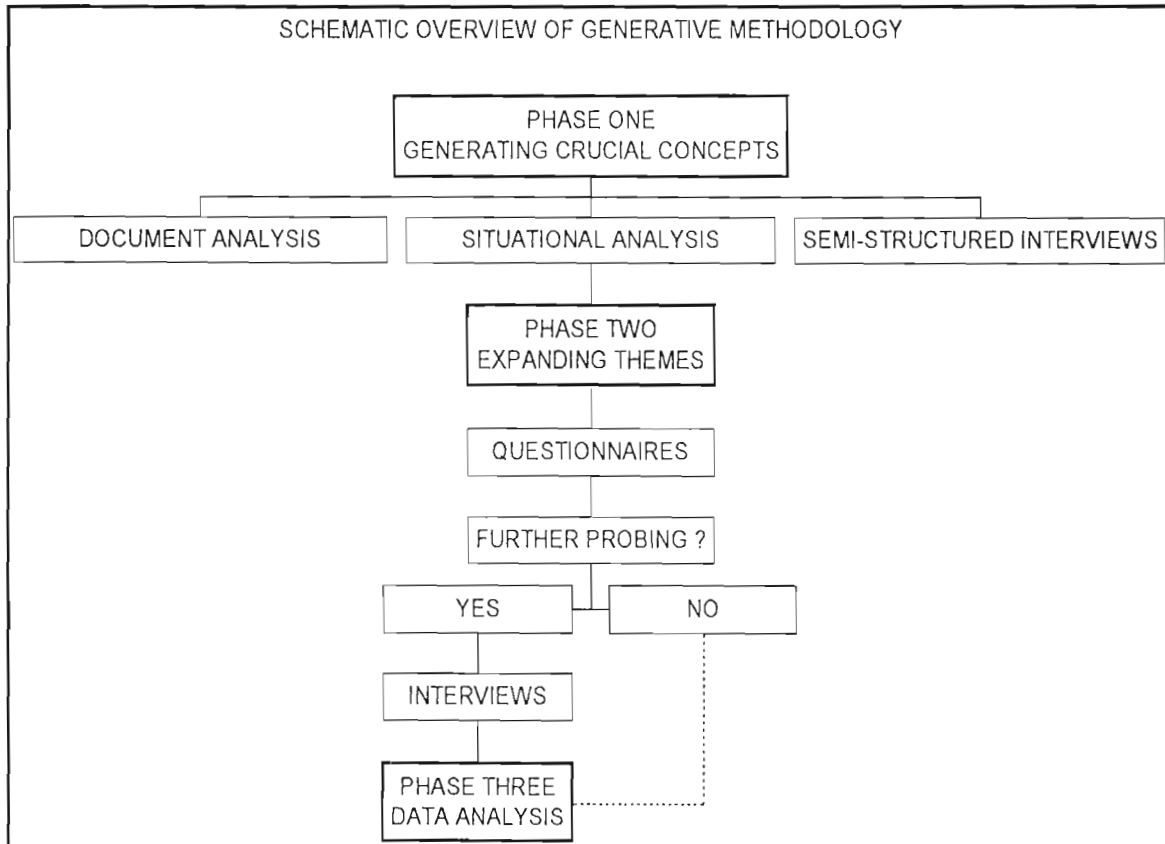
A survey was selected as the most appropriate form of research for this study. Cohen and Manion (1995) state : “ the purpose of a survey is to gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions” (p.83). As there was no clear starting point for the survey, and I considered it undesirable to predetermine concepts which may restrict or obscure the study, a generative procedure, using the broad problems identified in the situational analysis, was used to initiate the project. Simon (1986) believes that traditional triangulation presupposes that concepts tested or explored are predetermined by the research investigator. The generative procedure was not so rigid that it prevented implicit issues relevant to the study from surfacing. It was also flexible enough to allow for different views or patterns to arise that may not have been obvious in the first instances. Becker (1961) claims that research should not only be restricted to what you want to find out. He ascertains that it should also be perceptive of those unexpected issues that are relevant to the study but may only surface through the process of research. A generative

procedure allowed for the target population itself to generate the important research issues, which not only enriched the study but also made it relevant. Such a procedure was also developmental in that each phase of enquiry generated ideas for the next phase - each stage added to the next, until a pattern emerged which was rich in meaning. Finally, triangulation or multi-methods was an important dimension as Cohen and Manion (1995) claim : “exclusive reliance on one method...may bias or distort the researcher’s picture of the particular slice of reality she is investigating” (p.233). Lin (1976) supports this view by asserting that if findings are artefacts of method, then the use of contrasting methods considerably reduces the chances that any consistent findings are attributable to similarities of method.

## **Approach**

The methodology consisted of three phases. Phase one was a generative stage based on the situational analysis and review of the available literature. Document analysis and semi-structured interviews were the data gathering instruments. Findings collected from this phase were used to expand themes which were further investigated in phase two by using questionnaires. Further interviews were to be conducted if pertinent issues which may not have been taken into consideration surfaced when the questionnaires were analysed. Phase three was the final data analysis. The diagram on the next page clarifies the methodology.

FIGURE 1



### Target population

The target population was a sample of those who have an investment or interest in Jewish education at Carmel College. These groups were identified as follows :

- Parents
- Students in standard nine and ten
- Teachers

- One representative from each of the following Jewish organisations ( as stakeholders) :

Durban Hebrew Schools' Association (D.H.S.A.)

Council of KwaZulu-Natal Jewry (C.K.J.)

Durban United Hebrew Congregation (D.U.H.C.)

Temple David (Reform Synagogue)

Durban Zionist Council (Youth groups)

Beneficiaries

## **Sampling**

### **Interviews**

At the generative phase, a randomly selected number of people from the target group were interviewed for the purpose of generating themes which provided a focus for the study. It was not considered necessary at this stage to have a representative group as the intent of the interviews was to generate research issues. Provision was made to extend the sample if no themes emerged.

### **Questionnaires**

As students' responses differed from those of parents, a stratified sample using simple random sampling was drawn. Simon (1986) says that stratified sampling enhances representivity when combined with randomness. Since the recipients

of Jewish education are students, their opinions were considered to be relevant and valuable to the study. Students from standards nine and ten were selected because it was assumed that as senior students (most of which have spent nearly all their schooling at Carmel) their opinions apropos the nature of Jewish education at Carmel would be well formulated. Inasmuch as student opinion is considered to be even more important than parent opinion, non-proportionate stratified sampling was used. Simon (1986) explains that such a sampling method allows for additional weighting or accent with respect to the research problem. Another, more practical reason for using non-proportionate stratified sampling, was that the total population of standard nine and ten students (N=52) and the total parent population (N=550) were not proportionate. This would therefore either restrict the representation of the student group or increase the parent representation to numbers which would not be manageable.

Judd et al. (1991) expound that a representative sampling plan should ensure that the odds are great enough so that the selected sample is sufficiently representative in order to decrease the likelihood of misleading sample findings. Since questionnaires were administered to students in school time, it was considered manageable to sample all the students in standards nine and ten (N=52;n=52). This would ensure a high representation of the student group. Carmel presently has a parent body consisting of 550 Jewish parents. In determining the sample size Cohen and Manion (1995) maintain that there is no

clear answer for correct sample size as it depends upon the nature of the population. According to Simon (1986) the concept of homogeneity is of great importance in determining sample size. Whilst Orthodox Judaism can be defined halachically (according to Jewish law), Jewish Identity, as it has already been discussed in the preceding chapters, is subject to different forms of interpretation. Although Cohen and Manion (1995) and Slavin (1984) concur that a sample size of thirty is held by many to be a minimum number if researchers plan to use some form of statistical analysis, it is assumed bearing in mind the nature of the Durban Jewish community, that a greater representation would be necessary. It was also important to ensure that the study was manageable, thus too large a sample would make analysis difficult. For these reasons, a fifteen per cent sample (N=550;n=82) was considered to be both manageable and representative.

## **Phase One**

### **Document Analysis**

Document analysis was selected as an appropriate research technique to initiate this research project because according to Simon (1986) it lies within the realm of hermeneutic or interpretative sociology and is used as a method for hypothesis/hypotheses generation and not the testing of such. By selecting relevant documents, problems and issues which may be of concern and relevant to the target population were identified and used to generate issues for further



research. For example, *Hashalom*, a Jewish Newspaper issued under the auspices of the Durban Jewish club and the Durban Zionist Council was analysed. The reason for selecting this newspaper was that it is an invaluable source of reference since it is a chronicle of the history and activities of the local Jewish community. In order to maintain manageability and relevance to the study, editions from January 1995 to December 1995 were reviewed. Analysis was done by systematically quantifying and interpreting contents by using the following methods:

- Characteristics in terms of frequency of occasion with regard to certain content.
- Analysis of the purpose or objective of writing the literature, to establish who was writing the article and their reason for doing so.

### **Semi-structured Interviews**

Problems and issues relevant to Jewish education, which were identified in the situational and document analysis, were used to construct a semi-formal interview schedule. This was used to expand themes. According to Denzin (1970) such a technique gives the individual respondent an opportunity to express his/her interpretation of the world in their own unique way. "To meaningfully understand that world, researchers must approach it from the subject's perspective" (p. 125). Semi-structured interviews also allowed for flexibility in that open-ended questions were incorporated into the schedule thus allowing for more detailed information and opinions. The probe technique was

used to seek additional information. According to Backstrom and Hursh (1963) probe questions are used to induce the respondents to elaborate on initial remarks. Such a technique therefore allowed for pliancy and was also useful in generating issues. The interviewer attempted to maintain a neutral role by making sure that he did not suggest that a particular response was the desired or acceptable one. Babbie (1975) says " the interviewer then, should be a neutral medium through which questions and answers are transmitted. If this is successfully accomplished, different interviewers would obtain exactly the same responses from a given respondent " (p. 172). Whilst flexibility was important it was also essential that the interview remained in focus and for this reason the interviewer relied on the interview schedule to retain direction.

### **Administration**

In order to sustain manageability teachers were interviewed in groups. This technique also allowed for group discussion which generated more ideas. Watts and Ebbutt (1978) explain that such interviews are useful where a group of people have been working together for some time or common purpose. Group interviews also allow discussions to develop, thus yielding a wide range of responses which could be useful in generating issues. The disadvantage of group interviews as Watts and Ebbutt note, is that personal matters are prevented from emerging. This was compensated for by administering individual interviews and questionnaires. Primary school teachers and high school teachers were interviewed in separate groups as issues could differ

between the two educational phases. Group interviews took place in a school office during break times (as afternoon activities impinged on individual time) with provision made for extra time if necessary. Individual interviews were made by appointment and the venues varied according to convenience.

### **Piloting the Interview**

Slavin (1984) espouses that it is critical to pilot-test interview schedules. This should provide the necessary training for the researcher on interviewing technique and also help resolve issues of clarity and ambiguity with individual items. The interview procedure was therefore pre-tested on respondents outside the sample but from the same population group of the main study. Teachers from Carmel Pre-Primary and Junior Primary were interviewed for this purpose as they have a common interest in Carmel College and Jewish education.

### **Recording Responses**

With permission from the respondents, group responses were recorded on a tape recorder. Slavin (1984) says that taping is useful, because it is a permanent record of what was actually said instead of what the interviewer thought was said. Information was also recorded on the interview schedule and transcripts (which were transcribed immediately after the interview to ensure accuracy) were made available to respondents who wished to elaborate upon or clarify their responses.

