

**The effect of a Jewish primary school education
in England on the religious observance and practice
of less or non-observant parents of the pupils.**

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Submitted for the degree of PhD

July 2004



ABSTRACT

The main aim of this research is to determine whether or not there has been any noticeable change in the level of religious observance and practice of less or non-observant parents which directly or indirectly can be attributed to the influence of their children and the Jewish primary school they attend. There is a frequently voiced assumption amongst those involved in Jewish education that parents, whose children attend a Jewish primary school, have increased their level of observance due to the influence of their children and the school. However, no previous research has been carried out in the United Kingdom in order to examine the basis of this premise. The purpose of my own research is to test this assumption in a thorough and rigorous manner by means of both questionnaires and in-depth interviews with parents of pupils attending three Jewish primary schools in England.

In addition, there are two further specific areas that will be investigated as supplementary parts of the main research:

[i] To compare the extent of similarities and differences of any such changes in religious observance between those Jewish families in England who formed part of my study, and those in the USA whose children attend Jewish day schools, who have also been the subject of separate research in the USA.

[ii] To determine whether within the data of this research study, there is any correlation with previous research in the field of social psychology regarding causes and effects of social conformity and deviation. The data from this specific area of research will be used to focus on the effects of a crucial inter-connection between parents, children and the school.

The thesis includes an examination of previous allied research and its implications relating to the nature of religious identity and changes in parental behaviour attributed to the influence of their children's Jewish education.

It also contains chapters outlining the historical and social background which led to a weakening of Jewish religious observance in the UK during the 20th century and a study of the changing role of the traditional Jewish family and its effect on the levels of religious observance in Anglo-Jewry.

The data from questionnaires and interviews are analysed in a thorough manner. The results and conclusions of this thesis should be of benefit to those planning and administering Jewish primary schools in the UK.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge my appreciation of:

Jo Cairns, my supervisor at the Institute of Education, University of London, who has guided and encouraged me throughout my research. Her patience, clarity of vision and extensive knowledge have enabled me to remain focused from the earliest days of this thesis until its conclusion.

Dr. Roy Gardner of the Institute of Education who has supervised the final stage of the thesis and has also ensured that it is as free as possible of grammatical and textual errors.

The lecturers at the Institute of Education whose excellent courses I have attended and who have enabled me to cope with the strenuous demands relating to the correct methodology necessary for a doctoral thesis.

The headteachers, governors and parents of the three schools who agreed to participate in this research study.

The UJIA (United Jewish Israel Appeal) and the Scopus Jewish Day School Trust (previously Zionist Federation Educational Trust) for their encouragement and financial support towards the cost of this research.

Finally, to my dear wife Ruth whose patience and good humour have allowed me to pursue this immense task and who has helped and encouraged me throughout the past six years. I have no doubt that without her on-going support this thesis would never have reached its final stages.

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CONTENTS	PAGE
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	4
List of Tables	8
List of Charts	9
Part 1: Background to the Research.	
Chapter 1.	
The aims, rationale and background to the research.	10
Chapter 2.	
The historical and social background which led to a weakening of Jewish religious observance in the UK during the 20 th century.	24
Chapter 3	
A brief overview of the changing role of the traditional family, together with a specific study of the changing role of the traditional Jewish family and its effect on the levels of religious observance in Anglo-Jewry.	33
Part 2: Literature Survey.	
Chapter 4	
Section 1: Previous research relating to the nature of Jewish religious identity and to changes in parental behaviour attributed to the influence of their children's Jewish education.	45
Section 2: Previous research which examines the effect of Jewish education on the later Jewish religious identification of the pupils themselves.	58
Section 3: A comparison of allied research in the USA with data captured by this present research in the UK.	75

Part 3: School Information and Methodology.

Chapter 5:

- [1] A description of the location, background and characteristics of the three schools utilised in my study, the pupils and their parents. 80
- [2] The rationale for the design and content of the questionnaire. 84
- [3] Interview methodology which is designed to elaborate upon data ascertained through the questionnaire and to explore and analyse parental attitudes and commitments to current religious identification and practice. 99

Part 4: Questionnaire and Interviews: data and analysis. 103

Chapter 6

Parents' childhood education, family background and childhood experiences which appear to have been the foundation for increased or decreased religious observance in later years. 105

Chapter 7

An analysis of the questionnaire and interview responses of parents, giving reasons for choosing a Jewish primary school for their children. 139

Chapter 8

Analysis and significance of the data relating to changes in levels of religious observance of the parents in specific areas. 165

Chapter 9

Analysis and significance of the data relating to the influence of the children on the parents' level of religious observance. 194

Chapter 10

Parental attitudes towards their children's Jewish identification and experiences. 234

Chapter 11

Comments of the parents relating to their anticipated future level of religious observance. 251

Chapter 12	
Sincerity of intention: a deeper analysis of the reasons why parents may have increased their level of religious observance. Is it for the benefit of their children or intrinsically for themselves ?	271
Chapter 13	
An examination of the various factors which have caused changes in parental behaviour as identified in this research, with a comparison of established behavioural paradigms in social psychology.	301
Part 5: Final conclusions.	
Chapter 14	
[1] The role and significance of home-school relations	
[2] The final conclusion of the thesis.	
[3] The contribution of this research to the current Jewish community in the United Kingdom.	322
Bibliography.	333
Glossary of Hebrew words.	341
APPENDICES	
A: Letter to the headteacher of Norton Jewish primary school.	347
B: Letter to the parents of pupils of Norton Jewish primary school.	348
C: Questionnaire sent to parents of pupils at all three schools.	349
D: Interview questions.	359
E: Basic categories of coding using QSR NUD*IST Data Analysis.	363
F: Countries of origin of parents and grandparents.	364
G: Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) Jewish Identification Scale.	370

TABLE NUMBER.**PAGE NUMBER IN BRACKETS.**

1. Growth in attendance at Jewish day schools from 1950 to 1999. [13]
2. Jewish population in England and Wales 1871 – 1911. [24]
3. Countries of birth of parents and grandparents of the children. [107]
4. Prior Jewish education received by husbands and wives. [111]
5. The estimated level of religious observance of the grandparents. [115-116]
6. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school. – Lack of parental education. [140]
7. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school – The same as parents received. [140]
8. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school – Reflects family way of life. [140-141]
9. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school – Jewish friends. [141]
10. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school – to read Hebrew prayers. [142]
11. Reasons for choosing a Jewish school – to learn to speak Ivrit. [142]
12. Concerned about discrimination at a non-Jewish school [144]
13. Did not want child to learn about other religions. [144]
14. Did not want child to participate in other religious practices. [145]
15. Importance of a Jewish secondary school. [145]
16. Observance of dietary laws at home. [168]
17. Observance of dietary laws away from home. [169]
18. Lighting Shabbat candles on Friday night. [172]
19. Friday night Shabbat Kiddush recited at home. [174]
20. Synagogue attendance on Shabbat. [176]
21. Havdalah ceremony observed at home. [179]
22. Eating only kosher for Pesach food during Passover. [181]
23. Participating in a full Passover seder. [183]
24. Attending synagogue on Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. [186]
25. Lighting a Menorah at home on Chanukah. [189]
26. Having a sukkah at home on Tabernacles. [191]
27. Influence on parents of children's friendships with other children. [196]
28. Influence of adult friendships made through the school. [196]
29. Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school. [196]
30. Influence caused by helping children with Jewish studies homework. [196]
31. Influence caused by children who want to go to synagogue. [197]
32. Influence caused through attending school assemblies. [197]
33. Influence caused by children's religious activity at home. [197]
34. Influence caused by children's conversation at home. [197]
35. Influence caused through greater awareness of Israel [198]
36. Influence caused by children learning to speak modern Hebrew.[198]
37. Influence caused by adult education courses at school. [198]
38. Rubin – Table of Maximum Influence. [199]
39. Norton – Table of Maximum Influence. [200]
40. Brook– Table of Maximum Influence. [201]
41. Average of all 3 schools – Table of Maximum Influence. [202]
42. (a/b) Parents should direct children's beliefs by example. [235]
43. (a/b) Parents should reflect the values and ethos of the school.[236]
44. Parental response if children wanted them to be more observant.[237]

CHART NUMBER**PAGE NUMBER IN BRACKETS.**

1. Country of origin of the parents of the children [109]
2. Country of origin of the grandparents of the children. [109]
3. Rubin: Husband's Jewish education. [112]
4. Rubin: Wife's Jewish education. [112]
5. Norton: Husband's Jewish education. [112]
6. Norton: Wife's Jewish education. [113]
7. Brook: Husband's Jewish education. [113]
8. Brook: Wife's Jewish education.[113]
9. Husband: Average of all 3 schools. [114]
- 10: Wife: Average of all 3 schools. [114]
11. Rubin: Husband's family - Level of religious observance. [117]
12. Rubin: Wife's family - Level of religious observance. [117]
13. Norton: Husband's family - Level of religious observance. [118]
14. Norton: Wife's family - Level of religious observance. [118]
15. Brook: Husband's family - Level of religious observance. [118]
16. Brook: Wife's family - Level of religious observance. [119]
17. Parental reasons from questionnaire for choosing a Jewish school. [143]
18. Parental reasons from interviews for choosing a Jewish school. [148]
19. Whole family increase in level of observance of dietary laws at home. [170]
20. Increase in level of observance of dietary laws away from home. [170]
21. Whole family increase in level of observance of lighting Shabbat candles at home. [173]
22. Whole family increase in level of observance of Friday night Kiddush at home. [175]
23. Increase in level of observance of synagogue attendance on Shabbat. [177]
24. Whole family increase in level of observance of Havdalah ceremony at home. [180]
25. Increase in level of observance of Passover dietary laws at home. [182]
26. Whole family increase in level of observance of Passover seder at home. [184]
27. Increase in level of observance of synagogue attendance on Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles. [187]
28. Whole family increase in level of observance of lighting Chanukah Menorah at home. [190]
29. Whole family increase in level of observance of having a sukkah at home on Tabernacles. [192]
30. Rubin – Chart of Maximum/Partial Influences. [199]
31. Norton– Chart of Maximum/Partial Influences. [200]
32. Brook – Chart of Maximum/Partial Influences. [201]
33. Average of all 3 schools – Chart of Maximum/Partial Influences. [202]
34. Three models of forces acting on parents. [319-320]

Part 1: Background to the Research.

Chapter 1

The Aims, Rationale and Background to the Research.

This chapter contains eight sections:

- [a] The aims of the research.
- [b] Rationale for the research.
- [c] The rationale for selecting the three schools.
- [d] Why select primary and not secondary schools ?
- [e] Access to the schools for the purpose of research.
- [f] The nature of religious observance & practice within this research.
- [g] Why this research does not include areas of faith and belief .
- [h] A brief overview of Religious Education in schools in England.

Section [a]: The aims of the research.

As stated in the Abstract above, the main aim of this research is to determine whether or not there has been any noticeable change in the level of religious observance and practice of less or non-observant parents, which directly or indirectly can be attributed to the influence of their children and the Jewish primary school they attend.

In addition, there are two further specific areas that have been investigated as supplementary parts of the main research:

- (1) To compare the extent of similarities and differences of any such changes in religious observance between those Jewish families in England who formed part of my study, and those in the USA whose children attend Jewish day schools, who have also been the subject of separate research in the USA.
- (2) To determine whether within the data of this research study, there is any correlation with previous research in the field of social psychology regarding

the causes and effects of social conformity and deviation. The data from this specific area of research will be used to focus on the effects of crucial inter-connection between parents, children and the school.

Section [b]: Rationale for the research.

This research study focuses entirely on Jewish families and Jewish day schools. Jews are only one of a number of ethnic and religious groups within the UK. As a minority group in a multicultural society, Jews are no different from other groups who strive to determine their own individual and group identity. There are many other denominational schools where similar research to my own could be undertaken, especially in Christian and Muslim schools.

Such a comparative study may well be of particular interest to researchers in sociology, ethnicity and comparative religion. It is quite possible, although as yet untested, that such a study would bring to light interesting and relevant similarities between Jewish, Christian and Muslim families whose children attend denominational schools. In this respect, Deux (2000:8) sees 'national and ethnic identities as a fertile testing ground for analysis of affect in social identification...Both national and ethnic identity provide evidence of the historical and cultural elements that can be associated with an identity.'

Deux (2000:8) also cites a relatively recent study by Cinnirella (1997) whose research concluded that 'British national identity often contains elements indicating a past orientation, recalling times of colonial dominance and world prominence.'

Similarly, Haralambos, Holborn and Heald (2000:548), writing about ethnicity and family diversity, suggest that 'immigrants and their descendants have adapted their family life to fit British circumstances, but

have not fundamentally altered the relationships on which their traditional family life was based...and have succeeded in retaining many of the culturally distinctive features of their family life.’

However, they also point out that ‘there is also evidence of changes taking place in the families of ethnic minorities, and British culture may have more effect on future generations. Each ethnic group contains a variety of different family types which are influenced by factors such as class and stage in the life cycle.’ (p.548). This research study will endeavour to show that the above observations apply equally to the modern Jewish community in the UK.

Recent evidence from a survey conducted in 1996 by Miller, Schmool and Lerman for the Institute for Jewish Policy Research has indicated not only a decline in the number of identified Jews in the UK but also a lessening of Jewish religious identification and practice. There has also been a major increase in the number of cases of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews.

But at the same time however, there has been a growth in the number of Jewish day schools in the UK, both primary and secondary, brought about by a demand for such places from young Jewish parents. (see Table 1 below)

TABLE 1
Growth in attendance at Jewish day schools from 1950 to 1999

Year	Number of pupils attending full-time Jewish day schools
1950	4,000
1966	10,000
1975	12,800
1991	16,000
1999	22,640

Information from Table 1.1 The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom by Oliver Valins, Barry Kosmin and Jacqueline Goldberg. Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London. (2001)

In 1971 The Jewish Educational Development Trust was established and spearheaded by the previous Chief Rabbi Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits with its publication: *Let my people know*. There was an assumption that such schools would bring about a revival in Jewish identity and practice.

Jakobovits was convinced that only the strengthening of Jewish education amongst the youth would stem the increasing tide of assimilation in Britain. More Jewish schools were needed to reinvigorate Anglo-Jewish religious life.

Evidence from the USA, however, shows that this is not necessarily the case. Previous research studies, (see Chapter 4), have generally focused on the effects of a Jewish day school education on the pupils themselves, and examined the extent of their later adult Jewish communal and religious identification.

What has come to light from many of these USA studies, which will be detailed and elaborated in Chapter 4 below, is that, with one main exception, regardless of having attended a Jewish day school, there appears to be only a minimal adult identification with Jewish religious life in later years. The evidence from these research studies shows that only when the parents and their home life have supported the religious ethos and teaching in the school, have their children continued to identify in later years with Jewish religious life. Conversely it has

also been shown that when parents have not supported the school's religious ethos and practice at home, there was little likelihood of their children leading a religiously observant life in later years. In some cases they failed to continue to identify with a Jewish life style, even though they had previously attended a Jewish day school.

During the past thirty years, in the course of my professional work in Jewish day schools, there has been a frequently quoted assumption made by teachers, parents and others involved in Jewish education. It has often been assumed that many less or non-observant parents, whose children attend a Jewish primary school, have increased their level of observance due to the influence of their children and the school. However, no previous research has been carried out in the United Kingdom in order to ascertain the truth of this concept. The purpose of my own research therefore, is to test this assumption in a thorough and rigorous manner by means of both questionnaires and in-depth interviews with parents.

It is my belief that if it can be shown that primary schools in the UK do have an influence on the parents, it would suggest that the pupils will be more likely to continue to identify in later adult years in a Jewish religious manner. Such information would be of major value and interest to those organisations who are involved in promoting, financing and administering Jewish schools in the UK.

Section [c]: The rationale for selecting the three schools.

This research was conducted in three Jewish primary schools in England:

- Rubin Jewish Primary School in London
- Norton Jewish Primary School in London
- Brook Jewish Primary School in the north of England.

(For reasons of confidentiality, the three schools have been given fictitious names)

As the data will also incorporate many in-depth interviews with families, it was unrealistic to work with more than three schools. It was important therefore to select three different types of Jewish primary school.

Rubin is a two-form entry Voluntary Aided School in London, in an area which has a vibrant Jewish population.

Brook is also a two form entry Voluntary Aided School but it is in a provincial town in the North of England in an area where the Jewish population is slowly decreasing. I feel that it is important to compare the differences between Jewish schools in London and the Provinces.

Norton is a small private school in London. In a similar manner, I feel that it is important to compare the attitudes, views and behaviour of these parents who have chosen the private sector as compared with the other two state schools.

It should be noted that all three schools have pupils from both Ashkenaz (European) and Sephardi (Spanish/Portuguese and Middle Eastern) backgrounds. Fuller details of each school are given in Chapter 5:1.

I have not approached the more 'right-wing' religious schools as it is most likely that these families are already very observant and would expect the schools to support the home values and traditions. It is of far greater value to examine the effects of what may be termed 'middle-of-the-road' or 'central orthodox' schools which are more likely to have a reasonably large number of Jewish children from less or non-observant families.

Section [d]: Why select primary and not secondary schools for this research study ?

At a primary school there is a greater opportunity for parental contact on a more regular and intimate basis with the school as most parents generally live nearer to the school. Secondary school pupils however, tend to travel longer distances to school and parental contact with these schools is generally

restricted to school presentations or to parents' evenings in order to discuss their children's academic progress. It is, nevertheless, an area which could be the subject of a separate research study in the future

Section [e]: Access to the schools for the purpose of research.

This research, including the pilot and sample survey, commenced at Rubin primary school. I was employed at that time at the school and therefore had no difficulty in obtaining the permission of the school governors to conduct what was seen as a most important research project. I had previously undertaken my MA research with parents of pupils at that school on the theme of 'home-school communication', and found no problem at all due to my position on the staff.

The opportunity for parents to complete and return questionnaires anonymously overcame any reticence on their part if they did not wish to be identified. Of those who were prepared to be interviewed, both in my prior MA research and also in the current doctoral research, I have found that parents gave the impression of being totally honest, open and frank with me regardless of the question being asked. Nevertheless, I was aware of potential areas of error in analysing the responses to the questionnaires and interviews, such as those elaborated by Belson (1986) and Foddy (1993) both of which are discussed fully in Chapter 5 Section 2a of this thesis.

I decided, however, to leave the school shortly after I commenced my doctoral research. I subsequently contacted other Jewish primary schools in order to explain the purpose of this research and to ask if they would be prepared to participate. I received a favourable response from several schools and ultimately decided on these three schools for the reasons given above.

Section [f]: The nature of religious observance and practice within this research.

Although all the parents of pupils at all three schools are Jewish, they are likely to be members of four various differing Jewish religious groups which are termed: Orthodox, Massorti/Traditional, Reform/Progressive and Liberal/Progressive. A very brief explanation, obtained through the various synagogue websites, illustrates some of the main differences in the religious philosophy and practice of these religious groups.

- Orthodox:

This group accepts fully the concept of the Torah as being the unchanged, direct words of G-d to Moses. All the 613 commandments contained in it, explained through the Oral Law, remain binding upon the Jewish people. The synagogue service and ritual remain relatively constant. Men conduct and lead the religious services in the synagogue. Women sit separately to men in an orthodox synagogue.

- Massorti/Traditional:

It is very difficult to define this movement accurately as it tends to vary between synagogues. Generally its religious practice is more akin to a traditional orthodox synagogue although in some Massorti communities, men and women do sit together. However, as with the Reform and Liberal Synagogues, it does not accept fully the concept of the Torah being the direct words of G-d to Moses.

Reform/Progressive:

The Reform movement began in Germany in 1819, but emerged independently in Britain in 1842 with the establishment of the West London Synagogue. The written Mosaic Torah does not have

the final authority. Synagogue services are conducted in Hebrew and English. The liturgy omits prayers related to the Temple ritual. Complete equality is offered to women. Men and women sit together.

- Liberal/Progressive:

The Liberal/Progressive community has an inclusive attitude to Jewish identity, embracing all who have a good claim to be regarded as Jewish. Unlike orthodox Judaism, it is prepared to re-examine and re-evaluate beliefs, practices and values. As with the Reform movement above, the written Torah does not have the final authority and synagogue services are conducted in Hebrew and English. The liturgy omits prayers related to the Temple ritual. Complete equality is offered to women. Men and women sit together.

When investigating the families whose level of religious observance had increased, I have not differentiated between these four groups. There may well be members of the Reform or Liberal synagogues whose level of religious observance and practice is higher than some families who are members of an orthodox synagogue. Nor, for the purpose of this research, have I differentiated between each group's understandings of who can be regarded as 'Jewish'.

With regard to the research which has been carried out in this study, religious observance and practice common to all four groups, may be loosely defined as carrying out or participating in any action which is a part of Jewish religious law, custom or tradition. It may also be understood as not carrying out any action proscribed by Jewish religious law, custom or tradition.

In this research I have investigated the reasons for any increase in levels of religious observance. There are families whose starting point of previous religious practice was low or non-existent. There are others whose initial level of religious observance was higher. In both sets of cases however, there have been instances of an increase of observance of the parents which have been attributed by them to the influence of their children and to the school.

It is of interest to note from the recent report 'The future of Jewish schooling in the United Kingdom' (Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg 2001:32) that 'half of all Jewish day school pupils are from non-Sabbath-observant homes.' Part 4 of this thesis will show that some families, for example, may previously never have observed the Passover dietary laws or kindled Chanukah lights, but are now doing so. Some may have attended synagogues only rarely but now attend more frequently. Some may have regularly attended synagogue on the Sabbath but are now observing other Sabbath laws which previously had not been observed.

These are only a few examples of the types of families whose level of religious observance has increased and which have been attributed by them to the influence of their children and the school. It is therefore of little importance to which synagogue or religious group they are affiliated. The main thrust of this research is to determine if the children and the school are in any way responsible for stimulating any such increase in religious observance and practice among their parents.

Section [g]: Why this research does not include areas of faith and belief.

There is no doubt that faith and belief play a major role in all areas of Judaism. There have been many Rabbinical scholars who have listed and explained the main and specific areas of Jewish faith. The most famous and generally accepted orthodox scholar in this connection was Maimonides (1135-1204) whose Thirteen Principles of Jewish Faith remains the prime foundation of the essence of orthodox Jewish belief.

Although both belief and practice are fundamental to Judaism, as to all religions, it is without doubt that the practice of Judaism is considered to be of the greater importance. The emphasis in Jewish teaching is not so much on what Jews believe but how they behave in the observance of Jewish laws, traditions and customs.

This concept of action has been emphasised from the time of Moses when the Israelites were about to receive not only the 10 Commandments but also the entire Torah (Law) :

And Moses came and called for the elders of the people and set before them all these words which the Lord commanded him. And all the people answered together and said, "**All that the Lord has spoken we will do.**" (Exodus Chapter 19 verses 7-8).

It is more difficult to measure in an accurate and reliable way any changes in a person's level of religious belief. It is far easier to measure a quantifiable change in religious practice. Bearing in mind that the majority of the laws of Judaism are of a practical rather than a philosophical nature, I feel that research into what a Jew does and how a Jew behaves is of greater importance and relevance than what a Jew believes.

Section [h]: A brief overview of Religious Education relating to all schools in England

It will be useful at this point to give a brief overview of the development of religious education relating to all schools in England and the eventual introduction of Jewish day schools.

Up to the late 19th century, day school education within the United Kingdom was largely conducted by the charitable or religious establishment. The foundation of today's state school system was laid down by the Elementary Education Act of 1870 in England and was based on the principle that all elementary schools should be the responsibility of the state. In areas where the churches could not cope with the numbers of children needing education, the government agreed to build 'Board Schools' which were eventually to become today's local education authority schools.

A discussion ensued at that time, between the supporters of the various religious interests with regard to the type of religious education which would be provided. Anglicans wanted the schools to have a form of religious instruction based on Anglican principles. This was strongly opposed by the non-conformists. Eventually a compromise was reached by means of the Cowper Temple clause, still in force today, which stated that teaching must not be by means of any denominational formulary or catechism. It was not until the 1920s, however, that groups of teachers and representatives of the religious bodies met together in order to discuss and hopefully to agree on an appropriate syllabus for the board schools. This is the origin of the term 'agreed syllabus'.

Due to the precedent of the existence of 'church schools' it became possible for the Jewish community to establish its own form of 'church schools' which were to become the forerunner of what were later called

Jewish 'Voluntary Aided' schools during the 20th century. During the 19th century, 'the Jewish community had a network of voluntary day schools in London and the main provincial centres, with over 2,000 pupils and 36 teachers.' (Lipman,1954:45-48).

Lipman also draws attention to the Board of Trade Report of 1894 which referred to, 'the great Jews' Free School in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, which in the spring of 1893 was attended by 3,582 Jewish children.' (p.146)

As far as all state schools were concerned, the Education Act of 1944 similarly required that all (other than independent schools) should provide 'religious instruction', while allowing both teachers and parents (on behalf of their children) the right to withdraw.

Several important education reports which focused on religious education in schools were presented to the government between 1938 and 1967, all which were to have a bearing on schools today.

- The Spens Report (1938:9.2) declared that 'no boy or girl can be called properly educated unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of a religious interpretation of life'.
- The Crowther Report (1959:10.3) said: 'The teenagers with whom we are concerned need, perhaps above all else, to find a faith to live by...Education can and should play some part in the search.'
- The Newsom Report (1963:208) spoke of fostering the spiritual and moral development of pupils
- The Plowden Report (1967:14.7) stated: 'young children need a simple and positive introduction to religion. They should be taught to know and love God and to practise in the school community the virtues appropriate to their age and environment...Children should not be

unnecessarily involved in religious controversy. They should not be confused by being taught to doubt before faith is established.’

In the 1988 Education Act, Religious Education was added to make up what was termed, ‘the basic curriculum’. This existed outside the National Curriculum, as the one subject from which pupils or teachers may withdraw.

The Dearing Report (1993) made no specific time allocation for the teaching of Religious Education but suggested that primary schools should allocate between 36 and 45 hours per year, whereas secondary schools should allocate about 5% of their total curriculum time. No such recommended time was suggested to the Voluntary Aided schools which were permitted to teach Religious Education according to their Trust Deed.

Under the Education Act 1996, schools today must provide religious education for all registered pupils, although parents can choose to withdraw their children from these lessons. Schools, other than voluntary aided schools and those of a religious character, must teach religious education according to the locally agreed syllabus. Each agreed syllabus should reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of the teachings and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain.

Taking into account the relatively liberal and positive attitude of the government towards the religious education of those children who were not Christian, one might have expected to have seen signs of a strengthening of religious observance amongst the families of the Jewish community in England who had been educated in non-denominational Board Schools. But this apparently was not to be the case, as the next chapter will illustrate.

Chapter 2

The historical and social background which led to a weakening of Jewish religious observance in the UK during the 20th Century.

At the commencement of the 20th century the Jewish community in Britain viewed the need for what was termed 'Anglicization of the children' as a major priority. One hundred years later the leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community now view the concept of 'Judaisation' as being of greater importance. In common with Christianity, the predominant religion of this country, the 20th century has in many ways witnessed an overall weakening of religious values and observance.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Jews had lived in Britain for 250 years. It is estimated that prior to the Eastern Europe pogroms of 1881-1882 there were some 60,000 Jews resident in Britain. There can be no truly accurate and precise number given for the actual Jewish population at that time. The Census figures of that time relate to the population of the Whitechapel area of the East End of London where over 95% of the residents of many streets were known to be Jewish and who had emigrated from Russia or Poland. They do however give a reasonable idea of the growth of the Jewish community in the late 19th and early 20th century.

TABLE 2
Jewish Population in England and Wales, 1871 - 1911
[Source: Census of England and Wales 1871-1911]

Census Year	Male	Female	Total
1871	63,025	37,613	100,638
1881	74,097	43,934	118,031
1891	115,886	82,227	198,113
1901	151,329	96,429	247,758
1911	167,762	117,068	284,830

From the time of Cromwell, the Jewish community in London had existed and developed in a secure environment. In a similar manner to their brethren in Western Europe, Jews were gradually breaking down the barriers of prejudice, social restriction and professional limitation. Then in 1881 the tide of Jewish refugees fleeing the harsh edicts of Tsar Nicholas II began to arrive in Britain. Fellow Jews they may have been, but to the members of the established Anglo-Jewish community, there was a vast difference between them.

The newcomers looked quite different, dressed in a different manner and spoke a different language. They were orthodox observant Jews who had lived for many generations in an assimilation-free environment within the shtetls and Jewish towns of Russia and Poland, marrying only within their faith, following trades and occupations that had been handed down from father to son and living full religious lives according to the strict tenets, laws and customs of the Torah. The established members of the Anglo-Jewish community saw them as a threat.

A Jewish Chronicle Leader during August 1881 stated that:

‘The new immigrant is more than a misfortune, it is a calamity. We cannot afford to let them slide. Our outside world is not capable of making minute discrimination between Jew and Jew and forms its opinion of Jews in general as much if not more from them, than from the Anglicized portion of the community. We are then responsible for them.’

Three years later, during November 1884, the Leader in the Jewish Chronicle was even stronger:

‘It is a decided disadvantage to have joined to the community a number of persons who affectionately cling to the worst traditions, social and religious, of imperfectly civilised countries.’

Urgent action had to be taken, wrote the editor of the Jewish Chronicle during August 1891.

‘As long as there is a section of Jews in England who proclaim themselves aliens by their mode of life, or by their very looks, by every word they utter, so long will the whole community be an object of distrust to Englishmen however unmerited that distrust may be.’

The existing established Anglo-Jewish community saw its prime and urgent role as being a facilitator of greater assimilation. Stephen Sharot writing in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* Vol.16 No 1 in June 1974 observed that

‘the leaders of the United Synagogue wished to protect the social position of the Jewish community by transforming the foreign Jew into an English Jew.’

According to Livshin (1990) writing about “The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester 1890-1930”

‘The growth of immigration from Eastern Europe created a new pattern of Jewish settlement, a new occupational structure and a more religious outlook. It posed a threat to the image of the existing Anglo-Jewish community...The Anglo-Jewish community feared that as long as the foreign Jews remained apart, they would attract hostility and abuse and would never be fully accepted as British citizens by the general population...In the eyes of the established community, the answer to this problem lay in the transformation of foreign into English Jews...Consequently the great drive within the Anglo-Jewish community was to Anglicize the immigrant by all means in their power.’ (In Cesarani (1990:.88)

But to what extent was this perception acknowledged by the East European Jewish immigrants themselves? These newly arrived immigrants had three priorities: firstly, somewhere to live, secondly to find work and thirdly, if they had a young family, to place their children into a school. The great majority of the new immigrants tended to live, although often in abject poverty, in the same areas as other members of their family or their friends. In this way they were able to retain the strong family kinship that was so essential to perpetuate the values of a Jewish religious life.

It was however the other two priorities, employment for themselves and education for the children that were to create the foundations of the problems that would eventually lead to a weakening of Jewish religious observance and values. ‘The relegation of religion to the margins of everyday life’ writes Englander (1994:194), ‘owed more to the way people lived than to any considered alternative.’

According to Gartner (1973:195), ‘the immigrant’s first critical neglect of religious observance often influenced his later practices in a decisive fashion.’

Let us first examine the problem of employment which frequently necessitated working on the Sabbath or on a Jewish Festival, something that would never have been either contemplated or considered when living in Eastern Europe.

In a contemporary study of Jewish life, Russell and Lewis (1900:199-203) as cited by Englander (1994:189) observe:

‘In the various branches of the furniture trade, cabinet making, upholstering, polishing, there is much desecration of the Sabbath. In many cases also, where a Jew engages in trades in which the bulk of those employed are Christians, he finds it difficult to observe a day of rest different from that of his fellow workmen.’

Even those who were self-employed, continued Russell and Lewis, found it difficult to abstain from work on the Sabbath:

‘Jewish shopkeepers in the by-streets of the Jewish districts nearly all close their shops on the Sabbath...On the other hand, many Jewish shopkeepers in main thoroughfares such as Whitechapel Road, carry on business on the Sabbath; and the same is true of Jewish costermongers who are dependent on Gentile custom.’

This neglect of Sabbath observance was also chronicled in the Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the Year 1894. Parliamentary Papers [C.7745] XIX (1895:46-47) (in Englander, D. 1994:121)

‘ I am sorry to chronicle the fact that many Jews, who 12 months ago, were strictly orthodox in their religion, have been compelled under penalty of losing their trade, to work during their Sabbath, because the Christian employer requires the work to be completed no later than 4 o’clock on Saturdays....He will work on Friday night and Saturday night through the Sabbath, preferring his work to his faith, and it seems to me very probable that in time the modern Jew will ignore his Sabbath day regulations altogether just as so many so-called Christians ignore theirs.’

In many such cases children witnessed an erosion of Jewish religious standards and values in their family life which combined with their schooling left a strong impression on their own future modes of behaviour.

Another urgent priority of the parents was to ensure a speedy anglicization of their children. It was likely however that the full implication of this was not apparent to the families as this too, as we shall see, would lead to a further lessening and weakening of the levels of religious observance.

In the annals of English educational history the year 1870 is one of momentous significance. It was the year of the Elementary Education Act which would ensure that every child in the country was to receive a basic elementary school education.

Jewish parents, who spoke only Yiddish at home and who still felt that they were 'strangers in a strange land', knew that the educational opportunities available to their children were an essential step towards fuller integration and acceptance in the English speaking world.

Lipman (1954:148) cites the Rev. S. Levy addressing the conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers in 1911 who spoke of the "anglicization" of the Jewish children

'due to the national system of compulsory and free education under which thousands of children are brought up to speak English and to acquire English habits of thought and character.'

He also added a cautionary and somewhat prophetic word of warning

' This process has inevitably a retroactive effect upon the parents in the home...in spite of the normal immigration into this country, the forces of anglicization are now far stronger than the ties which still bind some of the older generation to Yiddish.'
Lipman (1954 :148)

Livshin (1990) points out that within Anglo-Jewry itself, other influences such as the Jewish Lad's Brigade and the Jewish Girl's Clubs all played their part in the acculturation process. (in Cesarani 1990:.85)

It might appear from the above comments that the immigrants were all too willing to abandon every religious tie with their previous religious life. But this was not so, as Englander (1994:189) notes:

'The absence of restraint in state and society that was a marked feature of the English speaking world, made for a rapid acculturation and a gloomy prognosis as to the survival of Judaism in these islands. Orthodox immigrants, though fearful of the future, were unwilling to abandon their faith without a struggle.'

In a similar vein Livshin observed that:

‘The cheder was believed to hinder the Anglicization of the children by perpetuating the old nature habits of the immigrants and their Yiddish language. Immigrants distrusted the attempts of the established Anglo-Jewish community and continued to send their children to cheder/Talmud Torah. These institutions and the influence of the children’s homes provided some of the counter pressures to the great forces of Anglicization and assimilation.’ (In Cesarani 1990:85)

Livshin also noted that in spite of a large degree of religious compromise, there was one area of assimilation which at that time appeared to be truly sacrosanct.

‘No matter how much a child compromised with religious observance, very few were willing to give everything up and marry out of the faith.’ (In Cesarani 1990:95)

Lipman (1954:149) observed that it may have been a linguistic, social and cultural assimilation, but not necessarily a process of de-Judaisation. It was not, he pointed out, ‘assimilation in the religious sense’.

‘When examining the numerous agencies which the established Anglo-Jewish community utilised to anglicise the new-comers, it must be remembered that it did its best, according to its lights and with varying success, to preserve their Judaism as represented by tradition belief, practice and instruction.’

Lipman (1954:152) drew attention to:

‘the very real concern of the older Anglo-Jewry that the children of the newcomers, while they became anglicized, should not become de-Judaised.’

There is no evidence to suggest that the majority of the Jewish community were willing to discard totally the basic foundations of religious practice. There is little doubt however that a choice was being made between what could be retained and observed with greater ease and what would be observed to a lesser degree or perhaps completely cast off. To what extent for example was synagogue attendance viewed as a priority.

According to Gartner (1973:192):

‘We have but scraps of knowledge on these fundamental issues...The best estimate is that about one half of the eligible Jews belonged to chevrot of some sort.’

In a similar vein, a leading minister of the day, Dayan B. Spiers had written in 1901:

'My spirit grieves that many of them have not joined and do not join any synagogue or chevra and they do not come this throughout the year to worship....or to hear words of Torah. Transgression thereby leads to further transgression.' (in Gartner 1960:193)

It is clear from school records that many Jewish parents were prepared to send their children to the local board schools which in view of the large number of Jewish children were administered as Jewish schools. For example, they closed on the Jewish High Holidays as hardly any pupils would be likely to attend. (see Gartner 1960:227)

But the seeds of assimilation had been sown:

'The pressures that had eroded Yiddish were also eroding Judaism. It was for a later generation to realise the need once again to stress Jewish values, religion and history, although unfortunately a lot of the damage had been done.'
(In Cesarani 1990:93)

Gartner concludes however,

'The Anglicisation of the young was effective, as was probably inevitable with or without conscious effort by immigrant or native Jews. In fact it was so successful that after 1918 the Jewish communal anxiety was to promote Judaisation before its Anglicised generation drifted out of reach.' (p.240)

Attitudes to religious guidance and authority appeared to have changed. Neither the Rabbis nor the Torah were viewed as the main source of knowledge. Higher 'Jewish' learning was no longer viewed as the epitome of Jewish ambition. The demand for secular rather than religious knowledge was paramount amongst the Jewish community. Every family experienced the same problems but some were able to survive the constant onslaught against their existing religious lives:

'There were others for whom the pressures towards acculturation were mitigated and whose Jewish identity was reinforced by the influence of their home environment, their religious education or the activities of religious youth groups.'
(Livshin in Cesarani 1990:91)

There seems little doubt that home environment and the norms of social and religious behaviour of the parents were major factors in determining the future behaviour of their children.

'However the degree to which each child was affected by these influences differed, and was affected by the choices and compromises that had already been made by his or her immigrant parents.' (Livshin in Cesarani 1990:94)

The role of home and family environment has always been a main factor in determining the attitude and behaviour of the children. At the end of the 20th Century the effects of the seeds of Anglicisation and assimilation that had been thus sown are still being felt by the continued weakening of Jewish religious life amongst a large percentage of modern Anglo-Jewry.

'It is evident that the attitude the children absorbed was one more pressure upon their observance of Judaism. This was something that the established community had not realised. They had intended to make English Jews and they had emphasised the English side of things to help this along; but what they found themselves faced with and what they began to realise in the 1920's was that the whole thing had gone too far. The Jewish Chronicle began to report a lack of religious spirit, religious apathy and disintegration amongst Jewish youth. The realisation dawned that what was needed was to Judaize the children not to AnglicizeIn the 1920s there was growing concern among the Anglo-Jewish community about the pace of assimilation and initial attempts to revive an interest in Jewish history and religion...There was a decline in Jewish observance among the youth.' (Livshin in Cesarani 1990:90)

This chapter has attempted to establish some of the reasons for a decline in Jewish religious observance in Britain during the past century. During the past fifty years, there have been other significant factors which have affected the Anglo-Jewish community in a number of ways. The immigration of Jews from Germany in the 1930s and of Sephardi Jews from Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq and Iran after 1948 brought new and different Jewish communities to Britain.

Although some Jewish day schools were operating in Britain, the majority of Jewish families sent their children to non-Jewish state or private schools. In the majority of cases, the children received their Jewish education through the 'cheder', the after-school and Sunday morning religion classes organised through the various synagogues. The results

were generally unsatisfactory. Most children were tired at the end of a school day and did not function well during these hours and many resented having to give up a Sunday morning when their non-Jewish friends were otherwise occupied in a less demanding setting. The result was that levels of Jewish knowledge deteriorated together with other levels of Jewish observance.

As stated above, the home environment and the norms of social and religious behaviour of the parents have generally been a major factor in determining the future behaviour of their children. The next chapter will examine the effect on the children of this gradually changing role of the traditional nuclear family.

Chapter 3

A brief overview of the changing role of the traditional family, together with a specific study of the changing role of the traditional Jewish family and its effect on the levels of religious observance in Anglo-Jewry.

In this chapter I intend firstly to examine relevant literature relating to the weakening of the nuclear family and the progressive secularisation of UK society in relation to comparative trends on a more global scale. I will then focus on one of the main reasons which I believe played a vital role in bringing 20th Century Anglo-Jewry to this low level of Jewish knowledge and religious observance: the changing role of the 'traditional' Jewish family.

Section (i) A brief global study of relevant literature relating to the weakening of the nuclear family and secularisation of UK society.