## **Phase Two**

### **Questionnaires**

To formalise the study, themes expanded on from the generative procedure were used to construct questionnaires. In order to take into account the different age and interest levels of the respondents, two types of questionnaires were constructed - one that was administered to the students and one that was sent to the parents. According to Davidson (1970, cited in Cohen and Manion 1995, p.92), an ideal questionnaire must be clear and unambiguous. It must, since people's participation is voluntary, also help to engage their interest and co-operation and elicit answers as close as possible to their perceptions of reality. Questionnaires were therefore designed to take cognisance of these elements.

### **Developing the Questionnaires**

Drawing on the situational analysis and the nature of Jewish education as outlined in Chapters Two and Three, it was evident that the purpose of Jewish education is to ensure the continuance of Judaism by fostering Jewish Identity. As it has already been postulated, Jewish Identity is a multifaceted phenomenon and is open to different degrees of interpretation. In Chapter Two I outlined some of the variables that impinge on Jewish Identity and the threat facing Jewish education in a new democratic South Africa. Jewish education in

Durban is sustained by a diminishing community, which I have speculated does not possess a strong sense of group identity. In order to meaningfully analyse respondents' opinions about Jewish education it was necessary to understand the extent of their Jewish Identity. It was assumed that opinions on Jewish education would be relative to degrees of Jewish Identity. The first section of the questionnaire therefore included questions pertaining to Jewish Identity. Further questions were constructed from the issues and themes generated in phase one. In order to retain richness, open-ended questions were included so that respondents could support or justify their responses. Likert scales and closed-form questions were also incorporated into the questionnaires as quantitative data was useful in supporting qualitative responses. Judd et al. (1991) argue that open-ended and closed-ended questions have complimentary strengths and weaknesses. Open-ended questions allow respondents to convey the fine shades of their attitude to their own satisfaction instead of forcing them to choose one of several statements. The combination of qualitative and quantitative findings thus allowed not only for the richness, colour and intensity of the respondents' attitudes but also added an extra dimension in that frequencies were used to support open-ended responses. In order to attain a good response rate the questionnaires were designed so that they looked easy and attractive. Judd et al. (1991) contend that the appearance of the questionnaire is vitally important. The questionnaires therefore included clear

wording. A covering letter explaining the nature and purpose of the research and a guarantee of anonymity was attached to the questionnaires.

### **Validity and Reliability**

Questions were structured so that they addressed as wide a range of issues as possible and were relevant to the research questions. The responses from the students and the parents were collated separately. (This made it possible to determine whether opinions differed between the groups). Both parent and student questionnaires incorporated the split-half measure to test reliability. Such a technique according to Judd et al. (1991) is useful in estimating reliability without having to test people on two separate occasions. This was done by using Likert scales and closed-form questions in conjunction with open-ended questions. (The same question was asked twice using different question techniques). The correlation between the responses from these two forms of questions helped in estimating the reliability of the questionnaires. The Heads of Judaic and Hebrew Studies at Carmel were asked to read the questionnaires so to ensure that they were clear, easy to understand and that there was no ambiguity regarding religious questions.

### **Pre-testing**

Simon (1986) believes that it is essential to pre-test a questionnaire before it is implemented. Backstrom and Hursh (1963) claim that a pre-test should be run under actual field conditions on people in the actual community or population.

The goal of the pre-test is to rework, improve and refine the aspect or aspects of the project. Questionnaires were therefore pre-tested under actual field conditions. As with the interviews, the questionnaires were also administered to respondents who were part of the study population but not part of the sample. Questionnaires were refined before final administration.

### **Administration**

Cohen and Manion (1995) believe that in order to maximise response levels, questionnaires posted should include a stamped reply envelope. Further to this, Hoinville and Jowell (1978) ascertain that a reminder letter accompanied by a further copy of the questionnaire (and stamped addressed envelope) is most productive in eliciting a high response level. It was planned therefore that questionnaires would be posted in accordance with these recommendations and a follow-up letter would be posted one week after the initial questionnaire had been mailed. Students would be requested to complete the questionnaire during Jewish Identity lessons. They would be informed of the purpose of the research and assured that their anonymity and confidentiality would be guaranteed.

### **Phase Three**

#### **Processing Survey Data**

To retain richness of the study it was planned that qualitative analysis would be used to analyse open-ended questions, interviews and documents. This would

be done by using grids to pattern qualitative data. Descriptive summaries would be compiled synthesising the written responses. Quantitative data would be analysed using SPSS for windows if necessary. Frequencies would be used to establish patterns of meaning.

### **Supplementary Interviews**

If further research was deemed necessary in order to validate or substantiate the study additional interviews would be constructed. The nature of the interview and sample size would be determined by the analysis of the findings in phase three.

### **Ethical Considerations**

Simon (1986) says that ethics in social research can be broadly defined as "the proper manner of conduct" (p. 146). Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) claim that participants should know that their involvement is voluntary at all times, and they should receive a thorough explanation beforehand of the benefits, rights, risks, and dangers involved as a consequence of their participation in the research project. Since Carmel College has a nearly fifty percent non-Jewish population, sensitivity was required. Questionnaires would be administered during Jewish Identity lessons. (Non-Jewish students do not attend these lessons). All interviews and questionnaires were to be voluntary,



and every effort would be made to ensure there would be no psychological harm to the respondent. Guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity would be maintained.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONDUCT OF STUDY

The research for the study commenced in early December 1995 with Phase One which was a generative phase involving document analysis. As a part of this phase, a collection was made of Hashalom newspapers (which are Jewish newspapers circulated to the Durban Jewish community) between the periods January 1995 - December 1995. It was difficult, however, to identify articles which were relevant to the study, as most educational material had been written by the school principals or teachers from the Judaica department to promote the school. Whilst the Hashalom is a good source of reference since it is a chronicle of the history and local activities of the Durban Jewish community, the publications that were analysed contained little information which could be used to construct interview schedules or questionnaires. The articles did, however, serve to indicate the importance and value that the community place on Jewish education and the close relationship between school and community. The other procedures of Phase One in the generative stage followed the processes that were outlined in Chapter Four. The situational analysis was conducted in accordance with Skilbeck's (1982) concept of analysis of external and internal criteria. Chapter Two describes this analysis in detail. The review of literature relevant to the nature and goals of Jewish education, which was conducted in

December 1995, involved an in depth study of the purpose and nature of Jewish education. This formed the theoretical base for the study and is expounded on in Chapter Three. Altogether Phase One of the study was not only useful in contextualising the study but also proved to be invaluable in generating issues which were used to construct a semi-structured interview schedule.

Piloting the interview schedule was most beneficial, in that it gave much needed interviewing experience and also helped to resolve issues of clarity and ambiguity within individual question items. (A final copy of the interview schedule is included in Appendix A.) Interviewing was conducted according to the plan outlined in the methodology chapter and all respondents identified as members of the target population were interviewed. In total, twenty-five individual interviews were conducted. Group interviews involving Jewish teachers were helpful in that pertinent issues emerged apropos the complex problems encountered in teaching Judaica in a multi-cultural situation. Interviews took place during the lunch break and lasted approximately one and a half hours. Provision was made to free the teachers from their teaching responsibilities for one hour after break. High and Primary school teachers were interviewed separately. The Principal's office was used as a venue. Interviews were taped and transcripts were made immediately afterwards. Individual interviews were organised by arranging appointments at suitable times. Interviews mainly took place in the respondents offices, although a few were

conducted in the Principal's office. Unfortunately, most of those interviewed claimed to feel inhibited with taping. Responses were therefore recorded in written form and transcribed as soon as possible thereafter. The interview schedule for the most part, was adhered to fairly strictly and was useful in maintaining focus, although one respondent, with very firm opinions, did not wish to be interviewed and chose instead to freely express his thoughts. The information gathered from this particular interview was most relevant. Transcripts were also made available to respondents but no changes were requested.

Albeit there was a lack of information gathered from the document analysis, the concept of triangulation was an important dimension of the Research Methodology. Both the situational analysis and the interviews generated essential issues which were used to construct questionnaires. The generative phase not only gave a clear focus to the study but many issues emerged which were not obvious on commencement of the research.

The questionnaires consisted of four sections : a few demographic questions, a section on Jewish Identity, items on the 'Jewish curriculum' and questions on the non-Jewish dimension (see Appendix B and C). As expounded in Chapter Four, open-ended questions were used in conjunction with closed-form questions. Each question was therefore paired, but separated from the other one, so that it

would not be obvious to the respondent that the same kind of question was being repeated. (For example, see questions 27 and 42 in Appendix C)

In Chapter Three I discussed the complex character of Jewish Identity which is a multifaceted phenomena. It was most difficult, if not impossible, in a study of this magnitude to accurately gauge levels of Jewish Identity. Inasmuch as the purpose of estimating such levels is to roughly compare respondents opinions on Jewish education to their levels of Jewish Identity, it must be stressed that the findings can only be a very general indicator. To compile questions on Jewish Identity I relied heavily on the comprehensive studies of Ben-Meir (1992), Butler (1994) and Reisman (1979) as well as advice and information from the teachers in the Carmel Judaica department. Questions were based on the criteria central to the philosophy of the national-traditional policy (as discussed in Chapter Three) namely; Zionism, religion and tradition. In order to take into account the fact that many parents had not had the opportunity to attend a Jewish school, the two questionnaires differed in this section (see questions 4-16 in Appendix B and 4-18 in Appendix C). Twelve (parents questionnaire) and fourteen (students questionnaire) closed-form questions were constructed. Closed-form questions were used as responses could be quantified, by totalling the positive responses ('yes') to question items so to determine levels of Jewish Identity. An open-ended question about the importance of Israel to Judaism was also included in this section in both questionnaires, as answers to this question,

could help one to understand the respondents' consciousness towards this extremely important dimension of Jewish Identity.

Two separate questionnaires, one set to be administered to students and one set to be posted to parents were completed by mid-February 1996. A pre-test was conducted using seven adults who were part of the community (but not selected in the sample) and nine grade ten students. Questionnaires were then refined and prior to posting questionnaires to parents, final approval was sought from the School Board. Unfortunately, at this stage of the proceedings, the Board were of the opinion that the questionnaires contained items that were of a sensitive nature and could cause distress in the community, especially at a time when the school was experiencing a period of expeditious transformation with regard to the enrolment of non-Jewish students. Whilst they fully sanctioned the study, and were most supportive of it, they believed that if the questionnaires were posted they could circulate amongst not only the Jewish community but also the non-Jewish community and the intentions of the study could be misunderstood. It was therefore decided, due to the sensitivity of the study, to administer the questionnaire privately to each respondent. This meant arranging times to meet with each respondent, explaining the purpose of the study and ensuring that the questionnaire was returned directly after completion. Inasmuch as each questionnaire would have to be administered individually and could take up to fifty minutes to complete, in order to ensure manageability, it

was necessary to reduce the original parent sample from fifteen per cent to five per cent. Notwithstanding, in an endeavour to maintain reasonable representation of the parent body, the sampling plan was re-structured so that two parents from each grade (one to twelve) were sampled using a simple random procedure. Even though it must be acknowledged that such a small sample radically restricts making generalisations it did mean that the purpose of the study could be fully explained to each respondent and queries could be dealt with, thus there was a hundred per cent return on questionnaires. Furthermore, the findings of preceding interviews would be used together with information gathered from the questionnaires to enrich the study. The restricted parent sample, to some degree, would also be compensated for by the fact that ninety-six per cent of the students returned their questionnaires. As it has been argued in Chapter Four, the students opinions are of even more relevance than those of the parents inasmuch as they are the recipients of Jewish education. (Hence the justification for a non-proportionate, stratified sample). Altogether twenty-four parents completed the questionnaire.

Questionnaires to students were administered on two separate occasions - once to the grade eleven group and once to the grade twelve group. The school lecture theatre was used as a venue and non-Jewish students were involved in other activities, as this period was allocated to Jewish Identity lessons. On each occasion the purpose of the study was fully explained and guarantees of

confidentiality were ensured. Even though it was elucidated that the questionnaires were voluntary, all those who attended the sessions completed the questionnaire. Altogether, fifty-two students out of a total population of fifty-four participated in the study.

All questionnaires were completed by the end of the first term, 1996. Analysis of gathered information commenced in May 1996. Although parent and student questionnaires were collated separately, the same analysis procedure was used for both questionnaires. Each question form was given a number so that reference could easily be made to it should the need arise. Levels of Jewish Identity were then calculated and were written out on the top left hand side of each question form, again for easy reference. Quantitative and qualitative questions were separated into two categories, namely; Jewish curriculum and multi-culturalism. Before undertaking the analysis, a reliability check was made (as described in Chapter Four) by comparing closed-form and open-form responses. Responses that were not consistent were omitted from the findings, thus excluding information which could be misleading. For example, one student responding to the question, 'Students from other religions should do Hebrew and Jewish studies' ticked 'disagree strongly'. In an open ended question, ' All students irrespective of their religion should do Jewish studies', the same student wrote " Yes. As it is a Jewish school all pupils of all religions should know what Judaism is about".



Frequencies were used to quantify Likert scales and closed-form questions, pie charts, bar graphs, scattergrams and tables were also utilised to ascertain patterns of meaning. Grids were used to pattern written responses and descriptive summaries were compiled.

Although provision was made for supplementary interviews to validate or substantiate the study, these were not needed as the analysis of interviews and questionnaires yielded a wealth of relevant and 'rich' material from which it was conceivable to describe the nature of the existing conditions. These findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

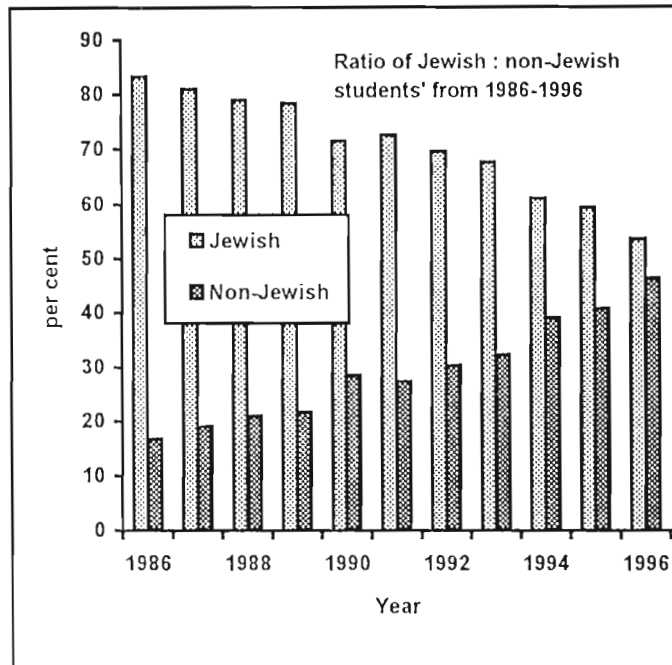
## CHAPTER SIX

### FINDINGS

As elucidated in Chapter Three, Carmel was established as a Jewish school for Jewish children, not a multi-cultural school for children from other cultures. In this chapter I will endeavour to explore the emerging issues of managing a Jewish school within a multi-cultural framework. Findings generated from the research will be discussed with specific reference to the nature and purpose of Jewish education. For reasons discussed in Chapter Five, The Conduct of Study, findings cannot be used to make generalisations because of the relatively small sample size. Nevertheless, sampling was representative of the total parent body (parents were represented in all grades from one to twelve) and there may be many other parents who share the views of the respondents.

In Chapter Three it was outlined how the filling of the school with non-Jewish students has raised a number of educational issues. The graph on the next page (Figure 2) shows the Jewish to non-Jewish student population change over the last ten years.

FIGURE 2



By referring to the graph it can be observed that in 1986 the school had an over eighty per cent Jewish student enrolment. Prior to 1989 the Jewish student enrolment figure remained over eighty per cent. In 1990 there was a fairly significant Jewish population decrease of five per cent. Between 1990 and 1993 the Jewish student enrolment remained static, at about seventy per cent. From 1993 there was a steady decrease of Jewish students and an increase of non-Jewish students. The graph shows that in 1996, the Jewish population of the school had declined to fifty-five per cent.

Since Carmel College was established as a Jewish School to provide education primarily for Jewish children, there is no doubt that the enrolment of non-Jewish students has steadily increased to such a proportion, that Carmel is now providing education for nearly as many non-Jewish students as Jewish students.

Goss (1961) maintained that Jewish education is not only instilled through formal teaching, but also through the informal social milieu which is fundamental in inculcating and perpetuating authentic messages of Judaism. To this end, a senior and highly respected member of the Durban Hebrew Congregation who was interviewed claimed that intensifying the Jewish ethos of the school would not make the school more Jewish, only Jewish children make the school Jewish. He asserted that by accepting non-Jewish children into the school, an artificial environment is created which is counter productive to the goals of Jewish education. A multi-cultural environment, he affirmed, runs the risk of coercing non-Jewish children to comply with norms and values of Judaism thus increasing the likelihood of assimilation. Furthermore, a mixed cultural environment could also create a type of apartheid in that educational needs would remain focused on Jewish children with little attention being given to non-Jewish children. A respondent from the Durban Women's Zionist League also believed that accepting non-Jewish students is problematic. She said: "We cannot ignore the non-Jews. Consequently, the Jewish content must become diluted because Jewish children are exposed to something that's not their own. We need more

Jewish children in the school". Not all respondents, though, were of the same opinion. A senior and respected member of the Reform Congregation ascertained that non-Jewish students do not dilute Jewish Identity and stated that "Carmel doesn't strengthen Jewish Identity more than any other influence, for example, the family". Some people affirm that the formal part of the 'Jewish curriculum' is what makes a school Jewish. A representative from the Council of KwaZulu-Natal Jewry proclaimed :

As long as there are prayers, Jewish studies and Hebrew I will always regard Carmel as a Jewish school. We must also protect other minority groups - time should be given to them. Even if the school only has a five per cent Jewish enrolment if these components are present then it will be a Jewish school.

The table below (Table 1) indicates Parents' responses to statements on Jewish education at Carmel.

TABLE 1

PARENTS' RESPONSES ON JEWISH EDUCATION AT CARMEL	
Carmel should accept students of other religions	75%
Carmel should limit the number of non-Jewish students enrolled at the school	55%
Carmel provides a Jewish environment so that children can mix with other Jewish children	25%
Carmel children learn tolerance and an understanding of different cultures	54%

As is illustrated in Table1, the majority of parents agree that Carmel should accept students of other religions. Fifty-five per cent of the parents who responded to the questionnaire, claimed that there should be a limit on the number of non-Jewish students enrolled into the school. An analysis of parents' responses as to why they send their children to Carmel, indicates the diverse views expressed thus far. Although the findings cannot be applied to all, it would seem that from those interviewed, parents send their children to Carmel because they regard it as a Jewish community school. They are impressed with the exceptional academic standards. A small group of parents want their children to mix with other Jewish children, whereas over fifty per cent of respondents want their children to learn tolerance and an understanding of different cultures by mixing in a multi-cultural environment. The table below (Table 2) reflects students' perceptions of Jewish education at Carmel.

TABLE 2  
STUDENTS ' PERCEPTIONS OF JEWISH EDUCATION AT  
CARMEL

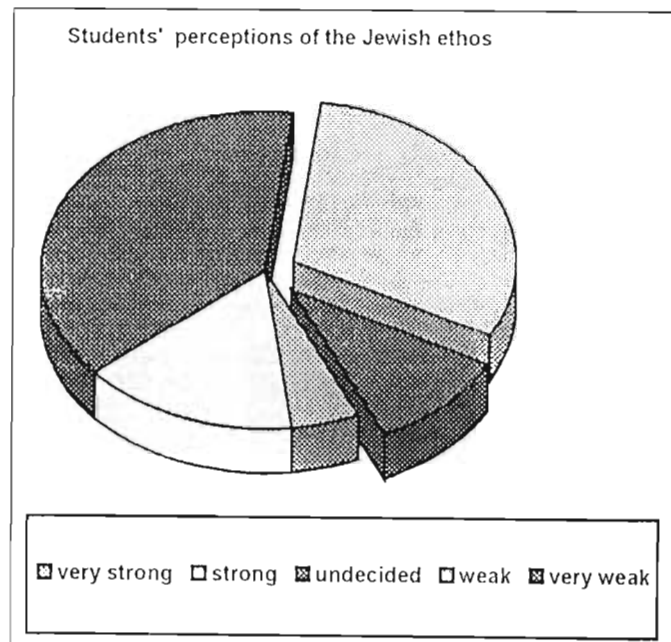
Carmel is a Jewish School	84%
Carmel provides a high quality of secular education	64%

A large majority of students have a very strong conviction that they attend Carmel because they are Jewish and the school is vital in sustaining their

Judaism. Students commented : "Carmel helps to build and strengthen our Jewish Identity"; " It is important for Jews in the Diaspora to stick together"; "It is important to be involved in the community, and it is the responsibility for Jewish parents to support Jewish education"; "I am Jewish - Carmel is a Jewish Day School. I fear if I do not attend Carmel I will assimilate into the greater community and lose my Judaism." Whilst a substantial portion of students affirmed that Carmel offers them a high quality secular education, there is little doubt that they understand Carmel to be a Jewish school for Jewish education.

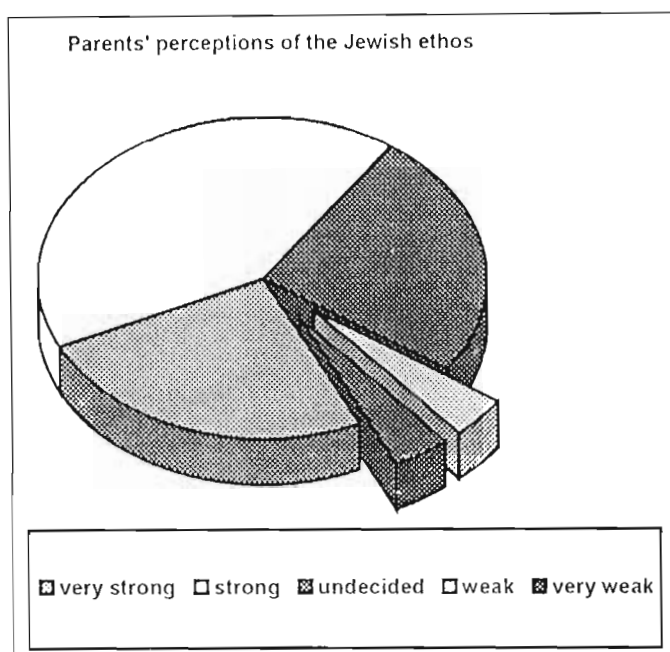
The pie chart below (Figure 3) represents students' perceptions of the Jewish ethos, which is created in the school by the presence of Jewish symbols, and such activities as music, prayers and religious festivals relevant to Judaism.