Haralambos, Holborn and Heald, (2000:544) refer to an international study of family life in 14 European nations carried out under the auspices of the European Co-ordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences. (see also Boh et al. Changing patterns of European Family Life - 1989) The countries concerned were: Belgium, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany (the study was carried out before re-unification), Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, the then Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The Boh report (pp.294-296) noted that:

‘Although most of the evidence showed that life was very different in different European countries, some evidence did point to certain trends being widespread. All European countries had experienced rising divorce rates and many had made it easier to get divorced. Cohabitation appears to have become more common in most countries, and the birth rate had declined everywhere.’

According to a study by Rapaport (1989:53-67), the decline of the traditional nuclear family appears to be part of a global trend. Data produced in her research, demonstrates a distinct change in several different European countries:

‘In Finland, the percentage of households consisting of a nuclear family declined from 63.8% in 1950 to 60% in 1980. In Sweden, the decline was from 52.4% in 1960 to 42.6% in 1980. In East Germany, from 56.7% in 1957 to 48.7% in 1977.’

She also noted that:

‘an enormous increase throughout Europe in the proportion of married women who have paid employment, which suggests that men’s and women’s roles within marriage are changing and consequently new family forms are developing.’

An American sociologist Judith Stacey (1996:29) writes of the post-modern family who have moved away from the single traditional family model.

‘Like post-modern culture, contemporary Western family arrangements are diverse, fluid and unresolved. Like post-modern cultural forms, our families today admix unlikely elements in an improvisational pastiche of old and new.’

Another recent work by a contemporary sociologist, Nicholson (1997:35) showed that a similar trend was also taking place within the USA.

‘Even as a certain ideal of family life was coming to define the American way of life, such trends as a rising divorce rate, increased participation of married women in the labour force, and the growth of female headed households, were making this way of life increasingly atypical. In all cases, such trends preceded the 1950s.

Nicholson concluded that:

‘By the late 1990s so many people lived in alternatives to traditional families that the idea of the traditional family had become totally outdated. (p.36)

If this was the global situation, could the same be true of the Jewish communities ? Section (ii) below will examine this with a specific focus on the U.K and the USA

Section (ii) The changing role of the traditional Jewish family and its effect on the levels of religious observance in Anglo-Jewry.

A publication from the Executive Director of the Office of the Chief Rabbi commenting on the drastic reduction of Jewish marriages in Anglo-Jewry, began with the words: ‘We are facing a major-crisis in Anglo-Jewry’. (Shindler 1993:19)

It was clear that there was a deterioration in the level of religious observance of a growing percentage of the 20th century Anglo-Jewish population. The Chief Rabbi Professor Dr. Jonathan Sacks commented on what he recognised as a most serious situation:

‘A problem has arisen which threatens to overwhelm all else and make other conflicts marginal by comparison. The great divide in the future will not be between secular and religious Jews, or between Israel and the Diaspora, or between Orthodoxy and Reform. It will be between those who will remain Jews and those who will not.’ (Sacks 1994:1)

What was it that had taken place during the 20th century that could elicit such a statement which seemingly questioned the very survival of Anglo-Jewry ? Indeed, Jews had survived throughout the Diaspora, under both liberal, tolerant and also harsh conditions, for over two thousand years.

To the Chief Rabbi it was seen not just as a crisis in the lessening of the number of Jewish marriages. It was a problem of major proportions which he called: ‘A crisis of continuity’ defined in a simplistic but alarming manner:

‘We face crisis, a crisis of continuity. It can be defined by a simple question and a far from simple answer. The question is: Will we have Jewish grandchildren ?’ (Sacks 1994: 1-2)

It was not due to the fact that Jews were dying or suffering at the hands of oppressors, said Sacks, but that the Jews were living in an era and an environment where both Judaism and Jewish identity were at risk.

‘Jewish survival is once more in doubt. The catastrophe is spiritual and cultural, not physical. It is passive, not active. It is motivated by no malign intentions.’
(Sacks 1994: 26)

Throughout much of the Western world, the gradual weakening of the influence and impact of the traditional nuclear family on children has been well researched and documented.

Cooper and Morrison (1991:11) in a publication based on the Channel 4 Television documentary, *A Sense of Belonging - Dilemmas of British Jewish Identity* focused on the problems of the declining Anglo-Jewish community and observed that:

‘What we are witnessing is the degeneration of the Jewish family as an **incubator of purpose**. The family as the social entity that embodied and enacted the collective ideals of the Jewish people is being replaced by a **fragmented individualism**.’

These two phrases used by Cooper and Morrison, which I have highlighted above, incorporate a depth of meaning which appear to personify the core of the changing role of the Jewish family. In which way was it an ‘incubator of purpose’ and what was this ‘purpose’?

For over three thousand years the status and importance of the ‘Jewish family’ has been viewed as the bedrock on a firm foundation which ensured the strength and continuity of the Jewish faith. This has been well summarised in the article on ‘The Jewish Family’ in the Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971)

‘The constant insistence upon the value of the family as a social unit for the propagation of domestic and religious virtues and the significant fact that the accepted Hebrew word for marriage is “kiddushin” (sanctification) had the result of making the Jewish home the most vital factor in the survival of Judaism and the preservation of the Jewish way of life, much more than the synagogue or school.’
(Encyclopaedia Judaica: (1971) “Family” Vol. 6: 1164-1172)

Dashefsky & Levine (1983:185-6) saw the purpose of the Jewish family

‘ as the crucial link in building a relationship between the Jewish identity of the individual and the larger Jewish community...the case of the Jewish family is particularly illuminating because despite its centuries of socio-cultural experience in cushioning minority group status, it is afflicted by all the woes of modernity, with some special strains brought about by the even greater rapidity in Jewish life of occupational, geographic and sex-role changes. Jewish adaptability has in the past been a virtue, but current adaptations may have disastrous consequences for Jewish family life.’

It would appear that the combination of the early 20th century anglicization and assimilation, the increasing growth of the weakening of the traditional nuclear family per se, and what Dashefsky and Levine call ‘all the woes of modernity’ provided a lethal cocktail of calamity and was to introduce a new dimension into the Jewish family structure. It was what Cooper and Morrison called ‘fragmented individualism’. (see above p.35)

In practice the growth of a ‘laissez-faire’ attitude to religious observance brought with it a weakening of family values and family authority. More significant than a ‘generation gap’, parents and their children were gradually developing a ‘values gap’. Children no longer shared the same values as their parents. There was a slow but sure erosion of values between the generations. At a meeting that I attended in 2001, an orthodox rabbi of the United Synagogue commented that 95% of Jewish couples at whose weddings he had officiated, were living together before their marriage. This was an attitude and value that their parent’s generation would never have condoned or even considered.

Cooper and Morrison (1991:11) had noted the danger stemming from the weakening of the role of the Jewish family in the transmission of Jewish religious values. They agreed ‘that family life is vital for the future of Jewish life’ but also acknowledged that a vital change was taking place.

Dashefsky and Levine (1983:185-6) had also noted the weakening of the ‘nurturing function’ of the traditional Jewish family due to ‘the diminution of close relationships with grandparents and other relatives’.

When the mass immigration of Jews took place at the commencement of the 20th century, the majority lived in ghetto-like environments wherever they settled. In London, for example, some 90% lived within the square mile of Whitechapel.

Families tended to live only a few doors or perhaps a few streets away from each other. Children came regularly into contact not only with their parents, but also regularly with grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins who frequently acted as role models for the younger generation.

However, midway through the 20th century the majority of younger married families had left these areas and moved to more affluent suburban districts. This resulted in the loss of regular and more immediate contact with more 'Jewishly' committed relatives and hence with more traditional and religiously observant role models.

The research of Dashefsky and Levine also highlighted another problem which they saw as 'the combination of high acculturation of Jewish parents' resulting in a crucial change in the attitudes and expectations of the Jewish family. Jewish families were now better educated in the secular sense. Many viewed ultimate financial success and security as dependent on a good secular education as opposed to a religious education which they saw as being unhelpful or possibly a hindrance to a successful future in Britain.

'In the 'sixties, many children of that post-war generation found that there was life outside the psychological ghetto.' (Cooper & Morrison 1991:19)

The continued growth of assimilation in the UK and USA coupled with the intense decrease in intellectual knowledge of Judaism, thus led inevitably to the gradual weakening of the transmission of inherited Jewish religious values through the traditional Jewish family.

A survey of the levels of Anglo-Jewish religious observance during the 20th century might have been expected to show a clearly marked fall over the past four generations. The Chief Rabbi viewed the situation in the following manner:

‘It is an almost universal law that inherited wealth lasts three generations, not more. The same applies to inherited Judaism....Ours is the last generation for whom Jewish identity can be sustained by memory alone...Our children are children of the fourth generation (of the immigrants)... They do not take it for granted that they will belong to an orthodox synagogue or indeed any synagogue. They do not take it for granted that they will marry another Jew or stay married. They do not take it for granted that they will have Jewish children or that it is important to do so. Nothing can be taken for granted in the fourth generation, least of all in a secular open society in which even a common moral code is lacking.’ (Sacks 1994: 60)

In a similar vein, Neusner (1995: 235-6) also focuses on these four generations and comments on what he terms ‘the demise of intellect’ as a crucial factor stemming from the assimilation of the 20th century.

Although his comments were centred on the Jews of America, there is a clear similarity to the situation in the UK.

‘What we noticed about the Judaic systems of the 20th century - their utter indifference to the received writings of the Judaism of the Torah ... The as yet unappreciated factor of sheer ignorance, the profound pathos of Jews’ illiteracy in all books but the book of the streets and the marketplaces of the day. The second generation beyond immigration to the USA received in the streets and the public press its education in Jewish existence. The third generation in a more benign age turned to the same sources and came away with nothing negative but little positive. And by the fourth generation, the Jews in North America had attained complete illiteracy.’ (Neusner 1995 : 235-6)

It was not the lack of ability that had created this seemingly illiterate generation where there is an absence of Jewish books in many Jewish homes in modern Britain. Julia Neuberger, a Rabbi of the Reform Synagogue and a renowned journalist asked: ‘What can we do to maintain our faith if we do not educate our young about their Judaism?’, and acknowledged the fact that ‘Jews who have reached for the stars academically are loath to study their own faith intensively.’ (Neuberger 1995:xvi)

It was clear, according to Cooper and Morrison, that Jewish families had other hopes for their children:

‘The burden of expectation placed on the post-war generation was large. Once again the children would be the hope. The children would carry the dream. The children would make it all right.’ (Cooper and Morrison 1991:18)

But there was a price to pay. Success in the secular outer world could bring about a major problem that has haunted Jews throughout the centuries: the problem of inter-marriage. Cooper and Morrison observed that :

‘On the one hand the children were supposed to achieve success and security and acceptance in the outside world, and they were pushed hard in that direction. On the other hand, they mustn’t go too far from the confines of the family. The message was: stay Jewish, keep close, don’t marry out. Jewish survival seemed to depend on it.’ (p.18)

The research of Dashefsky and Levine also highlighted another problem which was to effect a major change in the levels of religious observance of many Jewish families. It was caused by the increase of inter-marriage.

‘Very few Jewish family networks do not have non-Jewish members, whose presence tends to result in some dilution of the centrality of Jewish customs and practices.’ (Dashefsky & Levine 1983:184-5)

The growing number of Jewish men and women who marry a non-Jew has without doubt affected the traditional role and attitude of the Jewish family. What was once a taboo subject is now seemingly accepted as a matter of fact by many families whose parents and grandparents would never have been prepared to countenance such a thing. The ‘family’ appears on the surface to behave as if nothing untoward has occurred in its midst even though it inevitably results in a lessening of Jewish religious practice. Evidence from interviews carried out as a part of this research has confirmed the above scenario as a reality.

This factor has been recognised by Dallos (1991:34) as a ‘collective unconscious fantasy or family myth’.

‘The function of family myths is to preserve the family homeostasis, to avoid the possibilities of disruption or disintegration of the family or of relationships within it. It represents a response to real or perceived threats to the viability of the family. It can be seen to represent to the family what a defence mechanism is to the individual.....It has therefore the quality of a “safety valve”, that is “a survival valve’.

In this chapter I have endeavoured to demonstrate how previous research has indicated the changing role of the traditional Jewish family and the effect of this change on the religious behaviour and attitude of these families and their offspring. What is apparent from the various observations above is the demarcation between what the parents still expect from their offspring and what their offspring are clearly committed to. The research of Cooper and Morrison (1991:54) showed what most Jewish parents wanted for their children:

‘Marrying a Jewish partner, being successful in one’s occupation, being financially successful, being religious, and being active in the Jewish community.’

Evidence from many of the American research studies listed in the literature survey as well as the Goldberg and Kosmin (1997) survey in the UK has indicated that, although the emotional and social ties of young Jewish adults with their families remain strong, an increasing number of young Jewish adults have decided to move away from their parents’ attitude towards synagogue activity and religious observance. My own current research will, by way of contrast, show whether or not having young children attending a Jewish primary school can effect a change in the opposite direction and encourage these families to lead a more religiously observant life and thus play an active part in the Jewish community.

I have attempted to describe the problems caused by the combination of a reduction of the number of Jews within the UK together with the lessening of Jewish religious practice and identification which appeared to be facing Anglo-Jewry in the late 20th century. The combination of religious apathy, assimilation and inter-marriage had all played their part. Jewish history has shown the regular recurrence of a centuries old problem which has impinged on Jewish religious survival:

- assimilation
- integration
- segregation

Within the Diaspora, assimilation of Jewish communities has occurred on numerous occasions as a result of a totally free and open society. This situation has been evidenced in Biblical times with the 8th century BCE assimilation of the 10 'lost' tribes of Israel as a result of the Assyrian conquest of northern Israel; in the 2nd century BCE due to the Hellenization programme of Alexander the Great and his successors; in Spain during the 12th century C.E.; in Western Europe, particularly Germany, in the 18th century C.E. due to the growing influence of the 'Haskalah' (Enlightenment) movement. As outlined in above, in chapters 2 and 3, this now appears to have taken place within the Jewish Diaspora, particularly in the UK and USA.

However, what also appears to be currently taking place within these societies, is an 'integration' of Jews into main-stream life which, at its most tolerant, encourages the equality of all races, religions and ethnic groups. In the UK, the Commission for Racial Equality has fought hard to ensure equal rights for all within modern society. Within the educational world, main-stream schools encourage, as far as is possible, a multi-racial intake. It is not unusual for main-stream schools to have pupils who are Church of England, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu etc.

A 'tolerant' society can encourage a respect for ethnic and religious identity. Commercial organisations and institutions frequently appoint multi-racial and multi-ethnic employees, and are required by law to do so. Within such a society, Jews can also function without necessarily losing sight of their own heritage and religion.

The third area mentioned above is that of 'segregation'. This has both positive and negative connotations. Historically, the word is associated in a negative context, with the segregation of Jewish communities into a 'ghetto'. This had its origins in early medieval Europe and existed during the 20th century in Nazi occupied Europe. However, when confined to a specific area and left alone by their oppressors, Jewish communities looked inwards to themselves and towards G-d, and developed a strong religiously oriented life. In the modern early 21st century world, the concept and practice of 'segregation' still exists especially among the more right wing ultra-orthodox Jewish communities. Amongst these communities, found in almost every area where Jews live throughout the world, there are enclaves of ultra-orthodox Jews, often recognisable by a specific mode of dress, who are comfortable with their choice of life in the sure knowledge that they are protected from the modern day influences which can lessen the required religious commitment of a Jew. This research study has by choice not focussed on this last group of families.

I have endeavoured to focus, in this chapter, on the changing attitudes and role of the Jewish family and have attempted to show the effect of this on religious observance. I believe that it is a crucial area and one that can have far-reaching implications for the future of Anglo-Jewry. The prevailing current attitude of today's Jewish families has been clearly summed-up by Sacks. 'How they understand and live their Jewishness will have a bearing on how the next generation chooses to live theirs.' (Sacks 1994:3)

In the first part of this thesis, I have focussed on the historical, social and family factors in order to explain the rationale for this research study. In part two, the Literature Survey, I will examine, comment on and compare previous allied research in this field.

Part 2: Literature Survey

Chapter 4

This chapter contains three sections:

Section 1: Previous research relating to the nature of Jewish religious identity and to changes in parental behaviour attributed to the influence of their children's Jewish education.

Section 2: Previous research which examines the effect of Jewish education on the later Jewish religious identification of the pupils themselves.

Section 3: A comparison of allied research in the USA with data captured by this present research in the UK.

Section 1

Previous research relating to the nature of Jewish religious identity and to changes in parental behaviour attributed to the influence of their children's Jewish education.

In a thorough and comprehensive literature survey I have found only five examples of research which examine the effects of a child's Jewish education on the religious behaviour of the parents. Three of these, however, Pinkenson (1987), Ravid (1993) and Rosenblatt (1999), deal exclusively with the short-term effect on parental behaviour during their children's pre-school kindergarten stage. They do not deal with the effect on the family of a more long-term education at a Jewish primary school. Nulman (1955) is of greater interest as it is more relevant to my own current study even though it was conducted 48 years ago.

Finally, the study by Ingall (1993) deals with the effects on parents of pupils attending a Jewish day school in America. Although the ethos and rationale of that school is not an orthodox one, it has become a popular

choice for intermarried families or where there is a partner new to Judaism.

The data presented in the above five research projects, all of which took place in the USA, are of relevance and interest to my own research study and will now be examined in greater depth.

Nulman (1955) carried out an investigation:

- (i) to discover some of the basic factors which influenced 192 parents, representing 104 families, to enrol their children in the Hillel Academy of Pittsburgh, a Jewish day school
- (ii) to trace some changes in the attitudes and behaviour of these parents which have occurred subsequent to such enrolment.

Nulman collected his data by means of structured interviews with the parents. He later commented on the need for greater elaboration of the responses of parents which would have been possible if he had used a 'freer interview method' . .

He stated that

'subsequent investigations made by others in such schools across the country, might eventually provide enough information for the formulation of a "fixed" data-gathering instrument which could be used to discover the relationships of parents to the all-day school.' (p.16)

I have some doubt about the efficacy and accuracy of such a 'data-gathering instrument' which may be too simplistic and be unable to differentiate between the views of the wide and varied groups of Jewish parents whose children attend Jewish day schools. Nevertheless, I can appreciate what Nulman set out to do by investigating the effect and reactions on parents whose children attended a Jewish day school.

Such information and guidance would have been of great benefit to the Jewish educational establishment at that time.

Nulman's is the earliest research study I have found which contains similar aims to my own and indeed has produced what appears to be similar results to my own findings. For example, it is of interest to note that the parental reasons for enrolment given on pages 66 - 69 of the Nulman study are almost identical in content to those given in my own research in a different country almost half a century later. (see Chapter 7 below).

Nulman focused on a key factor, also reflected in my own research (see Chapter 7 below) of parental yearning for a Jewish life that they never received, or perhaps nostalgia for a Jewish life that they wished to re-create for their own children.

There is, however, a vital difference when one compares the background and up-bringing of the parents interviewed in that study with those in my own research. The Nulman doctoral research was published in 1955, just ten years after the end of World War 2. Fifty nine parents (30 male and 29 female) had attended school in Europe before the outbreak of the war. It was clear from the comments during interviews of this group of parents, that their own early education, background and traumatic experience had affected their later attitudes as parents in the USA. Nulman commented that the response of such parents was based on a desire to re-establish the norms of the Jewish education that they would have received in Europe, such as developing a discipline for traditional learning of a Jewish nature. This was in contrast to those parents born and raised in the USA whose attitude towards Jewish education was of a broader base relating to an appreciation of their Jewish identity in the modern world.

A study of the countries of birth of parents and grandparents in my own research (see p.107 Table 3), shows that the great majority of parents had been born in the UK. The only similarity in this respect is a comparison of attitudes between those parents of the Nulman study who had grown up in

the oppression of pre-war Europe and those in my own study who had grown up in Iran and Iraq and subsequently settled in the UK. An example of this may be found later, in the interview with family R1 on the problems of being perceived as different. It was evident that due to their early upbringing in Iraq, the husband of family R1 experienced some difficulty in publicly demonstrating any Jewish ritualistic way of life in England. (see page 122 below)

Nulman also focused on what he felt might have prompted non-observant parents to choose a Jewish day school for their children.

‘There are parents who know little or nothing about Judaism and have enrolled their children in the school because of some personal lack or yearning. Their awakening might be a form of nostalgia or the result of a meaningful experience.’ (p.123)

This reason, examined in my own research as well, also appears to be reflected amongst many of the families whom I have interviewed.