FIGURE 3



As indicated, the two removed slices represent a proportion of sixteen respondents who consider the Jewish ethos to be weak and five who believe it to be very weak. Twenty of the students are undecided about the intensity of the Jewish ethos. The pie chart below (Figure 4) reflects the parents' perceptions of the Jewish ethos.

FIGURE 4

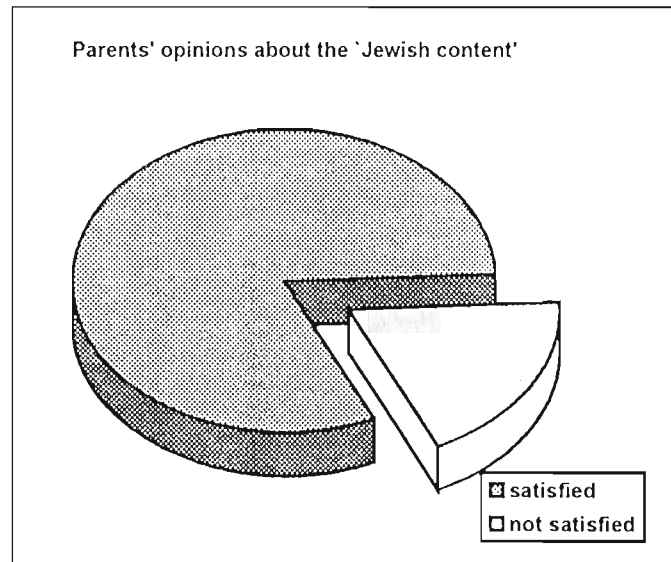


As indicated, the two removed slices represent a proportion of respondents who deem the Jewish ethos to be either weak or very weak. Sixteen of the parents believe the Jewish ethos to be strong or very strong. Whilst the views expressed by the parents cannot be extended to the general population, responses from interviews also revealed that the majority of parents believe the Jewish ethos to be strong. A comparison between the two charts suggests that although the parents appear to be satisfied or more than satisfied with the



like to see a stronger Jewish ethos. Parents are apparently pleased with the 'Jewish content', which is that part of the curriculum which focuses specifically on Judaism. The chart below (Figure 5) illustrates their views.

FIGURE 5



Students, nevertheless, are not so satisfied with the Jewish content. The table on the next page (Table 3) indicates their opinions of the 'Jewish curriculum'.

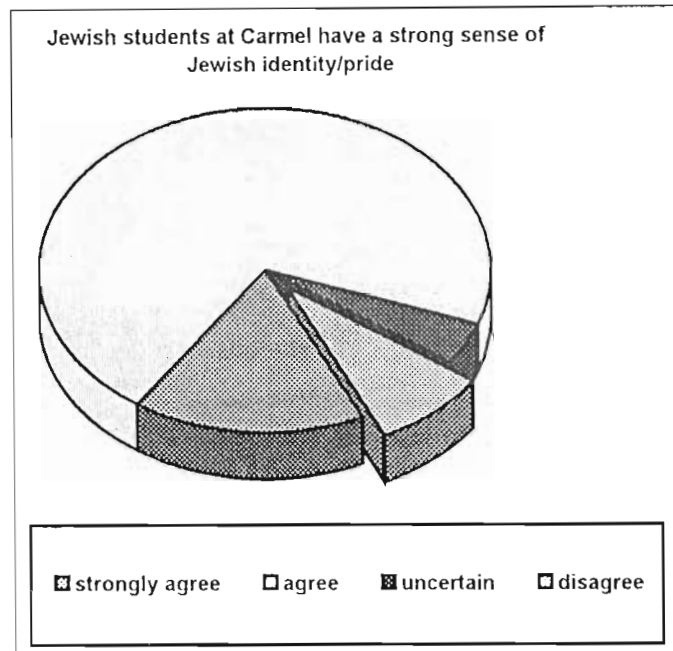
TABLE 3

STUDENTS ' OPINIONS OF THE 'JEWISH CURRICULUM' AT CARMEL	
Prayers are central to Judaism	70%
There is not too much emphasis on religion	78%
More time in the school day should be allocated to Jewish studies	55%
Hebrew should be compulsory up to standard eight	91%
Jewish survival is dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel	82%
Jewish survival is dependent on marrying within the faith	88%

Over half of the students would like to see more time in the school day dedicated to Jewish studies. It is also interesting to note that thirty per cent of the respondents were uncertain if they would like more Jewish studies taught, which may suggest that they would not be adverse to a more intense 'Jewish curriculum'. As can be observed from studying the figures in Table 3, students seem to identify closely with all aspects of the 'Jewish curriculum'. Although there are differing opinions as to how prayers should be conducted, seventy per cent of respondents believe that prayers are central to Judaism and very much part of Jewish education. Students would also welcome more religion. They claim that religion enhances their understanding of their culture and that it would

help to alleviate the lack of Jewish spirit. Responding to a question on religion in the questionnaire two students wrote : "...religion at Carmel is almost non-existent and the Jews seem to lose their identity especially in a mixed school. Religion would give clear direction" and " There should be more religion at Carmel - if this is not the case too many Jews are going to assimilate". There is also a very strong belief in the value of Hebrew. Notwithstanding, considerable criticism as to how Hebrew should be taught (criticism mainly centres around the need for more conversational Hebrew as many students think that the Hebrew taught presently is too old fashioned and not useful), ninety-one per cent of the students agreed that Hebrew should be compulsory up to standard eight. An indication of the students degree of Jewish Identity is clearly reflected in their responses regarding Zionism and marriage. Eighty-two per cent of the respondents believe that Jewish survival is dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel and eighty-eight per cent of the respondents believe that Jewish survival is dependent on marrying within the faith. Apart from criticism that Hebrew should be more conversational, parents consider that students at Carmel have a strong sense of Jewish Identity, and that the 'Jewish curriculum' is more than adequate. The chart (Figure 6) on the next page reflects parents' perceptions of students Jewish Identity.

FIGURE 6



Parents, as Sklare and Greenblum (1967) elucidate, want Jewish identification for their children and so put their hopes in Jewish education. To this end, parents appear to be content that their children have a strong sense of Jewish Identity. Whilst they acknowledge that early morning prayers, Jewish studies, and Hebrew are important elements in Jewish education they do not seem to desire a more intense approach to Judaica. Only thirty per cent of the parents would like extra time in the curriculum allocated to Hebrew and thirty-five per cent would like more time designated to Jewish studies. Thirty-seven per cent of the parents presume that Zionism is given enough emphasis in the curriculum. If these findings do reflect the aspirations of the Jewish parents, then Sklare and Greenblum's conjecture that parents actively resist any education that over

emphasises Jewish education might suggest that if the 'Jewish curriculum' needs to be improved on, there may be parental disapproval.

Ostensibly, whilst parents are relatively satisfied with Jewish education at Carmel, students would like a more intense Judaica programme. Considering that national-tradition education (as described in Chapter Three), according to Shimoni (1980) reflects the lax mode of observance in most pupils' homes, it is interesting to observe that despite home influence, it seems that students are not happy with the level of Jewish education they are receiving. Perhaps, Goss' (undated) rationale that Jewish schools could create a new generation of committed Jewish adults is a possibility. The reasons as to why students desire a more intense 'Jewish curriculum' will be pursued at a later stage in this chapter.

As discussed in Chapter Two the 'Jewish curriculum' is underpinned with Jewish values and Jewish and non-Jewish students are exposed to the same curriculum. The following comments from both High school and Primary school Jewish studies teachers reflect the problems that they are experience in teaching in a multi-cultural environment :

Jews cannot act freely. How do I teach a poem like going back to the promised land if I have a Moslem child in my class? This is a nationalistic poem. To talk about the Christian massacre is very emotive. Feelings will be hurt. I can't teach freely. (High school teacher)

I bend over backwards to avoid sensitive issues. Maybe we shouldn't have programmes such as Jerusalem 3000 ? It's so hard to be sensitive when Jerusalem is so central because I'm afraid to alienate - it's like a circle. (High school teacher)

In Jewish studies I try to turn them on and enthuse them to be Jewish - to aspire them to be more Jewish. I'm certainly not trying to convert non-Jewish kids to be Jewish. (High school teacher)

On Speech night a Hindu man said to me, "Please show us where the benching<sup>4</sup> is because we have to leave early and we have to bench". They asked if they could sing Hitikva<sup>5</sup>, they love Hitikva. (High school teacher)

One Hindu mum said to me, "I think my girl is going to convert to Judaism". I didn't know how to react. The daughter told me that she was really interested in converting and wanted to come back next year for Shabbat services and for the Pesach Seder<sup>6</sup>. How do you teach Jewish studies? Are you going to turn them on? It may not be only the Jewish kids that get turned on. (High school teacher)

You cannot separate religion and tradition but the school must lead in a certain direction. With non-Jewish children you have to compromise. (High school teacher)

With so many non-Jewish children being accepted into the school it's becoming increasingly more difficult to deal with all the different levels of Hebrew. (Primary school teacher)

Carmel should only be Jewish. I look at Pesach. I take that festival every year because Pesach time is when we include the non-Jewish children at the Seders and those practises, the rehearsals for the Seder have got worse and worse every year because the non-Jewish children are not interested, they are forced to sit during the actual Seder and they distract the other children. (Primary school teacher)

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<sup>4</sup> Grace after a meal

<sup>5</sup> Israeli National Anthem

<sup>6</sup> Passover meal

With more non-Jewish children in the school there is little doubt that teachers are experiencing difficulty teaching in a multi-cultural environment. Most teachers feel restricted because they are sensitive to the feelings of the non-Jewish students. Their teaching therefore is liable to be less emotive than they would like and many sensitive issues are not dealt with in depth. There is also the possibility that some non-Jewish students are identifying with Jewish values.

Parents, however, do not seem to be aware of the problems of teaching Judaism in a multi-cultural environment and whilst accepting that the proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish student enrolment should be monitored, uphold the opinion that Carmel should accept non-Jewish students. The general consensus from those parents who participated in the study is that Jews must learn to mix with other cultures and learn tolerance and understanding. Parents wrote :

It is good for children to learn about race and culture and religious tolerance for their future life.

I believe it is vital to mix cross-culturally in the society in which we live.

To keep Carmel going we need to enrol full fee-paying pupils. I feel there should not be isolation from non-Jews.

A senior representative of the Orthodox Synagogue, albeit, does not agree with the parents' sentiments. In an interview, he said that there is a segment of the community that believe Jews should not be isolated at an early age from the broader community (non-Jewish community). Therefore it is acceptable to have

a large non-Jewish enrolment because this creates the opportunity for interaction. This segment of the community would rather take their children out of the school (usually after barmitzvah and batmitzvah age) if the school was predominantly Jewish. He elucidates further, by claiming the argument that Jewish children will not have the skills to integrate in the broader society is absurd, since such children have every opportunity to associate with the secular world. (For example: television, films, sport and so forth). Even if the school was one hundred per cent Jewish, this would not affect children from integrating because Durban is not a ghetto type community - Jews live within a broader community. As it has been argued in Chapter Three the purpose of the Jewish Day school is to instil a strong sense of Jewish Identity. By nature, Jewish Day Schools do not cater for other cultures in that they do not implement a multi-cultural education programme. There is therefore a dilemma inasmuch as whilst parents want their children to mix with children from other religions, non-Jewish children are been exposed to a 'Jewish curriculum' which is underpinned with Jewish values. A possible solution to this situation could be to offer alternate religious lessons for the non-Jewish students. Be that as it may, ninety-one per cent of the parents surveyed, attest that this is not a viable option. Most parents hold strong opinions that Carmel is first and foremost a Jewish school and to this end non-Jewish students must comply with school policy. Many parents also consider that non-Jewish students should do Hebrew and Jewish studies. On a question of assimilation, fifty-four per cent of the parents are convinced that their



children would not assimilate, providing the content of the curriculum is very Jewish, “keep the school content very Jewish and this shouldn’t happen” and “No, if enough emphasis is placed on Jewishness this will not easily materialise” are typical parental responses. Fourteen per cent of the parents were uncertain, “Maybe to a certain extent if children allowed to” and “Possibly, it depends how easily a Jewish child can be influenced”, were some of the responses. Thirty-two per cent of the respondents did acknowledge that the potential for assimilation exists. Parents commented that Jewish children will make friends with non-Jewish children and therefore assimilate. “It will be harder to keep Kosher, keep Sabbath and hold by Jewish value - e.g. Zionistic ideas” (parent response).

So whilst parents want to accept non-Jewish children, they are uncertain about the influence this could have on Jewish education or the difficulties involved in teaching a curriculum underpinned with Jewish values in a multi-cultural school.

Students also agree that Carmel should accept non-Jewish students, partly because of financial reasons and also so that they can learn to mix and understand other cultures. However, they have very strong opinions that non-Jewish students should not be entitled to their own religious lessons. The vast majority of respondents hold the opinion that Carmel is only a Jewish school.

Some of the comments students made are :

As it is a Jewish school only Jewish classes must be offered. No other religious lessons should take place.

No, they've chosen to be at a Jewish school and must bare the consequences - only Jewish classes should be taught.

This is a private school and therefore independent. It is a Jewish school and if one is of another faith and wants some focus on that faith then one should attend another school.

No this is a Jewish school they can go to private lessons after school.

Definitely not. Non-Jews before coming to this school are aware of the fact that it is a Jewish day school and should be prepared to accept that along with many other things.

No. I don't think so because if they come to Carmel they must learn about Judaism. If they want to study about other faiths why not go to another school? Carmel is a Jewish school.

These comments clearly reflect the conflict between the unique and separate nature of Jewish education and a multi-cultural environment. The complex phenomenon of a 'multi-cultural Jewish school' is further evident in the responses the students give as to whether or not only Jewish students should be eligible for head student. Once again there is little doubt that they are convinced that Carmel is a Jewish school and the head student should be Jewish. Student responses indicate that a non-Jew would not be able to understand Jewish needs or represent the school at community functions. There is also an impression that a non-Jewish head student could unintentionally misrepresent Jewish students through ignorance. Students generally believe that a head student should be a role model and therefore Jewish. Students wrote :

A head student needs to be in prayers. They must be able to dovern<sup>7</sup> and pray and be a role model. It is supposed to be a Jewish school then a role model should be Jewish.

As long as Carmel is a Jewish Day school the head students must be Jewish. A Jewish school must have Jewish head students!

Yes, it upholds the Jewish community and it shows that Carmel is a Jewish school.

Naturally yes, this is a Jewish school after all and the head student is a representative of the type/image of the school.

A head student is an ambassador of the school and I feel it is more appropriate for that person to be Jewish.

Whilst Judaism is fervently opposed to any form of discrimination, it is somewhat ironic that the filling of the school with non-Jewish students imposes a situation whereby students are coerced into making prejudicial choices. Thirty-two per cent of the students claim that students irrespective of their religion should not have equal opportunity to participate in everything the school has to offer. It can now be speculated that a reason why the students desire more religion and a more intense Judaica programme is the possibility that their Jewish Identity is being influenced by the influx of non-Jewish students into the school. When analysing students' responses there is an undertone of antagonism. Many of the respondents refer to themselves as 'us' and the non-Jewish students as 'they'. The non-Jewish students come to a Jewish school because they want to, therefore they must accept that it is a Jewish school and abide by school policy. In a way it appears that Jewish students are responding to a more non-Jewish

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<sup>7</sup> Laying Tephellin (phylacteries worn by Jewish men during weekday morning services)

environment by being intensely passionate about their Judaism. It could also be speculated that the multi-cultural dimension whilst inadvertently inducing a strong sense of Jewishness amongst Jewish students is polarising the student body. Such a group dynamic - the 'us' and 'they' scenario could give cause to anti-Semitism and exacerbate conflict between Jewish and non-Jewish students and thus nullify the notion, that a multi-cultural environment enhances tolerance and cultural understanding.

As it has already been expounded (in Chapter Three) the purpose of Jewish education is to ensure the continuance of the Jewish religion, Jewish heritage and the Jewish way of life by fostering a strong sense of Jewish Identity. The scattergrams (Figures 7 and 8) on the next page are useful when drawing comparisons between respondents' opinions and their levels of Jewish Identity. It must, however, be stressed that such levels of Jewish Identity are only very basic indicators. Levels are expressed as percentages. A respondent with a hundred per cent level of Jewish Identity, identifies very strongly with such elements as religion, tradition and Zionism. A respondent falling in the low level (50% and below) does not identify very strongly with these elements.

FIGURE 7

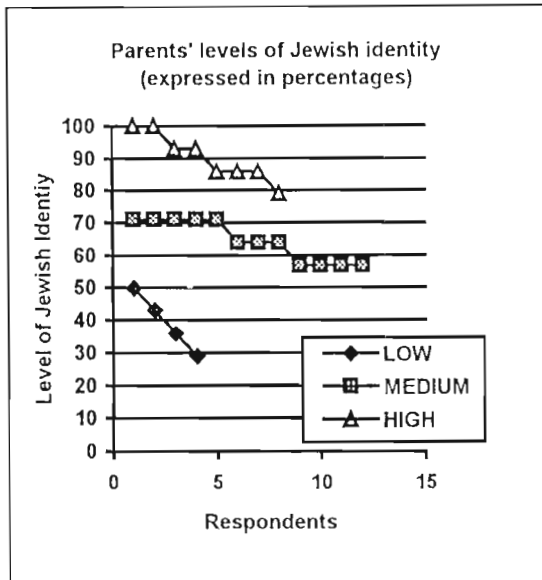
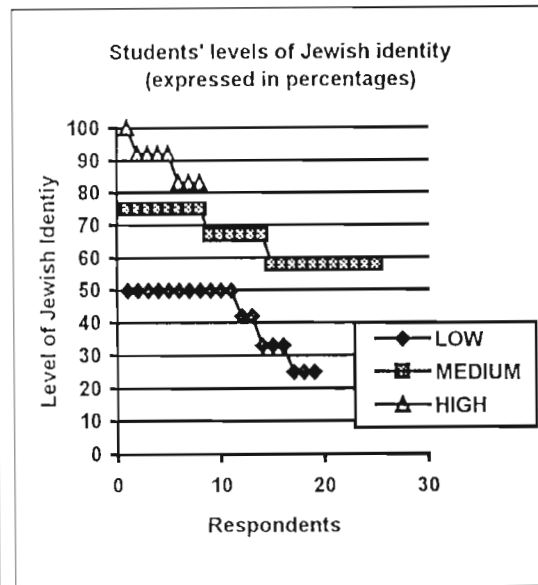


FIGURE 8



As might be anticipated there is a very strong relationship between respondents opinions and their level of Jewish Identity. Respondents (both parents and students) who have a high level of Jewish Identity have intense opinions about the elements that constitute Jewish Identity. For example parents who presume that Carmel has a weak Jewish ethos and are not satisfied with the 'Jewish content' have Jewish Identity levels above ninety per cent. The same scenario applies to the student responses. Those who do not want more time in school day for Jewish studies and do not consider that Hebrew should be a compulsory subject generally fall into the 'low level' category. The majority of students who support the view that marrying within the faith is not important also displayed low identity levels. The opposite situation is also applicable - those respondents with medium to high ranges of Jewish Identity generally want more religion and more time for Hebrew and Jewish studies. If the purpose of Jewish education is

to instil a strong sense of Jewish Identity then it is likely that if parents and students do not identify with the essential elements of Judaism, such a goal is more difficult to achieve.

In Chapter Two I speculated that the filling of the school could have serious implications not only for the school but also for the community. In Chapter Three I looked at the nature and purpose of Jewish education and argued that Jewish education by nature should be separate because its main purpose is to socialise children into Judaism. Carmel was established as a Jewish School, not a multi-cultural school. The informal environment according to Goss (1961) in which children mix, is vital to Jewish education, especially since the Jewish family can no longer be relied upon as the sole agent for ensuring Jewish survival. Whilst the majority of parent and student respondents confirm that Carmel should accept non-Jewish students, in that it facilitates understanding and tolerance between different cultures, there is a 'down side' to what appears to be a virtuous cause. Inasmuch as the Jewish curriculum is specifically designed for Jewish children, there is little provision made for the needs of the non-Jewish children. All students are exposed to the same curriculum, hence, they are equally vulnerable to the affects of a curriculum that is rooted in a particular value system. As Ben-Meir (1992) claims, assimilation can be regarded as having the converse relation to Jewish Identity : the more the Jew is assimilated the weaker is his/her identity. Exposing non-Jewish students to a Jewish

curriculum is the antithesis of the nature and purpose of Jewish education. Not only could non-Jewish students be influenced by Jewish values but as the proportion of Jews to non-Jews changes, so Jewish students could be influenced by different cultural values. Some of the responses from High school and Primary school Jewish studies teachers reflect how strongly non-Jewish students have identified themselves with the Jewish culture. Jewish teachers find themselves in a situation where they have to compromise their approach to teaching. As teachers are continually aware of non-Jewish students and do not want to offend them, their teaching is prone to be somewhat superficial. Although this situation could possibly be placated by offering religious lessons to non-Jewish students, respondents are very opposed to this. They believe adamantly that Carmel is a Jewish school and to this end it is not acceptable to provide such lessons. Non-Jewish students have choices if they want to study their own religion then they must do so in the afternoons or find another school. Once again this highlights the incompatibility of a mono-cultural education institution in a multi-cultural society. Despite the problems encountered by teachers to enthuse students in Judaism, students do seem to have a strong sense of Jewish Identity, which may neutralise the possibility of assimilation. Students responses imply that they associate themselves strongly with elements of the Jewish curriculum. Even though parents are inclined to be satisfied with the Jewish content and ascertain that the Jewish ethos is strong, students would like to see more religion. Students also believe that the Jewish ethos could be

improved. Whilst these findings might suggest that Carmel is successful in fulfilling its role in socialising children into Judaism (in that students want more Jewish content), it may not be the teaching, nor the Jewish curriculum which is responsible for this. It could be postulated that the dynamics of a multi-cultural environment is polarising Jewish students and non-Jewish students and creating group identity. If this assumption has merit then the filling of the school with non-Jewish students could have serious implications, in that such a situation may give rise to cultural conflict. The increased enrolment of non-Jewish students means that Carmel must evaluate the curriculum. Inasmuch as Carmel is a Jewish school it is also a multi-cultural school. In enrolling their children into the school, non-Jewish parents are aware their children will do Hebrew (in the Primary school) and Jewish studies (in the High and Primary school) and be subjected to a Jewish curriculum. The assumptions upon which this enrolment policy is based, need to be re-visited. One can further question the ethics of exposing non-Jewish students to a Jewish curriculum. Since Carmel has almost a fifty per cent non-Jewish enrolment it has to take greater cognisance of the needs of students from other cultures. It has been conjectured that Jewish education is incongruous in a multi-cultural environment and that these two entities are incompatible. To this end, Jewish education would conflict with multi-cultural education since Jewish education caters only for Judaism. To make provision for these two unique entities within a 'Jewish school' will be an onerous task. Carmel, however, is a multi-cultural school - not only a Jewish