(See pages 143-145 below.)

Nulman drew attention to those parents who did not support the religious ritual encouraged in the school.

‘They thus create a conflict in their children’s learning experiences. It is not difficult for the children to grasp quickly the idea that their parents do not support the entire program of the school.’ (p.124)

The problem of ‘conflict’ is one that is examined in great depth during the course of this study and the results of my own interviews are discussed in Chapter 13 below. In the Ingall study (1993:61) detailed below, reference is made to *The Parents’ Handbook of the Solomon Schechter Day School of Greater Boston* which has provided parents with options if home practices conflict with school teachings. Four possible options are listed to deal with this eventuality:

1. ‘Parent denies validity of what takes place in school.’
2. ‘Parent raises his or her standard of Jewish observance.’
3. ‘Parent permits the child the opportunity he or she did not have.’
4. ‘Parent opens himself or herself to a new experience, decides to study and then gradually introduces a new level of Jewish ritual practice into his or her life.’

These four points are discussed and elaborated in greater depth in many interviews with parents throughout my own research study.

Nulman admitted, however, that

‘no attempt was made to have the respondents define what to them constituted the particular observance.’ (p.50)

This is in contrast to my own research where parents were asked to self-evaluate their own levels of observance over five levels.

Another area of difference to my own research, may be found in the following statement by Nulman:

‘If the parents contradicted each other, then the home was rated on these items as non-observant because of the fact that in all probability there is a greater awareness of the lack of an observance than there is of its observance.’ (p.51)

There is an inherent weakness and danger in this over-riding statement. Where such contradictions between husband and wife occur in my own research, deeper questioning during the interviews has enabled me to clarify and develop such differences of opinion.

In several cases in my own research (see Chapter 10 below), I found that the influence of the mother alone was sufficient to maintain a semblance of observance regardless of any negative attitude of the father. In such cases I would certainly not have classed the family as ‘non-observant’.

Nulman, however, also observed added that:

‘mothers had a clearer picture of the goals for Jewish education than did the fathers.’ (p71)

Because of these above points, I do not feel that the data produced in the Nulman study relating to changes in levels of religious observance are, in some areas, as definitive as those in my research. Nevertheless, his analysis, final comments and the conclusions of his extensive research study, are very similar to those in my own research nearly half a century later.



For example, the conclusions of the Nulman study showed that some 40% of parents admitted to a change in their home life which was attributed to the effect of the school. These were related to the increase of the observance of the dietary laws, synagogue attendance and a feeling of joy brought into the home by the children's enthusiasm for religious practices.

The small but very thorough study carried out by Ingall (1993) deals with the effects on parents of pupils attending a Jewish day school in America. The school is pluralistic, serving Reform, Orthodox and unaffiliated Jews. The school's prospectus informs parents that 'the end product of this education is to create knowledgeable and participating members of the Jewish community of Israel and responsible citizens of the United States.' (p.50)

The ethos and rationale of this school is not an orthodox one and it has become a popular choice for intermarried families or with a partner new to Judaism. The school offers an adult education programme for the parents of the pupils. Those who enrolled in this programme did so for the following reasons:

- 'to bond with my family'
- 'to be a role model'
- 'to grow intellectually and spiritually'
- 'to explore my Jewish identity'
- 'to learn with a master teacher'
- 'to better understand what my child is doing'
- 'I couldn't do this alone, I need a teacher or a group to study with.'

The Ingall paper included an important and highly relevant point of view made by Zaiman, H.Z (1972).

'We know that Jewish parents expect the Jewish school to ensure the fact that their children will remain Jews. Most parents are not concerned with the content matter of Jewish education, the knowledge of the Torah or the performance of Mitzvot, (commandments). They are Jews and they want their children to continue to be *their* children. In order to accomplish this, their children must remain Jews. That is why they send their children to our religious schools.' (p.32 in Ingall 1993)

The last sentence relating to Jewish identity is a familiar comment which has been made by numerous families in the course of my own interviews with families and which will be elaborated upon in greater detail in a later section of this thesis, (see Chapter 8 pages 141-142 below)

The final conclusion of the Ingall study is that the school has effected a change in the religious observance and lives of the parents:

‘All of the parents agree that the school has increased their Jewish consciousness.... Most parents discuss the weekly Torah portion with their families on Friday night and some attributed the increase in their synagogue attendance to the school. The school added a religious dimension to their lives.’ (p.58)

The data for the above study was obtained by personal interviews with only a small group of eight parents representing a cross-section of differing attitudes and viewpoints. With this relatively small number of responses, one cannot make any generalised comments which would be applicable to another Jewish school. However, the conclusions, related to the effect of the school on parental religious observance discussed by Ingall, are in many cases not too dissimilar from those of my own research study, as will be seen in the later chapters of this thesis and my own conclusions in Chapter 14 below.

Pinkenson (1987) attempted to determine whether enrolling a child in a day care programme under Jewish auspices could affect the Jewish identity of the parent. The research was conducted purely by means of a questionnaire sent during 1986 to parents who had enrolled their children in day care programmes in the greater Philadelphia area of Pennsylvania. The children were aged from 3 months to 6 years.

Two exploratory questions formed the basis of her research:

[1] As a result of your child's day care experience, do you consider yourself to be:

- [a] More involved Jewishly
- [b] Less involved Jewishly
- [c] Other.

[2] As a result of your child's day care experience are you:

- [a] More aware of the Jewish calendar
- [b] More child centred in your observances;
- [c] More aware of feeling about being Jewish;
- [d] Interested in learning more about Judaism.

In the above study, Jewish Identification was determined by four categories of behaviour:

- Home Rituals
- Synagogue Attendance
- Membership of a Synagogue or Jewish Organisation
- Proportion of Jewish friends.

I was interested to note that Pinkenson included the area of 'charitable contributions to Jewish groups or organisations' as a possible determinant of Jewish religious identification. I have not included this area in my own research, although I understand and appreciate that those involved 'more Jewishly' might be more willing to contribute in this way.

Pinkenson's study concluded (p.115) that 'the longer time a parent is involved in a Jewish day care program, the greater is the mean number of home ritual observances.' This is a valuable study but begs the question of what happened to these parents after their children had left the pre-school kindergarten. There is certainly a need for further research to compare the differences between families whose children remained within a Jewish school and those who did not. This is true not only of the Pinkenson study but also of my own current research.

Pinkenson's study (p.104) also supported the conclusion which was verified by parents who participated in my research. (see p.148 below)

Pinkenson stated:

'that parents who enrol their children in day care centres under Jewish auspices will develop a significantly greater number of Jewish friendships than parents who enrol their children in non-sectarian day care centres...which represents an increased social network, capable of supporting and re-enforcing other behaviours such as participation in group activities, celebration, group or synagogue membership, or even ritual observances.'

Pinkenson drew attention to the crucial factor of 'meaningful intervention at a critical life cycle stage' which may cause a change in the religious behaviour of the parents of kindergarten children. Thus:-

'It appears that the Jewish day care experience may be a meaningful intervention at a critical life cycle stage, where families who are in the formative developmental stages of their religious identity may be unusually open to educational opportunities for themselves and to opportunities to widen their informal social support networks.' (p.118)

Ravid (1993) also focused on the effect of the Nursery/Kindergarten experience on family life. Her data was obtained by means of questionnaires sent to a group of 109 families who had enrolled at 'Early Childhood Centres' under the auspices of the Board of Jewish Education of Metropolitan Chicago. The average age of the children was three years. The majority of parents had received 'at least some form of Jewish education'.

The questionnaire covered very similar areas of religious observance as those listed in my own research questionnaire to parents. Ravid makes the same cautionary comment as I make when she assesses the pre-entry religious attitudes of the parents.

'It is also possible that a partial reason for the changes observed is the fact that the parents who decide to enrol their child in the ECC programme are already predisposed to change. Therefore when interpreting the results, caution should be exercised in assuming that the changes observed were caused solely by the intervention.' (p.11)

In my own research, however, I attempted to overcome this potential problem in two ways. Firstly by including a section of the questionnaire that allowed respondents to indicate if any other influence had increased their level of observance rather than just the school. Secondly, I investigated this aspect thoroughly during in-depth interviews with parents whose comments are recorded and discussed later in this thesis. (see Chapter 8 below)

Ravid ultimately concluded that:

‘enrolling a child in a quality well planned Jewish nursery school with an intensive parent involvement component can have a positive effect on the parents’ Jewish practices. Both children and parents are exposed to information about Jewish observance and have a chance to experience and practise what they learn. As a result, parents are more likely to increase their Jewish holiday celebrations and to purchase Jewish items for their homes.’ (p.15)

Rosenblatt (1999) examined pre-school Jewish education and in particular the impact of the Jewish kindergarten on aspects of families’ Jewish identities as their children began kindergarten. Participants included the parents of 44 children enrolled in a Jewish non-orthodox pre-school kindergarten in California. Her research ‘employed a longitudinal, multi-informant, multi-measure design’ which resulted in obtaining rich data. However, As the study covered only the relatively short period of the years that a child would be at the kindergarten, it was possible for such a longitudinal method to be used resulting in valuable data. I feel however, that there would have been stronger evidence if the research had continued for several years. This is true also of my own research. Contacting these same families perhaps ten years on would be a valuable exercise for some future researcher. I will refer to this again in the final chapter of this thesis.

In addition to interviewing the parents, Rosenblatt also interviewed the teachers and directors of the kindergarten to obtain their opinions relating to Jewish background and attitudes about the relation between home and school, parent involvement, Jewish content of mother-child play and the family's interest in Judaism. In my own research study, I did not interview teachers of the pupils, but did have a preliminary discussion with the head teachers of each of the schools when obtaining basic information about those schools.

The Rosenblatt study was designed in order to understand the ways in which the effects of the kindergarten might influence families' Jewish attitudes and behaviour. It examined many aspects of a family's Jewish life in an effort to explore the role the school played in the family's life during the child's kindergarten year.

Rosenblatt noted:

'Results indicated that parents increased their ritual Jewish observance, learned about Judaism during their child's kindergarten year, and incorporated their child's Jewish learning in their home.' (p.viii)

But she was aware that in many cases:

'the Jewish religious practices of the school do not match those of the families whose children attend the school.... because the families do not necessarily share the same cultural values and norms of the Jewish school, they may not reinforce the goals of the school at home.' (p.10)

She put forward an interesting and novel theory relating to the transmission of values and behaviour.

'An alternative outcome may be that the school influences the home and changes the family, making the family more similar to the school over time...Families' support of the Jewish aspects of the school, by incorporating them into their own lives, may serve as reinforcement for what the child is learning in school. In essence, we might be witnessing a reversal in the direction of transmission.' (p.12)

It is this theory of the 'reversal in the direction of transmission' that is the main focus of my own research in the three Jewish primary schools in England.

Rosenblatt concluded that many families did not realise the effect on their own lives of having a child attend a Jewish kindergarten. The study documented a moderate change in the religious behaviour of the parents during the time their children were at the kindergarten. Thus:-

'There was preliminary evidence that children played an active role in the accommodations the parents made to create more of a Jewish environment at home.....The results supported the theory that families adapted their daily activities in order to sustain meaningful routines.....Families that expressed that their Judaism was meaningful to their daily lives, that they considered it more of an opportunity than a burden to expand their Jewish involvement, were in fact the ones more likely to adapt their Jewish ritual to include aspects of the child's learning from school to home Furthermore, the relation between home-school congruence and Judaism incorporated in the home explained that families were more likely to adapt their routines when there was less conflict and/or difference between home and school.' (p.85)

Rosenblatt concluded that a limitation in her study was the lack of a control group to be able to compare two groups of parents. This is a valid self-criticism and one which I would have liked to incorporate into my own research study. As far as Rosenblatt was concerned, the problem she experienced focused on being unable to find parents whose children were not offered places at Jewish kindergartens. I have no doubt that this problem would also have been found in my own area of research had I wished to pursue such a course.

Perhaps future research might usefully focus on the comparison between parents whose children attended a non-Jewish day school and part-time 'cheder' and those parents whose children attended a Jewish day school.

Numerous previous research studies carried out in the USA, and which are detailed below, have focused on the pupils themselves, examining the **later** effects of a Jewish day school education on adult Jewish communal and religious identification. Although they did not deal with the more

immediate effects of a Jewish primary school on the religious attitudes, beliefs and life-style of non-observant families, they do contain many functional models for identifying and measuring aspects of religious practice and observance.

I have used these research studies, to provide me with a conceptual framework in developing a useful and relevant methodology for my own work. It is important to note that the majority of these allied research projects were carried out in the USA. **There appears to be nothing other than my own work, which concentrates solely on the situation in England, related to the specific area of my research, the effect of Jewish schooling on the parents of the pupils.**

Section 2

Previous research which examines the effect of Jewish education on the later Jewish religious identification of the pupils themselves.

The work of Shapiro (1988) is an empirical analysis based on study of a student population in Metro Atlanta. It examines the effectiveness of Jewish education on the development of Jewish identity amongst the students. It is not directly relevant to my own research study as it focuses only on the effect of the schools on the students themselves and not on their families. However, it does offer three useful definitions relating to 'identification' and 'Jewish religious identification' which I have incorporated into my own analysis of parental interviews and which have helped to clarify these concepts.

Identification: The process or the result of the process whereby individuals considers themselves a member of the group.

Jewish Identification: The process by which individuals comes to see themselves part of the Jewish group and the form the act of identification takes.

Jewish Religious Identification: The degree of one's orientation toward G-d, toward one's co-religionists, toward the religious system and toward one's fellow human beings.

Himmelfarb (1974) focused his research among the Jewish community of Chicago Illinois where a wide and diverse range of Jewish schooling and education was available. His study focused on 'the impact of religious schooling – the effects of Jewish education upon adult religious involvement'. His main survey was carried out in 1971 with 5300 questionnaires sent out by post. The questionnaires were lengthy and

would have taken some 45 minutes to complete. About 30% returned the questionnaire and the findings and conclusions of the Himmelfarb study were based on the responses of 1009 persons. (p.33)

The initial problem of this study was deciding on a suitable identification procedure for some form of random sampling. He discounted the use of school alumni lists since most of the students would have completed their religious schooling by the age of thirteen and the adult addresses would have been difficult to trace. He also discounted the use of geographical residence or organisational lists as the former was too difficult and costly to define and the latter might be too biased towards the more religiously involved. He ultimately based his sampling survey on Kohs' "Distinctive Jewish names Method" of sampling (p.25) using the list of the most common names appearing in the 1970 Jewish United Fund book of Life and the Chicago telephone directory.

Himmelfarb noted that this method had been widely used to make fairly accurate estimates of the Jewish population in various areas, but noted a certain disadvantage of using this system as it did not identify Jewish born women married to non-Jewish husbands. I agree that this is a valid self-criticism but perhaps only in respect of failing to fully identify the real effect of Jewish schooling on Jews who had intermarried.

Although this research was undertaken 30 years ago, it has created a useful and relevant model which I have incorporated into my own data analysis for determining, measuring and comparing religious commitment and Jewish identity.

Himmelfarb found that there are three important influences on adult religious identification: (i) parental religiosity, (ii) spouse religiosity, (iii) religious schooling.

Pursuing his study he identified differences between public religious behaviour and what he termed 'pietism', a form of private religious behaviour and attitude, and emphasised that the latter is harder to identify and measure. I have found his methodology of particular benefit as he included many definitive sub-headings, many of which have been adapted and utilised within my own research questionnaire. These comprise nine dimensions which he termed: devotional, doctrinal, experiential, affiliational, ideological, intellectual, affectional, ethical and moral.

According to Himmelfarb, (pp.57-58) devotional implies ritual observances both at the synagogue and at home; doctrinal indicates belief in major tenets of faith; experiential denotes a feeling of G-d's presence; affiliational and ideological dimensions have communal orientations; intellectual includes behaviour such as religious study; affectional is a form of emotional attachment to the religion; ethical and moral indicates the need for suitable ethical and moral behaviour and attitudes towards others.

Himmelfarb used these nine dimensions to measure religious involvement in 41 specific areas of Jewish life. This list contains all the areas that have been included in the initial questionnaire of my own research with one notable exception. The questionnaire in my own survey focuses generally on 'practice' and does not examine in depth the reasons for any changes in attitudes and belief, although this is certainly developed as a part of the in-depth interviews with respondents. I have already commented on the problems relating to the identification and measurement of changes in attitudes and beliefs (see pp.16-17 above)

Himmelfarb concluded that where schools have been most effective, it is with those pupils who came from religious homes, who had received intensive Jewish religious education and who later married religious spouses. He stated (p.18) that: 'From a review of the literature one must conclude that generally schools are not very effective in changing people.'

The result of Himmelfarb's research and other similar studies examined in this chapter may well support this assumption. It must be stressed, however, that he was referring to past pupils and not to their parents. My own research study uses a similar form of data analysis but focuses on the parents rather than the pupils.

Another valuable research study took place during the same period by Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) who carried out an extensive study relating to Jewish identification among American Jews. This research is based on data relating to two generations of men mainly father and son pairs, originally gathered in 1969 in the Jewish community of St. Paul, near Minneapolis USA. The primary population was a group of young men between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-nine inclusive and the older generation were generally fathers of the first group.

Mail questionnaires were sent to 535 individuals in the two generations. 302 were returned, equivalent to 56% of the total possible cases. The data analysis was dependent purely on the questionnaire response and there were no further in-depth interviews with the respondents.

The methodology utilised through the questionnaire was of a quantitative nature but included thirty-one items aimed at measuring various beliefs and attitudes towards specific and general aspects of Jewish life. By the use of a four-point Likert scale response it was possible through statistical factor analysis to create a Jewish Identification (JI) scale (p.37) of the seven most intercorrelated items from the response to the questionnaire.

Dashefsky and Shapiro observed that

'Such a scale based on factor analysis has a built-in measure of reliability in the form of the internal consistency of the items utilised being measured by the factor loading.' (p.138)

Their analysis of the concepts of identity, social and ethnic identification and Jewish Group identification, is most valuable. They focused on four main areas of identity: social identity, self concept, personal identity and ego identity (p.4). They also embraced Jewish beliefs and attitudes dealing not only with ritualistic practices but more specifically with beliefs, attitudes and feelings of communal attachment. The creation of a Jewish Identification (JI) Scale covered specific areas that I have included and developed in my own research. (See Appendix G)

A most useful section in their research is the relationship and attitudes towards Jewish values and beliefs between two generations. However in respect of the influence of Jewish education, the thrust of their research is focused on the part it plays in the later Jewish adult identification of past pupils and did not examine the effect of such schooling on the parents of these pupils during their own early years.

Cohen (1974) researched into the impact of Jewish education on religious identification and practice and once again emphasised the paramount influence of the home and the minimal influence of Jewish education upon religious attitudes in respect of pupils from non-observant homes. He collected data from a postal questionnaire sent to 1364 Jewish undergraduates in Columbia USA. Six hundred and twenty six (46%) completed and returned them. It was felt that the respondents were 'reasonably representative of undergraduate Jewish students in Columbia.' Cohen (p.319) provides a list of useful indicators of 'parental religiosity' which I have been able to include in my own area of research.

- Candles were lit on Friday night.
- Candles were lit on Chanukah.
- There were two sets of utensils for meat and dairy.

- Kiddush was said on Friday night.
- There was a mezuzah on the door.
- There was a Seder for Passover.
- At least one member of the family attended Sabbath services.
- At least one member of the family usually attended services on Yom Kippur.

He focused on all the practical ritual areas I have mentioned above and has also, as in my own research, included attitudes towards Israel as an important concept.

A later paper by Cohen (1992) is also of great interest as it concentrates on the marginally affiliated. He points out that there are various 'entry points' to Jewish identification where intervention could leave lasting impressions. He linked these to the Jewish festive calendar, to events in family life and to historical events. The entry points connected with family life could, he stated, be a reaction to 'marriage; the birth of a child; child-rearing transitions such as beginning school, bar/bat mitzvah and confirmation; death and mourning; illness; and even divorce.'

It is my contention that not only beginning school but also the on-going effects of a child's Jewish primary school education would provide additional 'entry points'. It will be seen from numerous interviews throughout my own research that the data results in this thesis will support this contention. This is a factor that Cohen omitted.

Research was carried out by Bock (1976) who studied the non-cognitive educational effects of Jewish schools. He utilised the comprehensive National Jewish Population Survey of American Jewry carried out in

1973. The sample used for his own study (Ch.2:12) comprised 'a disproportionately stratified, multi-staged clustered sample of 4275 Jewish respondents' aged 18 and over from the main survey. It covered several areas concentrating on what is termed 'Jewish housing units' defined as 'any household where one or more of the occupants was either born Jewish, or converted to Judaism, or had a father or mother who was born Jewish.' The response rate of the questionnaire was approximately 75%. He identified ten separate measurable dimensions: 'Jewish self esteem, home ritual observances, participation in social networks, cultural perceptions, synagogue attendance, secular synagogue activities, Jewish organisational activities, attitudes about Jewish survival, support for Israel and domestic political attitudes'. His findings showed that in the areas of 'personal values and beliefs', home background is 1.3 to 2.4 times more important than the effects of Jewish schooling. (p:ix of the study)

If according to Bock a non-observant and religiously weak Jewish home cannot pass on traditional values and heritage to the next generation, it demonstrates the importance of determining whether in fact a Jewish day school education can 'strengthen' the Jewish values and Jewish life in the home of 'non-observant' parents whose children attend such a school.

Bock (1976) asked the crucial question whether Jewish schools create American Jews or whether it depends on the Jewish characteristics of the home environment. This, in essence, is a vital part of my own research. However I am looking more to the immediacy of any changes within the actual family at that time, rather than the long term effect on the individual who has passed through a Jewish day school system. I wish to determine whether or not Jewish schooling can have an effect on the family or whether other non-school factors can bring a non-observant family closer

to communal identification and participation. In this respect Bock points out the views of many policy makers that

‘Jewish schooling cannot possibly make a difference; they seek to re-Judaize the Jewish family, and in the process perhaps reinvigorate local Jewish communities.’ (p.4)

It appears from this, that the emphasis for intensifying Jewish identification cannot be found within the schools and we must thus turn to the family itself. I am reminded here of the British sociologist Basil Bernstein who in 1971 wrote a thought provoking paper entitled *Education cannot compensate for Society*. This concept and his arguments against school-based compensatory education for the culturally deprived appear to be equally true in the field of Jewish education. He was of the opinion that one could not talk of offering compensatory education to children who have not, as yet, been offered an adequate education environment. In a similar manner, I believe that it is difficult for a Jewish day school to offer adequate compensatory Jewish religious education to those who live in a religious vacuum at home.

What Bernstein wrote at that time had little to do with Jewish education, and yet I believe that his words appear to be equally relevant to traditional Jewish family life.

‘Compensatory education implies that something is lacking in the family, and so in the child. As a result the children are unable to benefit from schools. It follows then that the school has to compensate for the something which is missing in the family, and the children are looked at as deficient systems. If only the parents were interested in the goodies we offer, if only they were like middle-class parents, then we could do our job.’ (Bernstein 1971:62)

Bock, citing Himmelfarb(1974) found that

‘Jewish schooling has the largest effect on those Jews who are predisposed towards Jewish values in the first place....and has little effect when values are not reinforced by the home environment, when individuals are raised in unidentified families.’ (p.7)

For Bock, Jewish schooling is an important factor in this process but is never the most important. He adds that

‘There is no simple causal relationship between being raised in a Jewish home, having had a ‘good’ Jewish school experience (which might be defined in a number of different ways) and being Jewishly identified in later life.’ (p.261)

Bock concluded his research with important implications for family policies. He stressed the role of family education with trained educators or social workers. The combined family Jewish experience of a weekend ‘Shabbaton’ for example will enhance such values and identification. He notes that there is still a question regarding whether the school itself can be a conduit for these activities.

Important research was carried out by Fuchs (1978) on the relationship of Jewish day school education to student self-concepts and Jewish identity. He considered whether in fact Jewish life can survive in an open society. He listed 30 findings from his research of which two are particularly relevant to my own area of research.

He found that:

‘There was a significant relationship between the involvement of the mother in Jewish communal activities and the self-concept of the student. The activity of the father did not show a significant relationship...The more active the student’s parents were in Jewish communal activity, the higher the Jewish identity scores of their children were.’ (p.155)

The term ‘self concept of the student’ signified his attitude and personal level of ‘Jewish identity’ In the course of my own research I have investigated the above claim and have also determined whether or not the reverse can be true and that perhaps the parents’ Jewish communal activity was increased due to the Jewish day school education of their children.

Fuchs collected data from 384 students in grades 5 - 12 who were receiving a Jewish education in Kansas City USA. Each student was asked to complete the ‘Sandberg-Levene Jewish Identity Questionnaire’ to

measure their Jewish identity, the 'Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale' to measure self-concept and a further questionnaire designed by Fuchs to measure attitudes, beliefs, religious practice and to elicit other information.

Fuchs (p.154) described the Sandberg-Levene Jewish Identity Questionnaire as comprising a series of 40 questions relating to various aspects of Jewish identity and the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale as containing 80 questions which require an answer of Yes or No and deal with "behaviour, intellectual and school studies, physical appearance and attributes, anxiety, popularity, happiness and satisfaction.

He based his final questionnaire on Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices on the questionnaire developed by Himmelfarb in his research study of religious involvement. It was aimed to produce a reasonably accurate picture of the religious life of each family.

The 384 students comprised 69 who were currently still studying at a Jewish day school, 49 who were former day school students, 143 who attended afternoon Hebrew school and 123 Sunday School Students. Fuchs commented on the limitations of his study as being relatively small and perhaps as far as the formal day school students were concerned, biased towards those who had a more favourable and positive attitude to the Jewish education they had received. Such students would have been more likely to demonstrate a positive response to questions relating to Jewish identity and their own religious practice.

Sanua (1964), Associate Professor at the Wurzweiller School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, New York, carried out research into the relationship of Jewish Education to Jewish Identification. Sanua (1964) with the help of six students administered a specially prepared schedule of

questions to 178 teenagers aged 14 & 15. There were 100 boys and 78 girls all of whom were students attending Jewish Community Centres in New York. He focused on the relationship between Jewish education and Jewish identification. With the help of the six students, it was possible to administer the questionnaire in the form of a structured interview survey. The content of the survey incorporated questions on attitudes to learning, observance of dietary laws, synagogue attendance and home festive observance. In his analysis, Sanua divided the respondents' replies into three main groups depending on the level of Jewish education that each had received. These were termed EE (extensive education), LE (limited education) and NO (no education).

In a 1964 paper presented at the 66th National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, Los Angeles, California, Sanua gave an account of his research. It should be noted, however, that the students had all been attending Jewish Community Centres and not Jewish day schools. This must be borne in mind when examining his conclusions, although it is equally possible that they may still be relevant for all types of Jewish education.

In his summary, Sanua noted that religious education did not appear to make an appreciable contribution to the development of the Jewish ethos. He referred to the research of Shapiro (1963) who had observed the absence of Jewish identification amongst parents whose children received some form of religious education.

'Thus, with his Jewishness assigned by the parent to the religious school or to the synagogue, the child must perceive being Jewish as something outside of or merely an addition to the totality of his life, capable of being dropped at Barmitzvah...'
(Shapiro (1963) in Sanua (1964:49)

Sanua concluded that this was an area in need of further research

'As a possible future extension of studies on the relationship between Jewish education and Jewish identification, we could include the Jewish identification of the parents as a variable in affecting the Jewish identification of the children. This will enable the investigator to analyse the effects of both Hebrew education and parental attitudes on the

Jewish identification of the adolescents. However, prior to such an analysis, a thorough investigation is necessary to produce a valid and reliable scale of Jewish identification. Such a scale naturally should receive the greatest degree of consensus from Jewish specialists belonging to the major religious affiliations and orientations in Judaism.’ (p.49)

It is my contention that some three decades later my own research will hopefully address that need.

Of interest to my own research was the study included in the Sanua paper relating to Frank (1962) who conducted research into religious practice with children who were still attending a part-time Talmud Torah in Columbus, Ohio.

Frank interviewed the parents of the pupils and concluded that attending the Talmud Torah ‘made some impact on the daily lives of the children **and their parents**’. (p.49) (my bold)

Although the Frank research was a relatively small and narrow study, it did suggest a possible causal relationship between a child’s education and parental behaviour.

There are very few research studies into the effect of Jewish schooling outside the USA. The Australian study by Goldlust (1970) dealt with Jewish Education and Ethnic Identification: A study of Jewish Adolescents in Australia. A random selection was made of 385 Melbourne Jewish adolescents between the ages of 13 and 18. He found that 82% attended non-Jewish Government High Schools and 18% attended three Jewish day schools each differentiating the intensity of Jewish education.

Those at the non-Jewish schools were sub-divided into groups based on the amount of time that had been spent attending an after-school or Sunday morning cheder. All the participants were given a standardised

questionnaire with no time limit for completion. The refusal rate was only 1%. The data analysis was made as a result of the returned questionnaires with no follow-up interviews.

Goldlust focused on the relationship between the intensity of Jewish education and of Jewish practice such as Synagogue attendance, Sabbath and Festival observance and of the dietary laws. He also included as Jewish identification factors the degree of social relationships with non-Jews. His aim was to:

‘isolate intensity of Jewish education as an independent variable and examine its relationship to various measures of religious and social identification for a group of Jewish adolescents in Australia.’ (p.50)

The study focused entirely on the teenagers themselves and gave no indication of the effect of their schooling on parental religious practice.

Within the UK, the only related research was that of Miller (1988) who examined the impact of Jewish education on the religious behaviour and attitudes of British secondary school pupils. He concluded that the two main factors which promote positive religious attitudes to religious observance were parental religiosity and attending a Jewish primary school. His ultimate conclusion was that

‘Jewish Secondary Schools have at best no impact and at worst a negative impact on religious behaviour attitudes and motivation.’ (p.162)

This statement can be compared favourably with the American research of Himmelfarb (see page 55 above) and the Australian research of Chazan (1983) who examined “Jewish schooling and Jewish identification in Melbourne” who both put forward the same conclusions.

Kelman (1978) examined the views of parents whose children were enrolled in Jewish non-orthodox day schools in Los Angeles, in order to clarify and classify some of their reactions to their child's education. Although this is a comprehensive study, it does not offer any relevant data which could be applied to my own research. Kelman does however include an most interesting observation of Fried (1973), especially the final sentence which I have highlighted. I see this as both important and relevant, especially when one considers that it was made some 28 years ago.

'The day school can no longer afford the luxury of teaching only children. In an age when the child went home to a family which supported the efforts of a school and augmented its religious instructions, teaching only children might have been effective. But at this time, when the families which send their children to the Hebrew day school are totally ignorant of the basic tenets of Judaism, and negate the teachings of the school by their own actions, teaching only the child can have no permanent effect on his religious behaviour. **The school must reach into the home to teach families.**' (Fried 1973 pp 181-182)

Sigal, August and Beltempo (1981) carried out similar research in Montreal, Canada. They examined varying degrees of religious practice, commitment and identification compared to the occupational, social and economic status of the parents. They used the Brenner Jewish Identification Scale Questionnaire consisting of 78 statements of attitude relating to various aspects of Jewish life. It was sent to 108 students who had left the JPPS Jewish Elementary School network four years earlier. It was also sent to their parents. There was a 75% return rate. The Brenner Jewish Identification Scale requires respondents to reply to questions on a six point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

The conclusion to their research data, relating to the importance of 'home atmosphere or home practice', appears to confirm the basis of my own research investigation. They concluded that the data:-

'reflects a desire by the parents to foster a lasting Jewish identification in their children. Research workers, however, consistently find, little if any, evidence that day school education accomplishes this goal. Consistently, home atmosphere or home practice rather than formal Jewish education has been found to be the prime factor that determines

the off-springs attitudes and his/her observations of mores, customs and other rituals associated with Judaism.' (Sigal, August and Beltempo 1981 p.229)

My own study examines the reverse of this situation; whether the home environment can be affected by the children and the school. I do not agree, however, with a later statement by Sigal, August and Beltempo (1981) that: 'elementary school probably has a negligible effect on Jewish attitudes and practices.' (op.cit. p.231). It is possible that the results of my own research study may challenge this last statement.

A more recent study by Drewinko (1999) interviewed twenty parents whose children attended Jewish day schools in the USA, examined their views on Jewish identity and their perspectives on the future prospects of Jewish continuity. Although this is an excellent area of research, it does not incorporate the specific area of my own research topic. It does not include or deal with the effects and influence of the school or the children on the religious observance of their parents. I was, however, particularly interested in the following comments, which are lengthy but pertinent to my own research and worth recording here.

'Perhaps what is most important is not to determine what makes these people Jewish, but to explore how their being Jewish influences their lives. The extent to which respondents appreciated their identity as Jews permeated the decisions they made in raising their children and factored into deciding where to send their children to school. Parents contended that the day school is the most appropriate educational milieu for their children. ...They offer their children an extensive knowledge base that most parents indicated a sense of being inadequately prepared to provide...essential components in helping their children to remain Jewish in a non Jewish world, thereby ensuring Jewish continuity. Respondents maintained that sending their children to Jewish day schools was an essential element for emphasising the importance they placed on being Jewish. Respondents were certain that day schools could aid them in combating the assimilatory forces of American society and ascertaining their children marrying within the faith.' (p.132)

These are important and relevant comments which clearly show a relationship to and a strong similarity with the views of the parents in England who have participated in my own research study, and whose comments appear in a later section of this thesis. (see Chapter 7 below).

I will conclude this literature survey with an outline of the most recent and current Jewish educational survey by Valins and Kosmin published in 2003 by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research: *The Jewish day school marketplace – The attitudes of Jewish parents in Greater London and the South-east towards formal education*. This report ‘provides a detailed analysis of the characteristics of 840 Jewish parents living in Greater London and the South-east and their attitudes towards the education of their children.’ What this comprehensive survey has not done, however, is to investigate the effect of Jewish schooling on the parents of the pupils themselves.

This survey draws on previous data collected in 2002 by Becher et.al as part of a full and comprehensive survey undertaken by the JPR of 2,965 Jews living in Greater London and the South-east who had responded to a questionnaire distributed in the spring of 2002, making it the largest direct survey of British Jewry ever undertaken.

Analysis of the data provided in the 2003 JPR educational report has attempted to clarify a variety of current parental attitudes towards Jewish education I will refer back to this survey in relation to the data in my own research study, both from questionnaire responses and from comments made by parents during in-depth interviews. Another omission from the two recent JPR publications (2001:Valins et al and 2003:Valins and Kosmin) was the limited information about the role and impact of Jewish pre-school nurseries, whether attached to primary schools or totally independent, who provide an initial foundation of Jewish education.

It is important to point out that Chapter 13 of this thesis relates to the correlation of my own research to the area of social psychology. In that chapter I have made an additional reference to previous research carried out in that discipline. I have not however included these references in the

above literature survey but have instead included them in Chapter 13 which focuses entirely on that specific aspect of my research. The purpose is to determine whether within the data of this research study, there is any correlation with previous research in the field of social psychology in respect of the causes and effects of social conformity and deviation.

Final comments relating to Sections 1 and 2 of the literature survey.

A full literature search of previous allied research confirms that, with the exception of the five research studies detailed above, the focus has mainly been either on the effect of Jewish schooling on teenagers and adolescents or on the effects of an earlier Jewish school education on later adult life. The overall view of many of the researchers is that Jewish schooling is only successful when supported by home and family values of a similar nature to the religious ethos of the school. It is also important to note that there has been a dearth of relevant research studies in the 1980s and 1990s other than those dealt with in this chapter. It appears that there has not been any other research carried out in the UK on the effect of Jewish day schools on parental religious behaviour.

The vast majority of allied research has focussed on Jewish schools, parents and pupils in the USA. In the next section I will make a brief comparison of similarities and differences between families in England and families in the USA relating to any change in the level of religious observance and practice of less, or non-observant, parents which directly or indirectly can be attributed to the influence of their children and the Jewish day school they attend.

Section 3: A comparison of earlier research in the USA with data captured by this present research in the UK.

The rationale and purpose of this comparison.

As detailed in the first section of this chapter, many research studies related to Jewish day schools in the USA have been carried out over the past 40 years. These have dealt with a wide variety of relevant areas of interest, mainly focusing directly on the immediate or long term effect of Jewish day school education on the pupils themselves. By comparison, there is a relative dearth of research into the effects of Jewish day schools in the UK. Bearing in mind the close correlation between the UK and the USA as detailed in my own research, I feel that leaders of Anglo-Jewish education would benefit by consulting and considering previous American research into Jewish day schools and also in promoting further research into the effect on pupils and parents of Jewish schools in the UK. This is an area that I will deal with in greater depth in my final conclusions to this thesis. (pp.322 et seq).

The mass emigration of Jews from Russia and Poland took place between the years 1880 and 1910 and was largely the result of the Tsarist anti-Jewish laws and pogroms. The great majority of these Jewish families made their way to the USA, with a smaller but still sizeable number arriving in the United Kingdom. Both countries offered these 'Yiddish'-speaking Jews the opportunity to develop as full citizens of their new homeland.

Gartner (1973) and Sacks (1993), have made several comparisons between Jewish immigration into the UK and the USA and have drawn attention to great similarities existing between them regarding religious life,

professions, trades and education. Recent surveys, such as those mentioned by Sacks (1994) have also indicated however, what he considers to be an alarming comparison relating to the growth of assimilation and intermarriage.

The Jewish day school system in the USA was well-developed and established before that of the UK Jewish communities. It should be noted that the USA Jewish schools are all private and independent. The USA government, unlike the UK, does not sponsor or subsidise any form of religious day school.

The majority of previous Jewish educational research studies in the USA As detailed above, have, in the main, dealt with the long-term effect of Jewish education on the pupils themselves. The literature survey, detailed in the previous chapter interalia, referred to allied research in the USA. In this chapter, I focus specifically on those research studies that can be directly compared to my own work, of examining the effects of a Jewish school on the parents of the pupils.

Specific areas of similarity of allied research studies in the USA with my own current research in England.

The findings of Nulman (1955) revealed that the various parental reasons for enrolment in a Jewish day school were almost identical in content to those of my own study in England 48 years later. Nulman also focused on the key factor, reflected in my own research (see page 156 below), of parental yearning for a Jewish life that they never received, or perhaps nostalgia for a Jewish life that they wished to re-create for their own children.

The reasons given by parents for selecting a Jewish day school in the USA found similarities in the research of Ingall (1993) and Drewinko (1999). Both studies referred to the importance, stressed by many parents in the USA, of developing in their children a strong sense of Jewish identity. Similarly in my own research here in England, many parents felt inadequate and unable to nurture this at home and relied on the school to instil these values into their children

Nevertheless, Kelman (1978) showed the extent of parental emphasis on the importance of a high quality secular education in a Jewish day school. This is also reflected also in my own research in England (see page 149 below), where this comment was frequently made by parents about Jewish day schools. I am certain that without a sound secular education it is unlikely that 'central orthodox' parents in the UK would have considered a Jewish day school for their children no matter how good the Jewish education might be.

Pinkenson (1987), Ravid (1993) and Rosenblatt (1999) focused on the effect on the Jewish identity and religious behaviour of families whose children attended pre-school kindergarten or day-care programmes in the USA. The effect on parental behaviour was measured over a shorter time-scale than that of my own research, dealing with primary school education.

Pinkenson's study (pp.108-110) concluded that 'the longer time a parent is involved in a Jewish day care program, the greater is the mean number of home ritual observances.' She also concluded (p.105) that the social network and friendships amongst parents were 'capable of supporting and re-enforcing other behaviours such as participation in group activities, celebration, group or synagogue membership, or even ritual observances.' Data from many interviews in my own research (see page 155 below) also reflect this broader effect on the religious observance of parents

Reference was also made by Pinkenson (p.118) of 'the meaningful intervention at a critical life cycle stage where families who are in the formative developmental stages of their religious identity may be unusually open to educational opportunities for themselves and to opportunities to widen their informal social support networks.' This view was echoed through the work of Cohen (1992), Ravid, (1993) and Rosenblatt (1999). This can be favourably compared with the great majority of families interviewed in my own research (see Chapter 7 below) who were also shown to have increased and widened their own religious life style because of the same mode of experience.

I have already cited Rosenblatt (see p.51 above) who made the observation that has been mentioned by numerous families that I have interviewed: 'In essence, we might be witnessing a reversal in the direction of transmission', i.e. the children will become the teachers of their parents.

Another familiar comment made by many parents in my own research was that regardless of their level of religious observance, there was an inner feeling of Jewish identity amongst the parents that they were anxious to pass on to their own children. (see pps.148-151 below) This attitude of many parents was also voiced by Ingall (1993) who, citing Zaiman (1971), observed that the Jewish day school was the best option available to them which would hopefully ensure the continuation of Jewish identity amongst their children.