school, an enigma that remains largely unnoticed by parents and other members of the Jewish community. In the next chapter recommendations will be made in the light of these findings.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings discussed in the previous chapter reveal the complex nature of education at Carmel. It has been asserted that the filling of the school with students from other cultures has raised some important issues that need to be addressed, the most salient being that Jewish education and multi-cultural education are not compatible. Be that as it may, Carmel has almost a fifty per cent non-Jewish enrolment and to this end, is in essence, a multi-cultural school. Whilst generally, Jewish students identify strongly with their culture, it has been speculated that the multi-cultural milieu at Carmel may be the basis for this group identity. My interpretation of the findings indicate that there is potential for cultural discord and lack of unity within the school. Such dissension, however, is contrary to the sentiments of many of the respondents, who supported the view that Carmel should accept non-Jewish students and believe this to be valuable in fostering tolerance and understanding between cultures. This leads on to another important issue - many parents at Carmel are not fully aware of the nature and purpose of Jewish education or the need to change the curriculum. Findings as discussed in the previous chapter, reveal that although parents are satisfied with Jewish education at Carmel, students are not. On the other hand teachers are finding it increasingly difficult to teach Judaica in a multi-cultural environment. Such a situation implies that change will

be difficult to implement, in that if there is a lack of understanding about the need for change, there will be little urgency to implement it.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that change to the curriculum is desirable and it will be necessary for those who are directly responsible for school policy to re-evaluate such policy in terms of the mission and purpose of Jewish education. Referring once more to Rubenstein's (1995) rationale for Jewish education, the question can again be asked : If the urgency of Jewish education in the community is lacking, to what extent will society (the Jewish community) oppose a school which diverges from its value consensus?

If the purpose of Jewish education is to socialise children into Judaism then the 'ideal' Jewish school should only have an enrolment of Jewish students. For reasons elucidated in Chapter Two, however, Carmel sustains a 'Jewish curriculum' in a multi-cultural environment and therefore, is a multi-cultural school. Notwithstanding, there is consensus in the Jewish community that, despite the mixed cultural environment, Carmel is first and foremost a Jewish school. Exposing both Jewish and non-Jewish students to the same curriculum is compromising ideals. Jewish studies teachers are restricted from teaching Judaism with intense passion and non-Jewish students are receptive to a curriculum which is foreign and not relevant to their needs. To this end, if Carmel is going to provide education for Jewish and non-Jewish students it will have to

examine not only the conditions of its enrolment policy, but also re-structure the curriculum to take cognisance of multi-culturalism. Since Carmel is a community school, changes to school policy can only be ratified with community consent.

Such consent will not be easy to attain since parents generally are satisfied with the Jewish content and ethos of the school. Furthermore, for the most part, although they accept that Jewish education is fundamental to Jewish survival they are unaware of the unique and separate nature of Jewish education. As elucidated in Chapter Six, there is a strong relationship between respondents' opinions on Jewish education and their level of Jewish Identity. Those that identify strongly with the elements of Judaism have resolute opinions on Jewish education. They believe Jewish education should not be compromised. Respondents, however, who do not identify that intensely with the elements of Judaism are satisfied to find a middle course, similar to the Carmel scenario. If Jewish education is a prerequisite to reaffirm the essence of Judaism and discover authentic identity then parents and other stakeholders in the Jewish community will need to be enlightened as to the mission of Jewish education. To this end, it is recommended that an adult education programme would be essential. Such a programme should not, however, be entirely the responsibility of the school but a shared initiative with the Durban United Hebrew Congregation (Orthodox Synagogue). As Rubenstein (1995) elucidates, religion plays an important role in community identification and the synagogue is clearly

the core of Jewish community identification. By involving the synagogue, the onus for Jewish education no longer rests exclusively with the school.

An adult community education programme may lay the foundations for a fresh look into the nature of education at Carmel. As it has been argued, multiculturalism and Jewish education are not compatible. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that the purpose of Carmel is to offer Jewish education to Jewish children. In view of the present circumstances, however, it should be accepted that Carmel cannot aspire to be an authentic Jewish school. It is also important to acknowledge the possibility that non-Jewish children attend Carmel because of the quality of education that it offers. To this end, non-Jewish parents are willing to accept that their children will be recipients of Jewish education. As the findings of my study clearly indicate that Jewish Studies teachers find it extremely difficult to teach their subject to a multi-cultural class it will be necessary to re-design the curriculum so to cater more adequately for Jewish and non-Jewish students.

A possible future scenario to the present dilemma would be to phase out the non-Jewish students over a period of time, until the school has only a Jewish enrolment. The implications of such action, which have already been investigated, clearly indicate that the school would not be financially viable.

If an adult education programme was initiated then a portion of the programme could focus on the exigency of Jewish education. It would also be necessary to explore how Carmel could re-structure school policy to cater more sufficiently for all its students. What is required, therefore, is an inquiry into how Carmel can run a school within a school. A second future scenario therefore could be to have a Jewish studies department within the school which would cater exclusively for Jewish students as well as to offer secular subjects for both Jewish and non-Jewish students. It is accepted that such a proposal is unusual and would be difficult to accomplish, but the situation at Carmel requires a redefinition of Jewish education which is relevant to its particular context. This could be done by offering non-Jewish students different subjects whilst their colleagues are studying Hebrew and Jewish studies. Again, this would be costly and in all likelihood there would be Jewish students who would like to select these alternate subjects. Jewish parents and students would have to understand, however, that Hebrew and Jewish studies would be obligatory. A third scenario could be to exclude Jewish studies and Hebrew from the curriculum altogether and offer these subjects to Jewish students after school. Apart from early morning prayers all students would do the same subjects during the school day. Inasmuch as only Jewish students would attend afternoon Judaica studies, teachers would be able to enthuse their students into Judaism. Such a scheme is worth considering, even though it would pose problems with school sport and extra curricular activities and lengthen the school day for

Jewish students. This scenario would only work, however, if Jewish parents and students accept that they have an obligation to Jewish education and that change to the existing system would be necessary.

A fourth scenario would be to offer alternate religious lessons. This would mean that both Jewish and non-Jewish students would be recipients of a more relevant curriculum. Such a situation could, however, be costly in that there are many different religions that would have to be catered for and this would require the employment of more staff. Furthermore, there is the possibility that this could lead to dissension between Jewish and non-Jewish students as indicated by student responses (reference, Chapter Six p.15).

To summarise, it can be said that only when parents identify with the purpose and mission of Jewish education can the scenarios discussed become realistic options. For this reason it has been recommended that :

- An adult education programme, which would be a shared responsibility of the Synagogue and the school is of paramount importance if changes to the present curriculum are to be implemented.

Accepting that an adult education programme is in place then the following scenarios could be considered :

- All non-Jewish students be phased out until the school becomes exclusively Jewish.

- Different subjects are offered to non-Jewish students whilst their colleagues are study Hebrew and Jewish Studies.
- Hebrew and Jewish studies would be excluded from the curriculum and these subjects offered to Jewish students after school hours.
- Alternate religious lessons be offered to non-Jewish students.

The recommendation and scenarios discussed in this study are intended to promote further discussion about the nature of Jewish education at Carmel. Obviously considerable thought must be given to the practicalities of such scenarios. What is of more significance, however, is that the findings of this research study do illuminate on the nature of existing conditions at Carmel.



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## APPENDIX A

### Interview Schedule

Date of Interview :

Place of Interview :

Individual Interview :

Group interview :

#### PART A

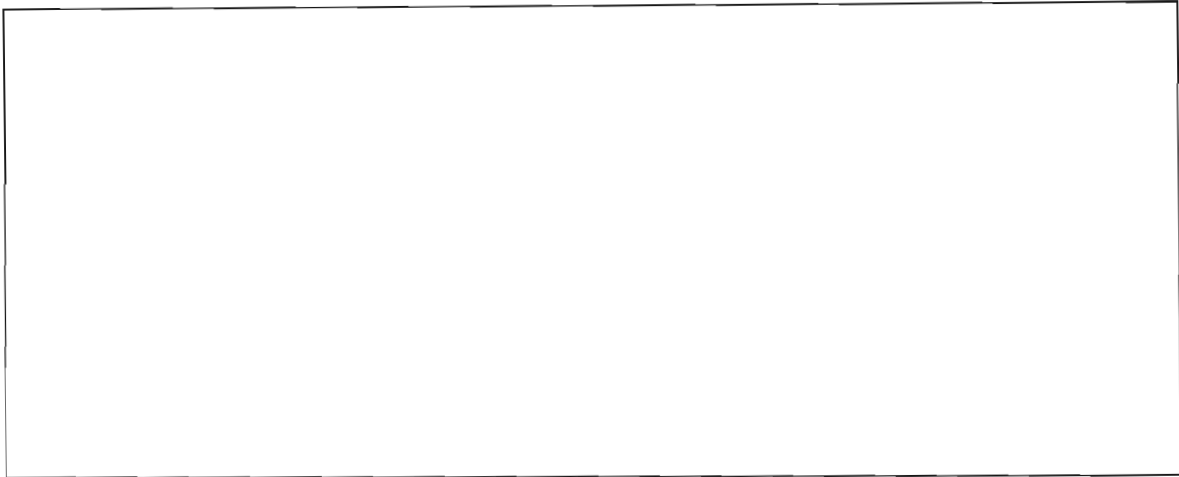
#### INTRODUCTION

Thank you for making yourself available for this interview. If you have no objection, I would like to tape record this discussion. Information obtained from this interview will be used to construct a questionnaire, which will be sent to parents. A questionnaire will also be administered to standard nine and ten students during Jewish Identity lessons. Copies will be available for your perusal.

The nature of my research has already been explained in the letter you received. Please express your opinions freely. What you say will be confidential and I will guarantee your anonymity.

## PART B

As you well know, our school has made the decision to accept more non-Jewish students. Do you agree with this decision. Please give reasons for your answers. (Interviewer to probe)

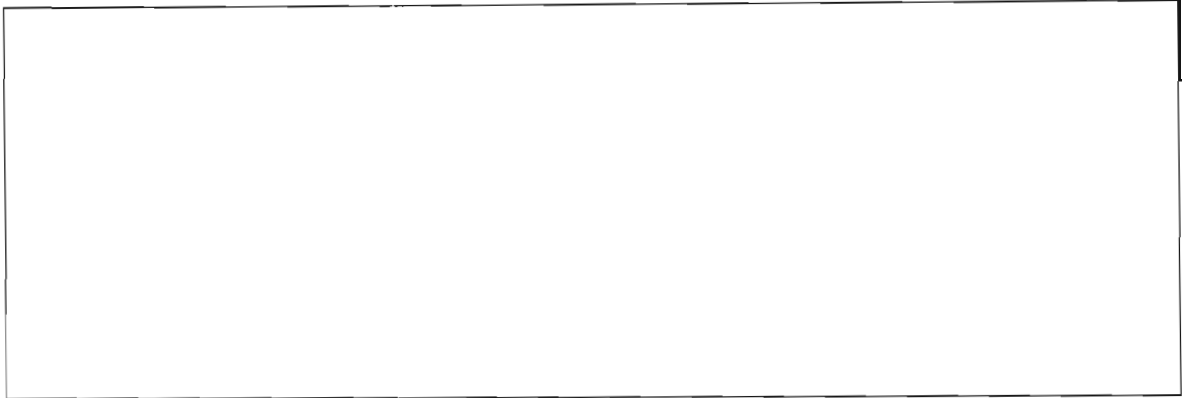


I have heard comments from other Jewish schools that only have an enrolment of Jewish students, that Carmel is no longer a Jewish school. Do you agree with this view ? Please give reasons for your response.