The recent work of Drewinko (1999:133) also highlighted the reasons why American parents chose a Jewish day school. The main thrust of the viewpoints was based on the feeling of inadequacy of parents to provide: 'essential components in helping their children to remain Jewish in a non Jewish world... and ascertaining their children marrying within the faith.'

These reasons are once again very similar to those stated by parents in my own research in England. (see pp.148- 150 below)

A final comment on Section 3 of the Literature Survey.

There is clearly a close correlation and similarity between the current views of parents in England, as detailed in my own research study, and the views of parents in the USA who participated in a number of allied research studies, regarding the reasons given by parents for choosing a Jewish day school for their children.

Part 3: School Information and Methodology

Chapter 5

This chapter contains three main sections:

1. A description of the location, background and characteristics of the three schools utilised in my study, the pupils and their parents.
2. The rationale for the design and content of the questionnaire.
3. Interview methodology which is designed to elaborate upon data ascertained through the questionnaire and to explore and analyse parental attitudes and commitments to current religious identification and practice.

Section 1: A description of the location, background and characteristics of the three schools utilised in my study, the pupils and their parents.

[a] Rubin Jewish Primary School

The Rubin Jewish Primary School is situated in a thriving Jewish area of North-West London. It is a Voluntary Aided school with all normal running expenses met by the Local Education Authority. The cost of financing the Jewish Studies curriculum and the employment of teachers of Jewish Studies is covered by contributions from parents and charities.

There are 420 pupils of mixed ability from families with differing levels of religious observance. The school is generally oversubscribed and the average class size is 30 pupils. The religious ethos of the school is orthodox, although it is estimated that only approximately 20% of the families can be classed as fully observant in the orthodox sense. There is no school nursery and pupils are admitted to the Reception Class from

about 10 different Jewish Nurseries. Priority is given to those children who have had a Jewish pre-school nursery education.

The school follows the National Curriculum for secular studies and a separate curriculum for Jewish Studies. There are different teachers for secular and Jewish studies. All the teaching staff are Jewish although this is not the policy of the school. Rubin is an orthodox Zionist day school and teaches both Jewish Religious Studies and Modern Spoken Hebrew as a second language. The teachers of Jewish Religious Studies are all observant but the remainder of the staff, as with the parents, come from different levels of religious observance. All classes receive daily lessons of approximately one hour in Jewish studies.

There are several orthodox synagogues in the vicinity and although this school is in the centre of the Jewish area, it is not necessarily a community school as its pupils come from many neighbouring districts. With a number of alternative Jewish primary schools within a short driving distance, it is not uncommon for orthodox and observant families who live in the area of the school to send their children to a different Jewish school in another area which is classed as more observant due to a larger percentage of children from orthodox families.

One of the criteria for admission to the school is that every pupil must be Jewish as recognised by the Office of the Chief Rabbi. In practice this allows families who attend a Reform or Liberal synagogue to send their children to Rubin Jewish Primary School as long as the mother of the pupil is recognised as Jewish by the Office of the Chief Rabbi.

[b] Norton Jewish Preparatory School

The Norton Jewish Preparatory School is a small independent private school in North West London. It is not situated in a Jewish residential area but is attached to a Synagogue. The parents pay relatively high fees but which are very similar to the majority of other independent preparatory schools. The majority of parents are Sephardi with a smaller number of Ashkenazi families. The criteria for admission are similar to those of Rubin.

It is clear from conversations with the headteacher that very few families live within a short distance of the school and most have to travel to school by car, a journey for some, of 30 to 45 minutes each way. According to the headteacher, the majority of families are traditional but not observant in the orthodox sense. Some attend the synagogue attached to the school although for many, this invariably means using the car to travel on the Sabbath.

The school was established in 1980, initially to cater for the Sephardi families who wanted all the benefits of a typical preparatory school combined with Jewish education. It was understood at that time, and following the requests of parents, that the school would prepare pupils for the entrance examinations to leading British independent secondary schools. In recent years however, a larger number of parents at Norton have sent their children to Jewish secondary schools in London. This may well be due to the excellent examination results of these schools. Although it is a private school, it follows the secular National Curriculum.

The school is run on orthodox lines and teaches both Jewish religious studies and Modern Spoken Hebrew. These Jewish studies lessons occupy approximately one hour each day. There are approximately 100 pupils in seven year groups plus a Nursery. The classes, with about 15 to 20 pupils in each, are smaller than in the other two schools. Each has its own class teacher and there are specialist teachers for Jewish studies.

[c] Brook Jewish Primary School

Brook is also a two form entry Voluntary Aided School with all normal running expenses met by the Local Education Authority. It is situated in a provincial town in the North of England in an area where the Jewish population is slowly decreasing. It is a purpose-built school in beautiful rural surroundings. There are 320 pupils in the primary school and its Nursery.

The school, like Rubin Jewish Primary School in London, follows an orthodox Jewish curriculum, but according to the headteacher only a small percentage of the families are observant. The school also teaches modern spoken Hebrew to all age groups. Jewish studies lessons occupy approximately one hour each day.

There are three orthodox synagogues in the area as well as a progressive one. There is a small private orthodox Jewish primary school nearby which is popular amongst the more observant of the Jewish community.

Brook follows the National Curriculum in secular studies and its own curriculum for Jewish studies. The cost of financing the Jewish Studies curriculum and the employment of teachers of Jewish Studies is covered by a combination of voluntary contributions from parents and support from a Jewish Day School Trust.

The headteacher is not Jewish but there is an experienced Head of Jewish Studies who organises the Jewish education curriculum. All the Jewish Studies teachers are observant Jews. Not all class teachers are Jewish and those that are Jewish are not necessarily observant.

It appears to be a happy school with contented pupils and teachers, and, parents, as was evident during interviews. There is no Jewish secondary school in the area and many parents are anxious to see one established. With this intention, the Governors of Brook are currently in discussion with the Local Education Authority and the DFES.

Chapter 5 - Section 2: The rationale for the design and content of the questionnaire.

This section contains five sub-sections:

- [a] The content of the questionnaire.
- [b] The rationale for the specific content of the questionnaire
- [c] Initial questionnaire consultation regarding content and design.
- [d] The rationale for the selection of families for the sample survey.
- [e] A summary of the main questionnaire responses.

Sub-section [a] The content of the questionnaire.

The nature of the research undertaken requires an investigation into the practical and multifarious facets in the lives of many families. It thus precludes any direct observation and relies exclusively on the comments and thoughts of respondents through questionnaire and interview.

The purposes of the questionnaire itself were twofold. Firstly, it is a means of eliciting factual information relating to respondents' backgrounds, family history and measurable levels of various aspects of Jewish practice. Measurable in this sense refers to self-evaluation scores on a Likert scale.

The second purpose of the questionnaire was to identify families who would later be interviewed in greater depth in order to investigate whether any changes in attitudes, belief and especially practice have come about due to the direct or indirect influence of the school itself. (A copy of the full Questionnaire will be found in Appendix C pp.349-358)

The actual content of the questionnaire has been based both on the foundations of previous allied research detailed in the literature survey, and on what I consider would be a valuable and reliable indicator of

possible effects of attending a Jewish primary school on religious attitudes and practice.

When formulating the questions for the questionnaire, I have been particularly conscious of the advice of Sudman and Bradburn (1982)

‘Keep asking why do I want to know this ? It would be interesting to know, is not an acceptable answer.’ (Sudman and Bradburn 1982 in Foddy 1993:32)

Thus, every question asked, both in the questionnaire and in the subsequent interviews, has been formulated to ensure its relevance to the specific aims and goals of this thesis.

I fully agree with Belson (1986) who highlights five likely ‘principal causes of error’ when relying only on these methods:

- [a] respondents’ failure to understand questions as intended;
 - [b] a lack of effort or interest on the part of respondents;
 - [c] respondents’ unwillingness to admit to certain attitudes or behaviours;
 - [d] the failure of respondents’ memory or comprehension processes in the stressed conditions of the interview;
 - [e] interviewer failures of various kinds (e.g. the tendency to change wording, failures in presentation procedures and the adoption of faulty recording procedures.
- (Belson 1986 in Foddy 1993:2)

I am particularly conscious of the third cause of error listed above for it is possible that certain respondents might find some of the questions potentially threatening; as they might not wish to admit publicly to a specific attitude, belief or norm of behaviour.

Foddy (1993) suggests in this connection that

‘The relationship between what respondents say they do and what they actually do is not always very strong.’ (p.3)

I am aware of the possibility of allowing for such an element of inaccuracy in my own research. There is no reliable way through a questionnaire that one can convince respondents that total openness and

honesty is essential and will be treated with complete confidentiality and that it is also crucial to the ultimate effective analysis of the data.

An additional problem, as Foddy points out, is that:

‘Respondents commonly misinterpret questions.....It would seem reasonable to assume that, if a question-answer sequence is to make sense, the question given by the researcher must be understood by the respondent in the way intended by the researcher and the answer given by the respondent must be understood by the researcher in the way intended by the respondent.’ (p.6)

There is always the possibility that the above two problems, highlighted by Foddy, might occur in some of the questionnaire responses that I have received. Nevertheless, I feel that in the majority of cases this quantitative data will illustrate general and reasonably accurate trends in changes of levels of observance. During the interviews, however, I have been able to clarify responses and hopefully remove any such misunderstandings and ambiguities.

Sub-section [b] The rationale for the specific content of the questions in the questionnaire.

The first three questions refer to the country of origin, religious education and estimated levels of religious observance of the parents, grandparents and great-grandparents of the children.

The intentions of these questions were twofold:

- to determine if there is any pattern or connection between the various groups in the data given below which would indicate the need for further investigation.
- to determine any similarities and differences between individual families. This will require a more detailed analysis from every section of the responses of each family.

Question 1 requests the country of birth of both husband and wife and also of the parents of the husband and wife, i.e. the grandparents of the children at the primary school. It is possible that as a result of analysing the data received, a pattern could emerge which correlates attitudes and religious practice with specific countries of origin. This question can also related and compared to the responses to questions 6 and 7 below, which provide an indication of the religious environment of the husband and wife when they were children.

Questions 2 and 3 relate to the type of Jewish education received by the parents when they were children. The research of Himmelfarb (1974) demonstrated the strong correlation between the content and hours per week of Jewish education and later Jewish identification.

My own research will attempt either to verify previous conclusions in this area, which show that Jewish religious and communal identification of the parents is related to the number of hours per week of their previous Jewish education.

Questions 4 & 5 refer to changes in levels of religious observance.

Questions 4 and 5 refer to the level of religious observance both currently and before marriage in eleven separate and specific areas relating to private and public practice. These are focused on Dietary Laws, Sabbath and Festival Observance. Following the advice of Foddy (1993) the first of the two questions relates to the current period and the second question to the earlier pre-marriage period:

‘Working forwards is less likely to be as effective as working backwards because respondents are more likely to find themselves in the position of having to confront memory failures and hence ‘cue’ failures early in the task.’ (p.96)

The reason for focusing initially on the three main areas above is to show any link with similar educational activities of the children in these areas at their school. These areas are developed in far greater depth during interviews with parents, when further examples of additional Jewish

religious practice are investigated. The interviews include the reasons given by parents for possible changes in their beliefs and attitudes, something which is not so easy to measure accurately in a questionnaire.

Foddy however issues a word of warning

‘It must be kept in mind that, even if the respondents have the information at one point in time, it is possible that they will forget it with the passing of time. It is also possible that individuals will not always be aware, or conscious of stimuli that impinge upon them and influence their behaviour. These considerations mean that, even when respondents have in the past been exposed to experiences which are relevant to the topic being investigated, it cannot be taken for granted that they will have retained any information about them.’ (p.35)

This is an inherent weakness in many questionnaires, but one which can be compensated for through the in-depth interviews to achieve with a greater degree of accuracy

Questions 4 and 5 contain a number of sections that are clear and unambiguous such as whether Shabbat candles or a Chanukah Menorah are always lit at the appropriate times. There are however some questions where the interpretation of the respondent could vary. For example ‘participating in a full seder evening’ on Passover could mean different things for different respondents. What does a full seder evening mean? To some it might mean ‘a family get-together’ with minimum selections from the haggadah combined with partaking of wine and unleavened bread (matzah). To others it might mean a deep religious experience with all the rituals and explanations covered in depth.

The responses from the pilot group indicated that most families were of the opinion that they have participated and currently do participate in a full seder evening. This however seems to be at odds with the intensity of other religious practices and suggests different interpretations of the meanings.

The question about dietary laws is another such example. As Foddy states

‘Before respondents can interpret a question as the researcher wants, they must understand each word in the same way as the researcher understands it. Unfortunately, one cannot safely assume that the meanings of ordinary words - let alone exotic or uncommon words - are necessarily shared even by respondents who have been socialised in the same general culture as the researcher.’ (p.38)

Questions 6 and 7 are intended to elucidate an indication of the religious environment of the husband and wife when they were children. At the same time, information is requested about the grandparents of the husband and wife. The purpose of these questions is to find a possible correlation between present day observance and previous family background. This is linked with question 1 above.

The purpose of **question 8** is to determine how many years each child has been a pupil at the school. It is possible that this too may have some connection with the effect on parental Jewish identification.

Questions 9 and 10 are of great importance in this study. It invites respondents to comment on the reasons for any increase in religious observance during the time their children have been pupils at the school. The wording of question 9 in the initial pilot survey stated that:

If any of your levels in question 4 were higher than those in question 5 it means* that during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school there has been an increase in the level of religious observance of either husband or wife or both.

*After the pilot survey, this wording was changed in the main research to read ‘it might mean’ rather than assuming that the reasons for any change were due to the school. There could have been other contributory reasons which had nothing to do with the school. This was highlighted by one particular respondent in the sample/pilot survey.

Eleven possible reasons which are listed plus an extra optional section for additional comment.

- Children's friendships
- Adult friendships made through the school
- Wishing to support ethos of school
- Children need help with Jewish Studies homework.
- Children ask to go to Children's Services at the Synagogue
- Witnessing school assemblies and events of a religious nature
- Children's religious activity at home.
- Comments made by children at home about Festivals, Synagogue
- Greater awareness of Israel due to school activities.
- Children are learning to speak Ivrit
- Adult Education courses at school
- Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

Question 10 was necessary as it was probable that some parents would feel that there had been no increase in their level of religious observance. The following wording on the questionnaire thus added:

If there has been no increase in your level of religious observance during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school, leave this section blank and go on to question 10.

Q:10 There has been no increase or change in the level of our religious observance whilst our child/children has/have attended primary school for the following reasons: Tick the appropriate response(s).

[a] We have always been an orthodox/observant family and our standards have not changed.

[b] We have always observed some aspects of Judaism and our levels of observance have not changed.

[c] We are a non-observant family and we do not wish to change our lives.

[d] We do not feel that there is any connection between our child's education at school and our own level of religious observance.

[e] Any other comments you wish to add (optional).

In Chapter 13 below, I will examine the correlation between the various factors identified as impacting on the changes in parental behaviour, as detailed in this research, and established behavioural paradigms of social psychology. I am thus particularly interested in any response which would indicate parental peer group pressure. This will be correlated and compared with previous research studies in the field of social psychology relating to individual and group pressures. It will be of equal importance to investigate the role of the children themselves in applying overt or subtle pressure on their parents.

Question 11 focuses on the reasons why a Jewish primary school was selected whereas **Question 12** lists the level of importance placed on a Jewish secondary school education. The responses to these questions will give a clearer indication of the broader and deeper values and attitudes of the parents.

Finally, **questions 13, 14 and 15** explore the attitudes and opinions of the parents in three main areas: [a] the role of parents in ‘directing’ their children’s religious beliefs: [b] the importance of the home in reflecting the ethos and values of the school: [c] parental attitude towards a child who requested greater Jewish religious identification of the family.

Sub-section [c] Some comments on the ‘initial questionnaire’ consultation regarding content and design.

The first preliminary draft questionnaire was sent to three families and to the doctoral supervisor for comments on the clarity of the questions, any possible ambiguity, suggestions of items and areas that were either superfluous or missing, and on layout.

Any accurate measurement of attitudes, by means of a questionnaire, is always open to the problem of categorisation. The popular form of Likert scale analysis can be subjected to different understandings of each category by individuals. I have used a five point scale with a central filter section which as Kahn and Cannell (1957) suggest is necessary in order ‘to minimise the psychological impact of not being able to answer.’

Allowing for possible blurring of categories in the Likert scale ratings, I feel that it will still be possible to observe specific trends by grouping the various positive responses together and comparing them with the group of the negative ones. This will give a clear indication of the areas that need to be investigated in a far deeper fashion during the interviews. This, in my opinion, will overcome the potential problem raised by Lodge and Tursky (1981) who are concerned with the variance found in the end-most categories when

“a researcher cannot be confident that a respondent choosing a polar category is expressing a moderate or intense opinion.”
(Lodge and Tursky 1981 in Foddy 1993:169)

The layout and order of questions was also improved by grouping together questions relating to the different generations of the families. A zero level was added to Likert scale grouping for questions 6 and 7 to enable a possible response of 'unknown' in respect of knowledge of the religious standards of parents and grandparents.

It was also added to question 11 to allow a 'not applicable' response in respect of reasons for choosing a Jewish day school. An optional section for 'any other comments' was added to appropriate questions to allow respondents to add a different response to that which was printed.

Three new questions were added. Question 8 requested specific details of each of the children of the respondents such as age, date of birth, sex, age when joining the school and whether or not a Jewish nursery school was attended. It is possible that as a result of the analysis of the responses, a pattern may be found indicating a correlation between certain areas, such as comparing the age when a child joined the school with any changes in the levels of religious observance and practice of the parents. It will also give more detailed information about the number of years a family has been connected with a Jewish day school.

Question 10 was included (see p.88 above) as there was the possibility, as shown in question 9, that there had not been any positive increase in the level of religious observance of either husband or wife. If this were the case, it needed an extra question to analyse the possible reasons for this. Respondents would therefore be asked to answer either question 9 or question 10.

Question 15 was added requesting information of the likely response of a parent to a child who wished the family to become more religious. This would also be useful as a basis for further interview areas.

Sub-section [d] The rationale for the selection of families for the sample survey.

I decided to focus initially on the Rubin primary school families of eleven year old pupils in Year 6. From my previous knowledge of them, it was likely that there would be a broad spread of a number of different types of families with varying degrees and levels of religious observance. This group represented a typical cross-section of the whole school and probably also of the local community. In addition I was of the opinion that parents with pupils in year 6 would have received maximum contact time with the school as compared with those who had only younger children.

I felt that 25 families would be sufficient and selected them using a simple random sampling method to select 25 out of the 60 in the year group of two parallel classes. I prepared a fully detailed explanatory letter to accompany the questionnaire which would be sent to these parents together with a return envelope enclosed.

I was aware of the possible danger of 'interviewer contamination' due to the special relationship I had with potential respondents, being a member of staff in their children's school. It was important to assure the respondents of total confidentiality, and for the need to trust my integrity and to answer questions honestly and truthfully. I telephoned each of the sample group families and explained the purpose of my research and requested their help. All of them agreed.

I sent out the questionnaires and anticipated a good response from the sample survey. In respect of confidentiality, each family received a sealed named envelope and the return envelope enclosed had a label with the words 'Private and Confidential - For the personal attention of Mr.M.Leviton.' This was an assurance to the families that the information would not be seen by anyone else.

Families were informed that they were able to return the completed questionnaire anonymously. If however they would be prepared to allow a

further in-depth interview with me at a mutually convenient place and time, they were asked to fill in the necessary information at the end of the questionnaire. The packs were sent to the families on 12th February 1997. The response of the sample survey was as follows:

25 questionnaires sent out.

23 questionnaires returned (92%)

17 families agreed to further interview (68%)

Sub-section [e] A summary of the main questionnaire responses.

After conducting a sample survey and making appropriate amendments, I was satisfied that it appeared to offer a suitable format and clarity. During April/May 1998, a total of 690 questionnaires were then sent to every family at the three Jewish Primary Schools.

- 320 to Rubin Jewish Primary School
- 100 to Norton Jewish Preparatory School
- 270 to Brook Jewish Primary School

The questionnaires were delivered to each school in sealed envelopes and were distributed to every family from Reception to Year 6. Each sealed envelope contained the questionnaire, an explanatory letter and a reply envelope for the completed questionnaire which was to be returned to the school. The schools were not aware which families returned the questionnaires.

The following completed questionnaires were returned:

- 122 from Rubin (38%)
- 26 from Norton (26%)
- 86 from Brook (32%)

(The percentage of returned questionnaires is given in brackets.)

Overall a total of 234 questionnaires were returned accounting for 34% of those issued. Although this might appear to be a relatively small percentage in terms of a purely quantitative statistical survey, I do not see this as a major problem, as the questionnaire data does represent the responses of a substantial number of 234 families. **In addition and of great importance is the fact that the main thrust of the data has been considered and analysed in a qualitative fashion by means of in-depth interviews with families.**

135 families (58%) who responded to question 9 stated that their level of religious observance and practice had increased either directly or indirectly due to the influence of their children and the school. Later analysis of the data, which is given in detail in following chapters, appears to come from a broad cross-section of families in all three schools.

99 families (42%) answered question 10. Most considered themselves to be already religiously observant and had not been influenced by the school. Of these 99 families, 46 stated that they had always been fully observant and another 46 stated that they had always been partly observant. Neither group had changed their levels of religious observance. Seven of the above 99 families stated that the school had not changed their religious behaviour and attitudes as they had remained totally non-observant or they saw no connection between the school and their home life.

From the 234 returned questionnaires, a total of 98 families indicated that they were prepared to be interviewed:

61 from Rubin 7 from Norton 30 from Brook

It was clear from the data relating to question 10 that the majority of the families who were willing to be interviewed had already been observant before their children commenced primary school, and their levels of observance had not changed.

For the purpose of the interviews, I focused only on those families who had indicated through the questionnaire that their level of religious observance had increased during the time that their children were at a Jewish primary school

I did not interview those parents who were already observant before their children started attending the primary school. These parents could have become observant due to many other factors such as: marrying a more observant partner, coming under the influence of more observant friends or the Rabbi of their synagogue. It was also possible that couples had previously decided to raise any future children in a religiously observant manner. To investigate such reasons would certainly be a valid and valuable research study, but I feel would come outside the specific area of my own aims for this thesis, namely to study the effects of the school on parental religious observance. There were certainly some parents who had become more observant due to other factors, and these are examined in later chapters. (see pp.223-225 below)

I am aware that no data is available on parents who declined to complete a questionnaire or to be interviewed; so, bearing that factor in mind, the extent to which this is a representative sample is unknown. This is, of course, not an uncommon factor in many other research studies. I make no claim that the findings of this research will have relevance for all or the majority of less observant parents whose children attend a Jewish primary school. What the data in this thesis will strive to illustrate will be the effect of a Jewish school on the lives of those who agreed to participate.

Nevertheless it is reasonably clear from a survey of the backgrounds of the parents who responded to the questionnaire, that they appear to come from a reasonable cross-section of families.

It should be noted that there is no data on any parents who may have taken their children away from the three schools. In my professional experience, however, I am aware of three main reasons for parents removing their children from a Jewish day school. It should be noted that this information is not taken from the actual data in this research study but is purely from my own thirty years experience of working in 'central orthodox' Jewish day schools,

1. Highly observant parents who wanted their children to attend a more orthodox Jewish day school.
2. Less observant parents who felt that too much time was being spent on religious education and who transferred their children to a non-Jewish state or private school.
3. Families leaving the district or the country. In the latter case, the great majority of families have emigrated to Israel.

Chapter 5 - Section 3: Interview methodology which is designed firstly to elaborate upon data obtained through the questionnaire and secondly to explore and analyse parental attitudes and commitments to current religious identification and practice.

The aim of the interviews was to focus on and develop key areas of the questionnaire responses. The interviews are of a semi-structured nature with ample opportunity for the interviewees to discuss their thoughts and opinions in a relaxed and non-threatening environment. The basic interview questions are summarised in Appendix D pp.359-362.

Wherever possible, husbands and wives were interviewed together and encouraged to give their own personal and combined thoughts on the specific topics being discussed. Each interview, lasting about one and a half hours, took place in the privacy and comfort of the family home. A request to tape the interview was agreed by every interviewee and an assurance of total confidentiality was given to each family.

The interviews followed the format of 'interactionism' (Silverman 1993:94) by investigating the authentic experiences of the interviewees through semi-structured open-ended interviews which 'gives an authentic insight into peoples experiences'. Silverman (p.95) citing Reason and Rowan (1981:205) views this method as a humanistic approach which favours in-depth interviews in which 'interviewee and interviewer become peers or even companions.' The full data analysis of the interviews in subsequent chapters demonstrates a clear pattern of similar responses in many families. This, when coupled with the questionnaire data, forms a basis for the validity and reliability of the data and analysis presented.

All of the interviewees were relaxed and fully prepared to answer my questions with openness and frankness. I did not sense any embarrassment amongst the families interviewed. I felt that I had achieved what Silverman (1993:95) viewed as establishing 'inter-subjective depth between both sides so that a deep mutual understanding can be achieved.' A similar paper by Burgess (1980:109) suggested that a greater depth of analysis can be obtained when an interview is based on 'a sustained relationship between the informant and the researcher'.

It was also clear that on many occasions there was a difference of opinion between husband and wife that helped to establish a greater sense of veracity to their responses. As with all semi-structured interviews, I was fully prepared and willing to follow a new line of questioning where necessary in order to delve more deeply into the significance of a specific comment.

After transcribing the first three interviews, I reassessed the method by which the interviews were being conducted and made the following changes to the way that I asked the questions: I have no doubt that this improved the content of subsequent interviews.

- In all previous interviews many of my questions were too long winded, so ask clear questions in a brief and concise way.
- Listen carefully to answers and take up points that need to be developed.
- Focus on the main theme of the influence of the school and children on parents
- Give parents more time to develop their thoughts. Do not elaborate on the subject by adding another question too early.
- Check that important questions have been understood and answered before moving on to a new theme.

Each interview was fully transcribed and its data analysed with the use of the QSR NUD*IST data analysis program (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising). The practical suggestions of Gahan and Hannibal (1998) were invaluable in helping me to apply the program to my own specific needs. This enabled me to divide the qualitative data from each interview into relevant sections and subsections based on the Grounded Theory technique of Strauss & Corbin (1990). This program was particularly suited to my needs as it enabled me to separate the data into themes, categories and sub-categories, to code or re-code each of these sections, to link ideas together, to compare and contrast statements, and to sort and edit the interview transcripts.

The data analysis procedure requires use of the 'Constant Comparative Method' of analysis based on the system of (i) Open Coding (ii) Axial Coding (iii) Selective Coding (see Cresswell 1998:57-58). It is a system of analysis that I could incorporate with ease into the NUD*IST program. A comprehensive list of the various categories of analysis will be found in Appendix E.

The practical implementation of this method is to conduct 20 to 30 interviews and to analyse them in great depth using a form of 'saturation'. This implies finding new categories of data until no more categories or sub-categories can be found. 'A category represents a unit of information composed of events, happenings and instances' (Strauss and Corbin 1990 cited by Cresswell 1998:56)

Through the comprehensive use of the NUD*IST program I was able to search for and discover consistent patterns of behaviour common to the families who were interviewed. I stopped developing further sub-category division of the data when I felt that the four criteria proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) had been fulfilled. Thus:-

- exhaustion of sources:
- saturation of categories
- emergence of regularities
- over-extension of categories.

The following section, Part 4, contains the full data and analysis of both the questionnaires and the interviews.

Part 4: A general introduction to Chapters 6 to 13 relating to the data and analysis of Questionnaire and Interviews

Although the questionnaires have produced substantial quantitative data, the main methodology utilised within this research is of a qualitative nature. This takes the form of interviews with a selection of the respondents to the questionnaire. Questions 9 to 15 of the questionnaire (see Appendix C pp.353-357) form the basis and foundation of the interview questions. As stated earlier, due to the nature of this research, any observation for the purpose of data collection is not possible.

It is my intention to utilise the results of the questionnaire data by developing and investigating, in a deeper and more thorough manner, the areas brought to light through the questionnaires, relating to the reasons for any increase of religious observance amongst the parents of the children at the Jewish schools.

Although the three schools have their own individual characteristics, there are similarities between all three and each, in a general sense, is representative of other Jewish primary schools throughout the UK that may be termed 'central orthodox'. I make no claim that the data obtained from this research is typical of all Jewish schools. Bearing in mind however the similarity of the broad spread of the background of the majority of parents in the three schools, it may be feasible to assume that similar results might be found in other schools.

As will be seen in the following sections, data from the questionnaire responses indicate that the level of religious observance of the majority of parents has increased during the years that their children have been pupils at a Jewish primary school. It is also evident that many of these parents have been influenced either directly or indirectly by either their children or

the school or both. The data also indicate the specific areas that appear to have been of the greatest influence.

In chapter 6, I will examine various facets of the childhood education and family background of the parents in order to determine whether any of these factors can be connected to their later adult religious observance.

It should be noted that throughout this thesis, where I use the term ‘family’ or ‘families’ it refers only to the parents of the pupils at the three schools. Finally, it will be seen that in many interview transcripts, there are certain phrases that are highlighted in **bold text**. I have done this where I feel that the specific phrase or sentence used by the interviewee indicates an important idea or concept that is relevant to my analysis and conclusions.

Chapter 6

Parents' childhood education, family background and childhood experiences which appear to have been the foundation for increased or decreased religious observance in later years.

The responses from the questionnaire and interviews contain several areas relating to the family history and childhood experiences of the parents of the pupils at the schools. The purpose of this category of questions is to determine whether or not there is any correlation between religious observance in that period and that of the later period. As will be seen from the interview data contained in this chapter, it is possible that the pressures and demands from their early family environments have left their mark on today's parents in respect of their initial levels of religious observance.. The data and analysis in this chapter may help to establish to what extent this may be true or not.

In addition the historical evidence, as outlined in Chapter 2 above, suggests that the earlier generation, i.e. the great-grandparents of the children at the schools, would be more religiously observant than the following generations. Might this also be shown to be true in this current research ?

This chapter contains three sections:

[a] Questionnaire responses..

[b] Interview responses.

[c] Discussion and Conclusions of the data in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Section [a] Questionnaire responses relating to parents' childhood experiences.

(i) Country of origin/birth of husband/wife and their parents.

This data will be used to determine whether there may be a discernable pattern or connection amongst families from specific countries. The fully detailed list of countries of birth (see Appendix F) shows that families originated from 34 different countries. Indeed in many cases this is connected with specific problems that faced Jews at different times in various countries and which brought about their move to the UK.

This full list of countries of origin has been reduced to five main groups: **1. United Kingdom, 2. Continental Europe, 3. Israel, 4. Middle East (except Israel), 5. Others.** An additional section has been inserted for South African families at Rubin since the numbers are quite numerous there but not at the other two schools.

Table 3 on the following table shows the percentage figures applicable to the full list of countries of birth relating to the country of origin/birth of husband/wife and their parents. The actual numbers relating to the percentage figures are given in Appendix F.

TABLE 3:
Countries of birth of parents and grandparents of the children.

UNITED KINGDOM

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband's Mother</u>	<u>Husband's Father</u>	<u>Wife's Mother</u>	<u>Wife's Father</u>
Rubin	63.9%	65.5%	55.7%	47.5%	58.1%	53.2%
Norton	54.0%	46.1%	34.6%	42.3%	38.4%	26.9%
Brook	81.3%	89.5%	79.0%	76.7%	83.7%	82.5%

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband's Mother</u>	<u>Husband's Father</u>	<u>Wife's Mother</u>	<u>Wife's Father</u>
Rubin	1.6%	2.4%	11.4%	14.7%	8.1%	10.6%
Norton	7.6%	7.6%	34.6%	15.3%	11.5%	23.0%
Brook	1.1%	1.1%	4.6%	5.8%	4.6%	10.4%

ISRAEL

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband's Mother</u>	<u>Husband's Father</u>	<u>Wife's Mother</u>	<u>Wife's Father</u>
Rubin	9.0%	12.2%	1.6%	3.2%	2.4%	1.6%
Norton	11.5%	7.6%	0.0%	7.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Brook	5.8%	2.3%	2.3%	2.3%	0.0%	0.0%

MIDDLE EAST (Except Israel)

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband's Mother</u>	<u>Husband's Father</u>	<u>Wife's Mother</u>	<u>Wife's Father</u>
Rubin	13.1%	5.7%	17.2%	18.8%	16.3%	14.7%
Norton	3.8%	11.5%	11.5%	15.3%	15.3%	19.2%
Brook	0.0%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	1.1%

OTHER COUNTRIES (see Appendix for full list).

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband's Mother</u>	<u>Husband's Father</u>	<u>Wife's Mother</u>	<u>Wife's Father</u>
Rubin						
(i) Others	4.9%	9.0%	8.1%	10.6%	10.6%	14.7%
(ii) S.Africa	7.3%	4.9%	5.7%	4.9%	4.0%	4.9%
Norton	23.1%	27.2%	19.3%	23.3%	34.8%	30.9%
Brook	11.8%	6.0%	13.0%	14.1%	10.6%	6.0%

Comments relating to Table 3.

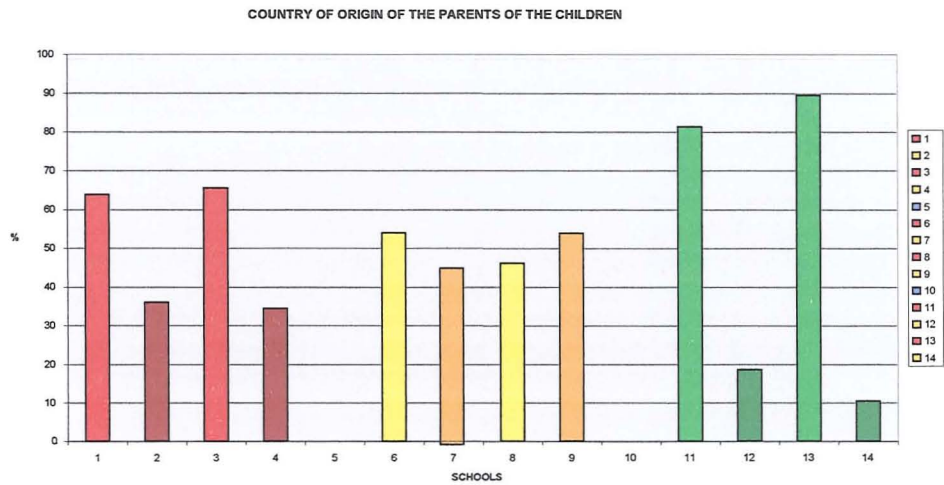
It is clear that the majority of both husbands and wives (i.e the parents who responded to the questionnaire) were born in the UK, although the percentage is lower at Norton primary school.

However, focusing on the countries of origin of the grandparents of the children, the figures indicate a far higher percentage of those who were born outside of the UK and who had migrated to the UK. It is of historic relevance to note the high percentage of grandparents from Brook primary school who were born within the UK. This is far higher than in other schools and reflects the early immigration of Jewish families to the provinces in the northern part of England in the early 20th century and whose families remained in that area.

This can be contrasted with the families in London who participated in this research but whose parents were born in other countries. The data also show that whereas the majority of both parents of the children were born in the UK, there was a far higher percentage of the grandparents of the children who were born outside of the UK and who had immigrated to the UK.

These figures may be understood with greater clarity in the charts on the following page. Chart 1 focuses on the countries of origin of the parents of the children. Chart 2 on the country of origin of the grandparents of the children.

CHART 1 Country of origin of the parents of the children.



RUBIN

Husbands: 1-2
Wives: 3-4

NORTON

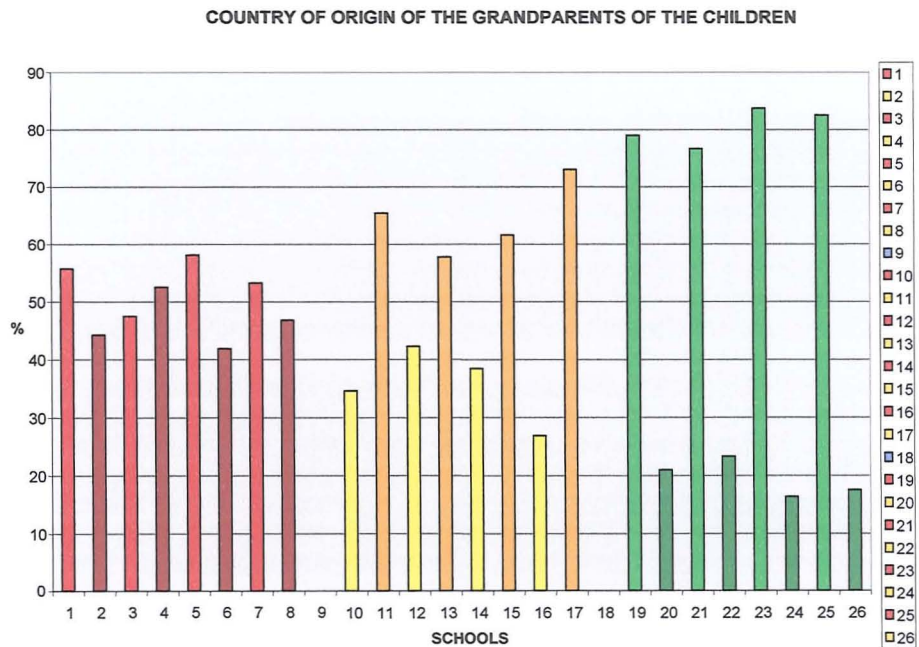
Husbands: 6-7
Wives: 8-9

BROOK

Husbands: 11-12
Wives: 13-14

Colour code: lighter shade = born in UK, darker shade = born outside of UK

CHART 2 Country of origin of the grandparents of the children.



RUBIN (1-8)

NORTON (10-17)

BROOK (19-26)

ODD NUMBERS = Husbands' parents EVEN NUMBERS = Wives' parents
Colour code: lighter shade = born in UK, darker shade = born outside of UK

(ii) Questionnaire responses:-The Jewish Education of Husband/Wife.

As Table 4 below shows, the responses from the questionnaire indicated that between 49% to 57% of all parents attended the part time cheder classes although the figure is considerably higher 73.2% for the fathers of the children at Brook. A small number of parents who attended Jewish primary schools also attended the cheder.

The number of those parents who attended Jewish Nursery Schools is relatively low when compared to the higher percentage of children who attend Jewish nurseries today as evidenced from relatively recent research of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (1999). Based on that survey, Valins and Kosmin (2003) estimate that over 22,000 children are currently attending Jewish pre-school nurseries. A larger percentage of parents attended Jewish Primary Schools, and which might explain the reasons given for choosing a Jewish primary school for their children (see Question 11a/b)

In this chapter I examine not only the type of previous Jewish education received by the parents of the children, but also whether or not this was a factor in choosing to send their own children to a Jewish day school. Only a very few parents had received no formal Jewish education at all during their childhood years. The largest percentage both of men and women had received a part-time cheder education with some attending both a cheder and a Jewish day school. There has been a notable expansion of Jewish day schools during the past twenty years, particularly in London which will certainly account for the current growth of pupils at Jewish schools and a corresponding drop in the numbers of those attending part-time cheders. (see:Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg (2001:Ch.3)

TABLE 4: Prior Jewish education received by husbands and wives.

The total number of responses for each school is as follows:

Rubin: 122 Norton: 26 Brook: 86

The actual number of responses for each school is printed in *italics* next to each of the percentage figures. It should be noted that the total number for each school is more than the actual number of families. This is because many parents attended more than one centre for Jewish education.

Jewish Education of Husband.

	None	Cheder	Jewish Nursery	Jewish Primary	Jewish Secondary
Rubin	4.0%(5)	57.3(70)	36.0%(44)	41.8%(51)	46.7%(57)
Norton	7.6%(2)	57.6%(15)	19.2%(5)	42.3%(11)	65.3%(17)
Brook	4.6%(4)	73.2%(63)	27.9%(24)	33.7% (29)	12.7% (11)

Jewish Education of Wife.

	None	Cheder	Jewish Nursery	Jewish Primary	Jewish Secondary
Rubin	7.3%(9)	49.1%(60)	49.1%(60)	51.6%(63)	40.1%(49)
Norton	15.3%(4)	53.8%(14)	23.0%(6)	30.7%(8)	19.2%(5)
Brook	15.1%(13)	50.0%(43)	30.2%(26)	36.0%(31)	12.7%(11)

The figures for Table 4 above may be seen in greater clarity in Charts 3 to 10 below.