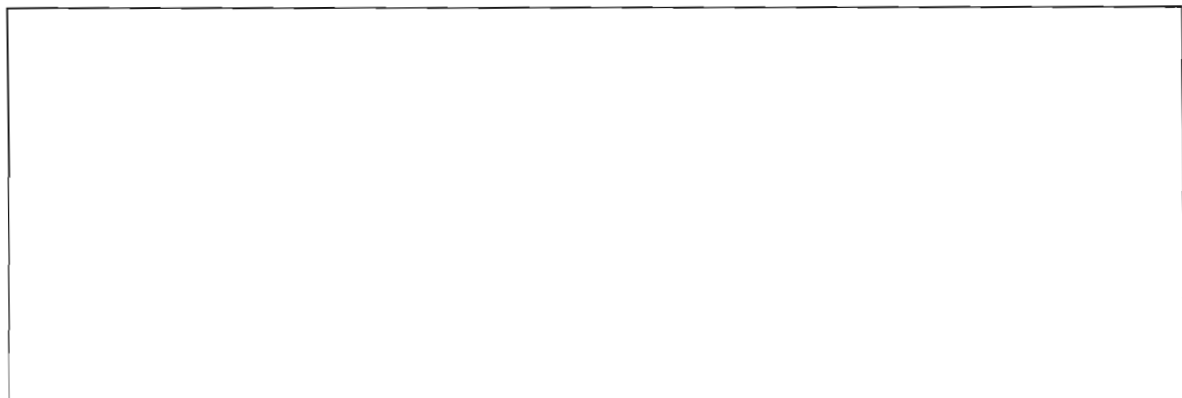




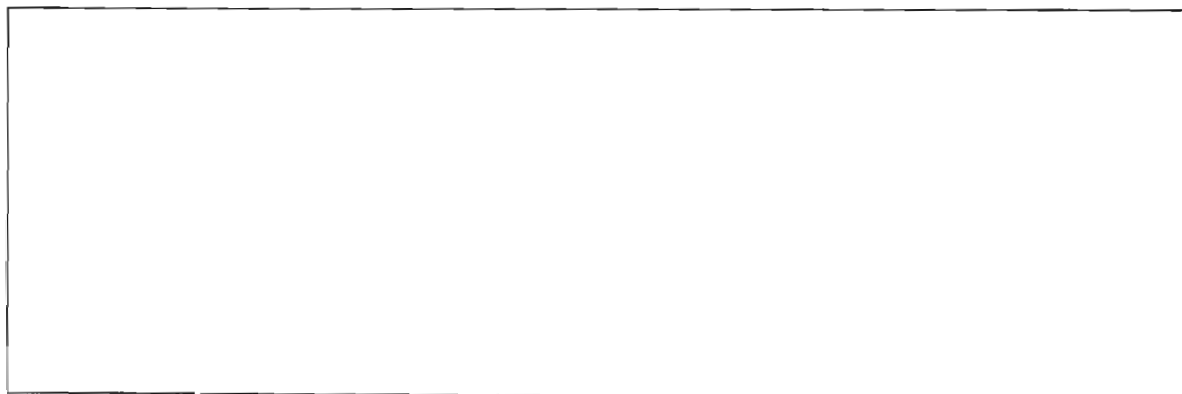
In your opinion, at what stage, in terms of ratio of non-Jewish children to Jewish children would Carmel cease to be a Jewish school ? Please give reasons for your response.



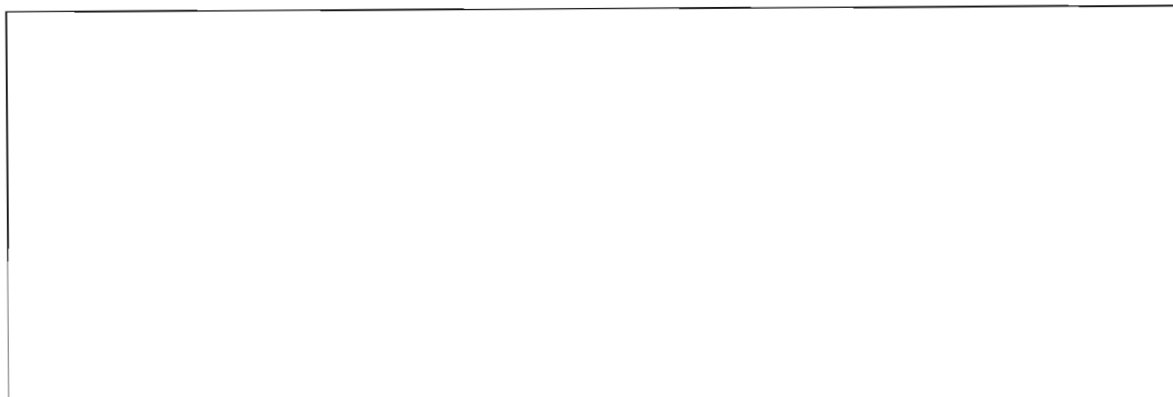
Since you have been associated with Carmel have you seen any changes in the Jewish ethos ? (interviewer to probe)



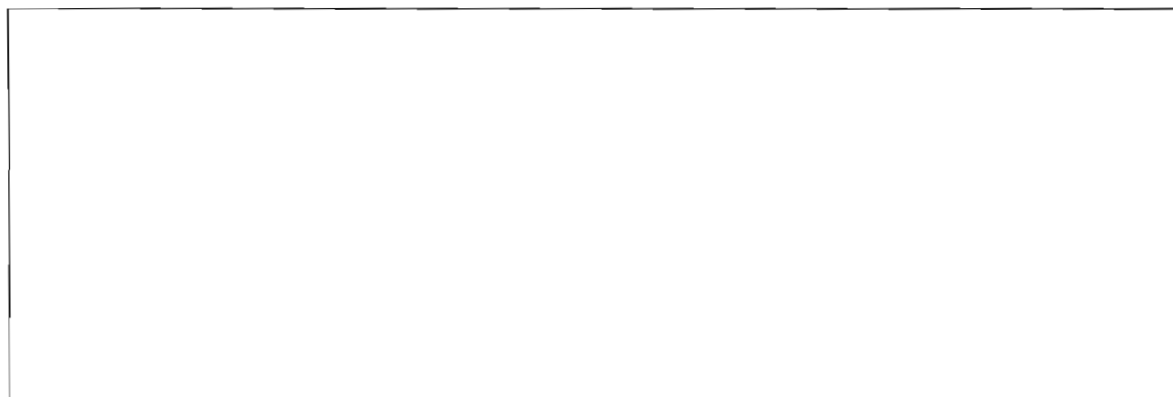
What to you is the most important dimension of Jewish education ? Why ?



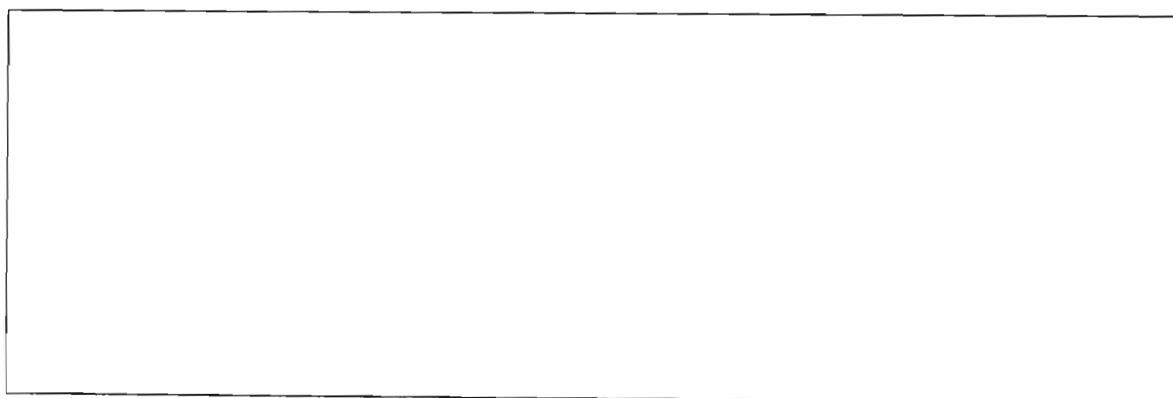
How do you discuss sensitive Jewish issues in the presence of non-Jewish students ? (interviewer to probe)



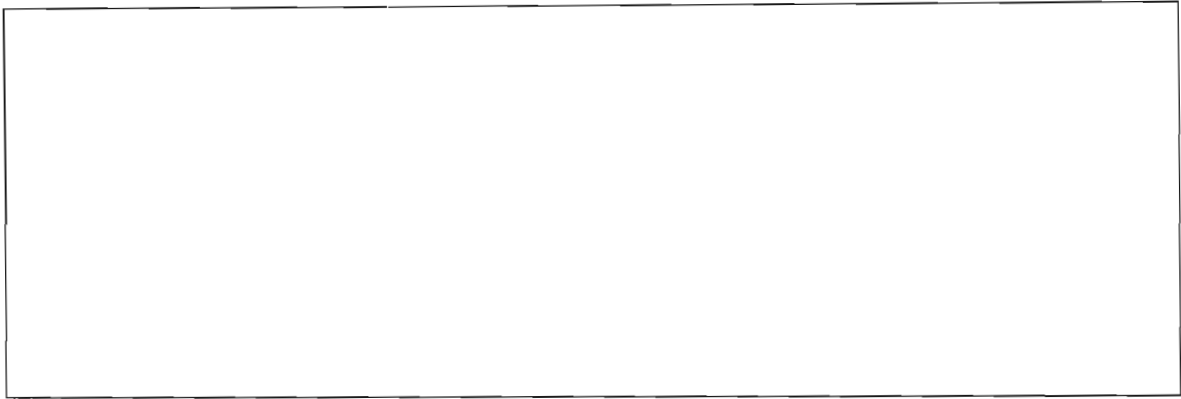
Do you think the presence of non-Jewish students affects Judaic lessons in any way ? (Interviewer to probe)



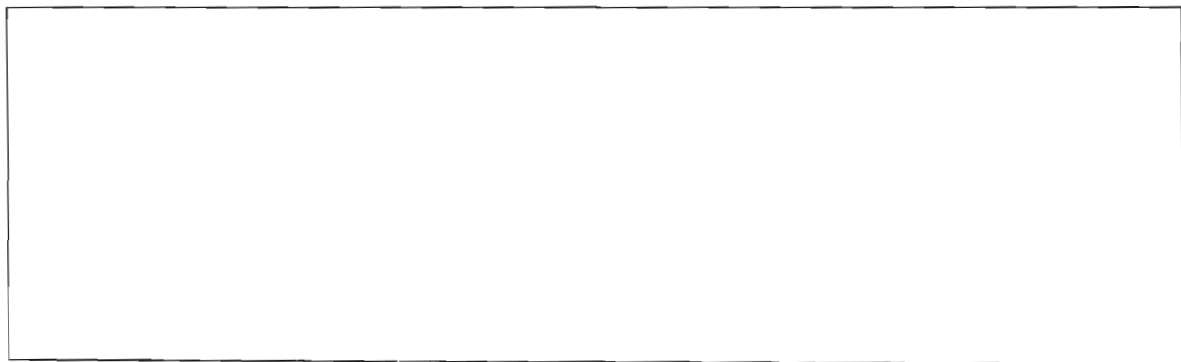
Do you think the head students have to be Jewish ? Please give reasons for your response.



Not many children seem to go to Shul on Shabbat. Why do you think this is so ?



Are there any other opinions you would like to offer concerning the changing student composition of the school ?



Thank you for your time.

## APPENDIX B

Dear parent

You have been randomly selected to participate in a research project on Jewish education that I am conducting at our school. Although permission for this research has been granted by the Board of Governors, I must emphasise that it is a private and independent study for an M.Ed. degree, which I hope to complete this year. My interest in Carmel has prompted me to conduct the study at our school. As a Carmel parent, your opinions on Jewish education are invaluable for my research and your willingness to give up time to take part in this survey is much appreciated. Please answer the questions honestly. I assure you that your responses will remain strictly confidential.

Your co-operation would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you

.....

Mike Workman

Please answer the following questions honestly. If you feel unable to answer a particular question please move on to the next one. Your responses will remain strictly confidential. Please tick (✓) the appropriate box and elaborate where required.

1. Indicate whether you are : male  female

2. Indicate your age group :

- 25-29
- 30-34
- 35-39
- 40-44
- 45-49
- 50-54
- over 55

3a. How long have you been associated with Carmel ?.....

3b. Please indicate which grade(s) your child/children is/are in :

1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11		12	
---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	----	--	----	--	----	--

4. How would you describe your religious affiliation :

- Strictly Orthodox
- Orthodox but not strictly
- Reform
- Secular, but observe some religious customs
- Secular
- Other (please state).....

- 6. Do you keep a kosher home ?  yes  no
- 7. Do you light Shabbat candles ?  yes  no
- 8. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on Friday evening ?  yes  no

9. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on Shabbat morning ?  yes  no
10. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on High holy days ?  yes  no
11. Should Jewish students at Carmel be expected to attend Synagogue/Temple on holy days?  
 yes  no
12. Should it be compulsory for Jewish students at Carmel to attend Synagogue/Temple on  
holy days ?  yes  no
13. Did you attend a Jewish School ?  yes  no
- 13a. If yes, which school ?.....
14. Did you attend Cheder ?  yes  no
- 14b. If yes, which Cheder ?.....
15. Did you have a bar-or batmitzvah celebration or confirmation ?  yes  no
16. Is Israel an important dimension to your Judaism ? Please give reasons :  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
17. Have you ever been to Israel ?  yes  no
- 17a. Have your children ever been to Israel ?  yes  no
- 17b. Do you think it is important that your children visit Israel ?  yes  no
- 17c. Would you ever want to live in Israel ?  yes  no
18. Do you think it is important that your children belong to a Zionist youth  
movement ?  yes  no
19. Are you affiliated to any Jewish communal organisations ?  yes  no
- 19a. If yes, which one/s ?  
.....  
.....  
.....
20. Why do you send your child/children to Carmel ?  
.....  
.....  
.....

21. Carmel has recently accepted more non-Jewish children. Do you agree with this policy ?

Please comment :

.....  
.....  
.....

22. How do you think the acceptance of non-Jewish children impacts on your child/children's **general** education ?

.....  
.....  
.....

23. How do you think the acceptance of non-Jewish children impacts on your child/children's **Jewish** education ?

.....  
.....  
.....

24. Are you happy with the quantity and quality of Jewish education that your child/children presently receives ?

.....  
.....  
.....

25. Do you think enough time is presently dedicated to Hebrew and Jewish Studies ?

.....  
.....  
.....

26. Would you like to see time allocated to Hebrew and Jewish Studies **after** school hours, instead of during the school day?

.....  
.....  
.....

27. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 equals most important and 5 equals least important, how do you rate the importance of early morning school prayers ?

28. Should Jewish students do both Hebrew and Jewish studies ? Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

29. Non-Jewish students should do both Hebrew and Jewish Studies. Please Comment :

.....

.....

.....

30. Hebrew should be a compulsory subject at Carmel.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

31. Hebrew should be compulsory up to standard eight.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

32. Hebrew should be compulsory for matric.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

33. Are you familiar with the present Hebrew syllabus ?  yes  no

34. Should there be more emphasis on spoken Hebrew ? Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

35. Should Jewish studies be given more emphasis in the curriculum ? Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....



36. There should be a choice between Hebrew and Jewish Studies for matric.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

37. Jewish students should do **both** Hebrew and Jewish Studies for matric.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

38. More time during the school day should be allocated to Hebrew.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

39. More time during the school day should be allocated to Jewish Studies.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

40. Too much emphasis is placed on written Hebrew.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

41. Early morning prayers should be compulsory.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

42. Zionism is given enough emphasis in the curriculum.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

43. Youth Group involvement is an important aspect of Jewish education.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

44. In your opinion is the 'Jewish content' at Carmel sufficient ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

45. Have you noticed any change to the Jewish Ethos ('Jewishness') over the last few years ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

46. Students of other cultural persuasions should be able to receive alternate religious instruction.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

47. All students irrespective of their religion should do Jewish Studies.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

48. Jewish students at Carmel have a strong sense of Jewish Identity/Jewish pride.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

49. Cultural values from other religions will influence Jewish children.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

50. All grade twelve students irrespective of their religion should be eligible to qualify for head student . Please comment :

.....

.....

.....

.....

51. Carmel should only accept Jewish students.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
----------------	--	-------	--	-----------	--	----------	--	-------------------	--

52. There should be a ceiling on the ratio of Jews : non-Jews at Carmel.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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53. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 equals most important and 5 equals least important, how would you rate the Jewish 'spirit' at Carmel.

54. Carmel should cater for other cultural affiliations by providing religious lessons for all denominations.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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55. The acceptance of non-Jewish students will increase the possibility of values from other cultures being assimilated. Please comment :

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56. Students, irrespective of their religion, on admission to the school should not be discriminated against. Please give your views :

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57. What do you believe are the most important Jewish values/ideals a good Jewish school should impart to its students ?

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58. What do you think is the primary goal of a Jewish school?

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59. How important do you believe the informal Judaica programme (e.g. Shabbatonim, Zionist seminars etc.) is to Jewish education? Please comment :

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60. Do you believe the increased enrolment of non-Jewish children will increase the possibility of intermarriage ?

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61. Is there any other comment you would like to make which you believe is relevant to Jewish education at Carmel?

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**Please check you have completed all the questions you wish to respond to.  
Thank you for your co-operation.**

## APPENDIX C

Dear student

I am doing a research project on Jewish education. As a senior student at Carmel I believe that your opinion about this school is very important. I would therefore value your responses to the attached questionnaire. Please answer the questions honestly. There are no right or wrong answers. Please do not put your name on the form. Your responses will remain strictly confidential and anonymous.

Your co-operation and assistance with my research is greatly appreciated. Please place the completed questionnaire in the box provided.

Thank you

.....

M. Workman.

Please answer the following questions honestly. If you feel unable to answer a particular question please move on to the next one. Your responses will remain strictly confidential and anonymous. There are no right or wrong answers. Please tick (✓) the appropriate box and comment where necessary.

1. Indicate whether you are :  female  male
2. Which grade are you in ?.....
3. How long have you been a student at Carmel ?.....
4. How would you describe your religious affiliation ?
  - Strictly Orthodox
  - Orthodox but not strictly
  - Reform
  - Secular, but observe some religious customs
  - Secular
  - Other (please state).....
6. Does your family keep a kosher home ?  yes  no
7. Does your family light Shabbat candles ?  yes  no
8. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on Friday night ?  yes  no
9. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on Shabbat morning ?  yes  no
10. Do you attend Synagogue / Temple on High holy days ?  yes  no
11. Should Synagogue / Temple attendance be compulsory for Jewish students at Carmel on holy days?  yes  no
12. Is Israel an important dimension to your Judaism ? Please give reasons :
 

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13. Do you belong to a Zionist youth movement ?  yes  no
14. Have you attended a Zionist summer camp ?  yes  no

15. Have you ever been to Israel ?  yes  no

16. Would you ever want to visit Israel ?  yes  no

17. Would you ever want to study in Israel ?  yes  no

18. Would you ever want to live in Israel ?  yes  no

19. Why do you attend Carmel ? Please comment :

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<b>What is your response to the following statements/questions ?</b>
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20. There should be more non-Jewish children in this school.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		strongly		disagree strongly	
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21. Would you like to see time allocated to Hebrew and Jewish Studies **after** school hours, instead of during the school day ? Please comment :

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22. More time during the school day should be allocated to Jewish Studies.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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23. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 equals most important and 5 equals least important, how do you rate the importance of prayers ?

24. Students from other religions should do Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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25. Hebrew should be a compulsory Subject for all Jewish students.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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Answer the following question **only** if you agree or strongly agree with the statement in no. 25.

25a. Should Hebrew be compulsory up to standard eight ?  yes  no

25b. Should Hebrew be compulsory for matric ?  yes  no

26. Should there be more emphasis on spoken Hebrew ? Please comment :

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27. Jewish Studies is more important than Hebrew.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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28. There should be a choice between Hebrew and Jewish Studies for matric.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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29. Jewish survival is dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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30. Jewish survival is dependent on marrying within the faith.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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31. There is too much emphasis on religion at Carmel.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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32. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 equals most important and 5 equals least important, how do you



rate the Jewish 'spirit' at Carmel.

33. Students of other religions should be able to have their own religious lessons. Please

comment :

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34. More time should be spent on academic subjects, rather than learning about festivals and symbols.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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35. Only Jewish students should be eligible to qualify for head student. Please comment :

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36. Carmel should only accept Jewish students. Please comment :

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37. More time during the school day should be allocated to Hebrew.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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38. Early morning prayers should be compulsory. Please comment :

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39. All students irrespective of their religion should do Jewish Studies. Please comment :

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40. Hebrew should be an optional subject for Jewish students.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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41. Too much emphasis is placed on written Hebrew.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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42. Hebrew is more important than Jewish Studies. Please comment :

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43. Jewish students should do **both** Hebrew and Jewish Studies for matric.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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44. Youth groups should be given time during the school day to implement their programmes.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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45. There should be more emphasis on religion at Carmel. Please comment :

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46. There is a strong Jewish atmosphere at Carmel.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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47. Carmel should cater for other cultural affiliations by providing religious lessons for different denominations.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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48. Students from other faiths have a lot more fun. Please comment :

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49. All students at Carmel, irrespective of their religion must have an equal opportunity to participate in everything the school has to offer.

strongly agree		agree		uncertain		disagree		disagree strongly	
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50. Is there any other comment you would like to make which you believe is relevant to Jewish education at Carmel ?

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**Please read through your answers one more time in case you want to change or add anything.**

**Thank you for your co-operation.**