KEY TO CHARTS 3 – 10 representing the level of Jewish education of parents of pupils at each of the three schools.

1. **Blue**-No Jewish education.
2. **Red**-Part-time cheder education only.
3. **Yellow**-Attended a Jewish nursery.
4. **Green**-Attended a Jewish primary school.
5. **Brown**-Attended a Jewish secondary school.

CHART 3

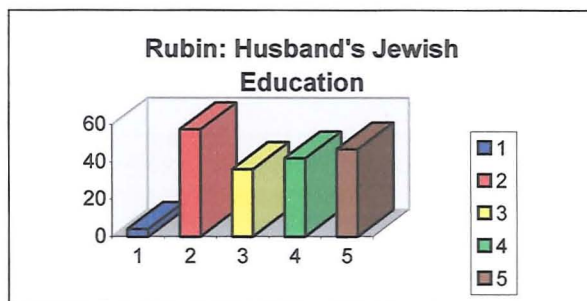


CHART 4

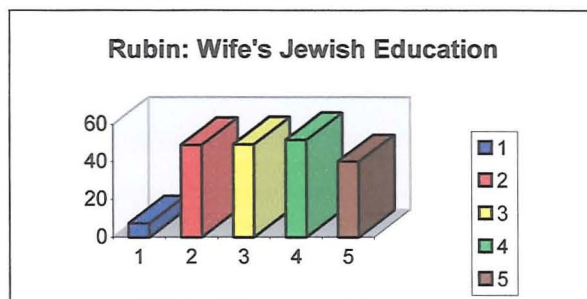


CHART 5

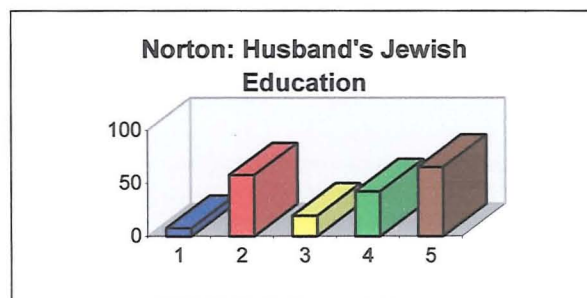


CHART 6

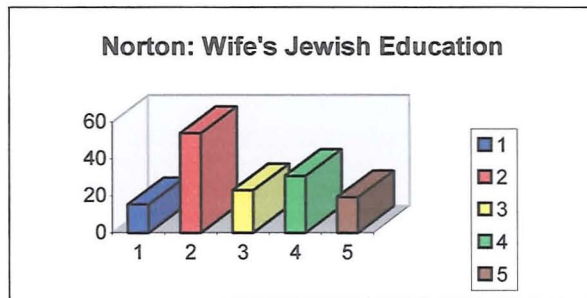


CHART 7

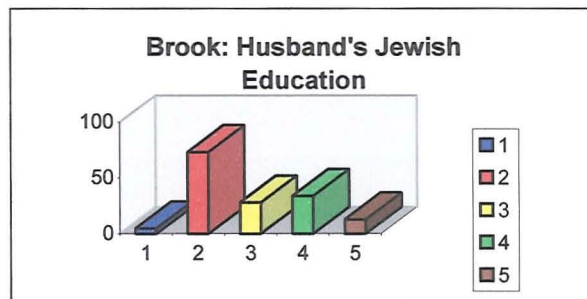
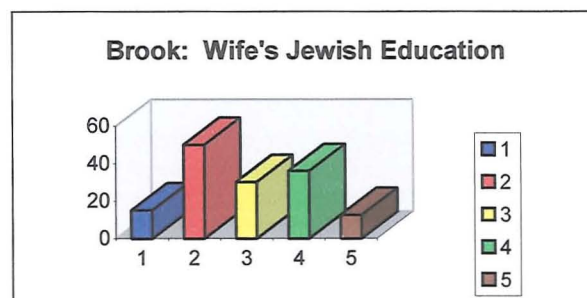


CHART 8



The following two charts 9 and 10 represent the average percentage of parental Jewish education for all three schools combined.

CHART 9

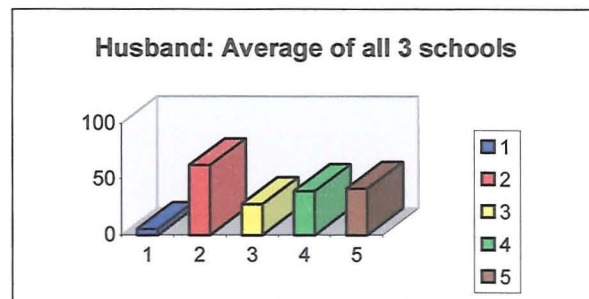
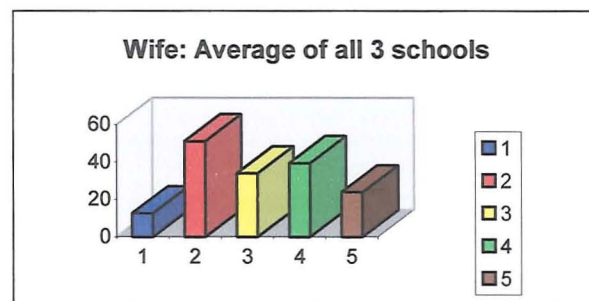


CHART 10



These charts demonstrate that only a small percentage had not received any formal Jewish education, whereas the majority of the parents of the pupils currently attending a Jewish primary school had received their own Jewish education but only at a part time cheder.

The percentage of parents who received a Jewish secondary school education is smaller at Brook, probably due to the existence of only one Jewish secondary school in that area. At the present time there is no Jewish secondary school there. A far higher percentage of parents at Rubin and Norton attended a Jewish secondary school, possibly due to the number of such schools in North West London.

(iii) Questionnaire responses: - A comparative study of the levels of religious observance of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the children.

Because of the difficulty posed by the subjectivity of the respondents, i.e. the parents of the children, in determining what constitutes each level of religious observance of their own parents and grandparents, the percentages of 'Very Observant' and 'Reasonably Observant' have been combined under the single heading of '**Observant**'. In a similar fashion the areas of 'Generally Non-Observant' and 'Totally Non-Observant' have been combined under the single heading of '**Non-Observant**'. An additional section has been inserted where data is unknown to the respondents.

TABLE 5: The estimated levels of religious observance of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the children.

Note: The total number of responses for each school is as follows:

Rubin: 122 Norton: 26 Brook: 86

The actual number of responses for each school is printed in *italics* next to each of the percentage figures.

Q6[a] Level of Observance of Husband's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	45.8% <i>(55)</i>	36.0% <i>(44)</i>	15.5% <i>(19)</i>	3.2% <i>(4)</i>
N	46.2% <i>(12)</i>	15.4% <i>(4)</i>	30.7% <i>(8)</i>	7.7% <i>(2)</i>
B	52.3% <i>(45)</i>	27.9% <i>(24)</i>	9.2% <i>(8)</i>	34.6% <i>(9)</i>

Q6[b] Level of Observance of Wife's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	50.8% <i>(62)</i>	32.8% <i>(40)</i>	14.7% <i>(18)</i>	1.6% <i>(2)</i>
N	38.5% <i>(10)</i>	26.9% <i>(7)</i>	26.9% <i>(7)</i>	7.7% <i>(2)</i>
B	53.4% <i>(46)</i>	26.7% <i>(23)</i>	16.3% <i>(14)</i>	3.5% <i>(3)</i>

Q7[a] Level of Observance of Husband's Mother's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	50.8%(62)	21.3%(26)	12.3%(15)	15.6%(19)
N	42.3%(11)	15.4%(4)	34.6%(9)	7.7%(2)
B	45.3%(39)	12.8%(11)	16.3%(14)	25.6%(22)

Q7[b] Level of Observance of Husband's Father's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	49.1%(60)	18.8%(23)	15.6%(19)	15.6%(20)
N	46.1%(12)	3.8%(1)	30.7%(8)	19.2%(5)
B	80.2%(69)	13.9%(12)	5.8%(5)	0.0%(0)

Q7[c] Level of Observance of Wife's Mother's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	54.9%(67)	23.8%(29)	17.2%(21)	4.1%(5)
N	34.6%(9)	23.1%(6)	23.1%(6)	19.2%(5)
B	50.0%(43)	26.7%(23)	10.4%(9)	12.8%(11)

Q7[d] Level of Observance of Wife's Father's Parents.

	Observant	Varied	Non-Observant	Unknown
R	54.0%(66)	19.7%(24)	15.6%(19)	10.6%(13)
N	46.1%(12)	23.1%(6)	15.4%(4)	15.4%(4)
B	58.1%(50)	10.5%(9)	16.2%(14)	15.1%(13)

These percentage figures, illustrated in charts 11 to 16 below, clarify the main differences and comparisons between the above two generations, i.e. the parents and grandparents of the husbands and wives, who took part in this survey and who were classed as 'observant'.

CHARTS 11 – 16: A comparison of levels of religious observance of the parents and grandparents of the husbands and wives who took part in this research.

CHART 11 RUBIN (Husband's family)

Red = Husband's Parents. Yellow = Husband's Mothers Parents
Blue = Husband's Father's Parents.

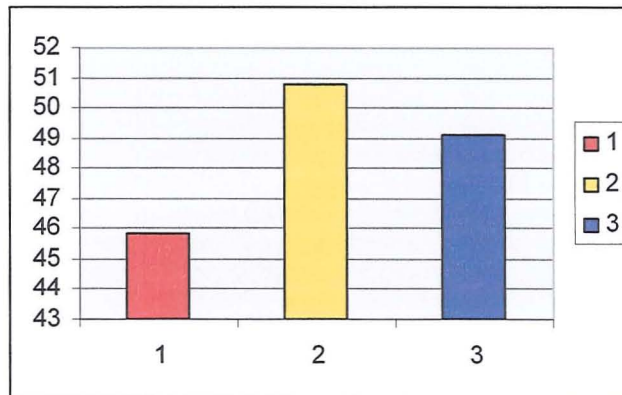


CHART 12 RUBIN (Wife's family)

Green = Wife's Parents. Yellow = Wife's Mother's Parents.
Blue = Wife's Father's Parents

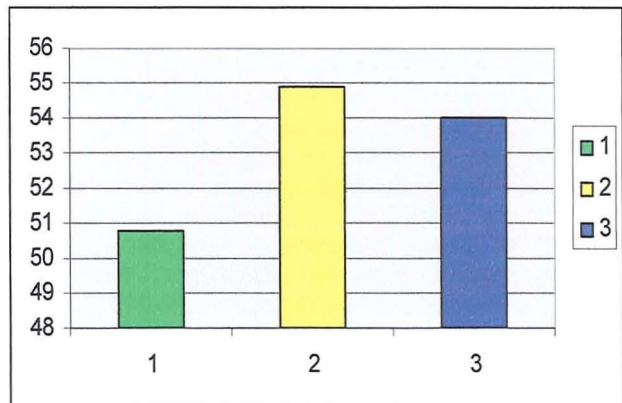


CHART 13 NORTON (Husband's family)

Red = Husband's Parents Yellow = Husband's Mothers Parents
Blue = Husband's Father's Parents.

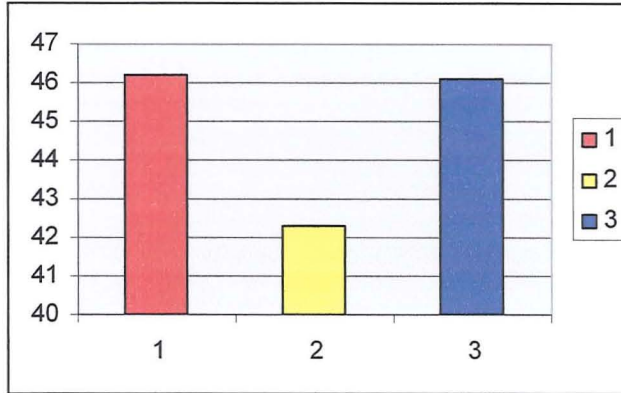


CHART 14 NORTON (Wife's family)

Green = Wife's Parents. Yellow = Wife's Mother's Parents.
Blue = Wife's Father's Parents

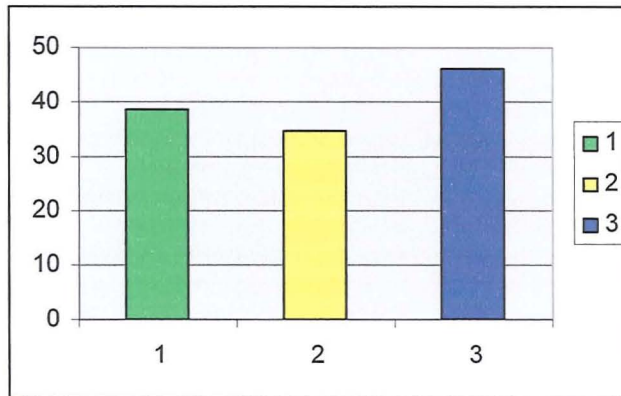


CHART 15 BROOK (Husband's family)

Red = Husband's Parents. Yellow = Husband's Mothers Parents
Blue = Husband's Father's Parents.

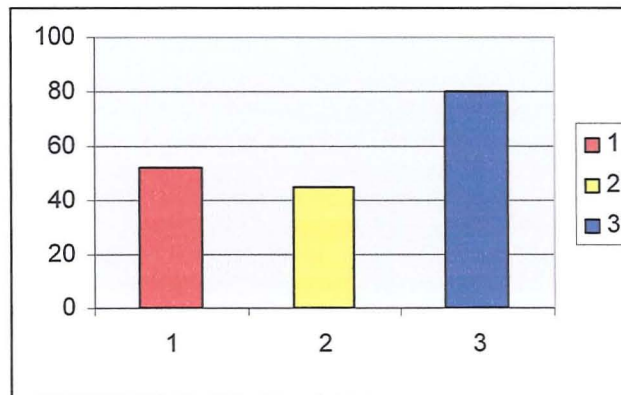
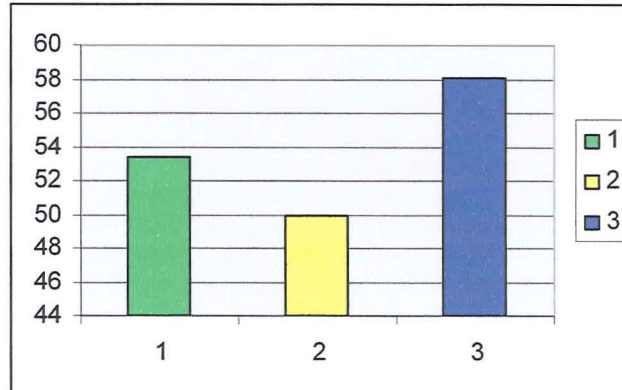


CHART 16 BROOK (Wife's family)

Green = Wife's Parents. Yellow = Wife's Mother's Parents.
Blue = Wife's Father's Parents



The significance of the above questionnaire data relating to the estimated levels of religious observance of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the children.

In all three schools it was clearly apparent that overall, according to the estimation of the husbands and wives, the level of religious observance of their grandparents was generally rated at a higher level than that of their own parents. Purely from the viewpoint of the parents who responded to the questionnaire, it is apparent that in all three schools, the estimated levels of religious observance reached their highest point at the time of the earliest generation of the families, i.e the grandparents of the husbands and wives, who took part in this survey. The data demonstrated that there was a decrease of observance at the time of the parents of the husbands and wives. These figures support the historical evidence and conclusions given in Chapter 2 above.

Chapter 6 Section [b]: Interview questions and responses relating to parents' childhood experiences.

Section [b] below deals with the interview questions and responses relating to the childhood experiences of the parents. The discussion and conclusions I have reached relating to both the questionnaire and interview responses are combined in section [c].

The purpose of this category of questions is to determine whether or not there is any correlation between the childhood experiences of the parents and any later increase in their level of religious observance. Data from the interviews below indicate that there were ten differing childhood experiences which appear to have been the foundation for increased religious observance in later years and four which appear to have brought about a lessening of adult religious observance

Ten examples of parental responses relating to childhood experiences which appear to have been the foundation for increased religious observance in later years.

1. Tradition & family cohesion/closeness.

Both parents of family R1 had grown up in Iraq. It was evident that their early childhood experiences had coloured their present attitudes towards Jewish education and the Jewish community in England.

'In Iraq what **kept us together** was really our **religion...the tradition**. We were never very orthodox. What kept us together was the **tradition**. We are a very close family because of the **tradition** and with our children the **closeness of our family** is very important to us, to both of us.. Through our parents and everybody together.' [R1]

According to the husband, although his family were 'never very orthodox' he focused on two important facets that he considered as an essential

factor in their early Jewish identity: 'tradition' and 'the closeness of our family'.

2. Religious observance brought about through family observance and attending an orthodox Jewish primary school.

The background and childhood experience of the wife of family R8 were quite different from that of her husband.

'I grew up in Kilburn. My parents both came over on the kinder-transport and married here through a Jewish organisation. Both came from religious families; my mother from a very religious family, uncles were Rabbis, and she was very observant. My father was quite observant. It was very strange, in the earlier years we lived in, there was a real Jewish community in Kilburn, there was no shortage of kosher butchers and kosher delicatessen and my parents were strictly kosher. They had no problems at all. It was just the norm. I went to the North West London Jewish Day School and I never knew any different when I was younger. It seemed a very normal life to me.' [R8]

She felt that she had a happy childhood and enjoyed her school years.

I went to shul every Shabbos. I was not at a Jewish secondary school, but there was still a big (Jewish) community coming into the school at that time. We had Jewish assemblies and kosher meals. I mean it was a very comfortable feeling. [R8]

Like many teenagers she went through a rebellious stage which resulted in her becoming anti-religious for a few years.

'Religion became square. I was a child, a teenager of the sixties, and I really didn't want to know. I went out with a couple of non Jewish boys and my parents were marvellous I must say, they never stopped me or said it was wrong..' [R8]

These were the formative years of being both adult and 'independent minded' which was to continue to the present day.

My husband's parents were much less observant than my parents and on Rosh Hashanah I think **I came over to him sometimes on a Saturday and it upset my parents terribly**. I think that till I got into my late teens and **then I started to feel guilty about it** and once I left school and I became more independent minded again and I grew out of that phase. **I never went back to the terribly religious phase I went through as a young teenager...** We got married in the United shul, didn't we, but again we didn't keep very much when we first got married. **We just kept the major festivals**, nothing much more than that.' [R8]

She did however admit that she was determined that her home would always be kosher.

'I think I was fairly emphatic. I think I just said we are going to have kosher meat and that was the end of it. It wasn't an issue.' [R8]

3. Problems of being perceived as 'different'.

It was also evident that due to their early upbringing in Iraq, the husband of family R1 experienced some difficulty in publicly demonstrating any Jewish ritualistic way of life in England.

'We are very much **aware of** the point about us **being different**. Our parents spent all their lives being different. **As children we spent our lives being different....** With our background we always had to blend in. We seem to blend in with the rest. Maybe as children if we spoke it would easily distinguish us as being different. So I think, yes, we are **very much aware** of it.' [R1]

His wife made a most revealing comment relating to a perceived difference in attitude between Sephardi Jews who came from Arab countries as compared with Ashkenazi Jews whose origins were in Europe. There is no doubt that Ashkenazi Jews had also suffered from discrimination over many years and yet did not apparently have any problem with outward signs of Jewish identification.

‘We **never had a normal background**. We do have that freedom now but what it means to you it doesn’t mean to us. To me it scares me. **I don’t like standing out**...Maybe it’s more the Sephardim who may think like us. The Ashkenazim don’t seem to have a problem with it. I have a friend who is Sephardi and when her child comes out of school she takes off his kippa. It’s funny but I do that as well. When I asked her why she did it, she said it was to do with the way she was brought up. But Ashkenazi parents would not do that. They might say, why take it off, I’m proud of it, keep it on. When I see a child at a museum with a kippa, I say please take it off and he says why My children will be the same because you do it without even realising.’ [R1]

She felt this way due to her own personal experiences but commented:

‘I have a friend who is orthodox and who says that she is proud to be seen in public as Jewish. I said that’s all right for you, you are second or third generation in this country.’

4. Effect of the Holocaust

It was during her teenage years that the wife of family R8 had a traumatic experience at her non-Jewish secondary school which affected her religious life.

‘We had our own assembly every morning, and I do remember one assembly. My parents could never talk about the Holocaust. Daddy was in Buchenwald and Mummy was taken to Theresenstadt. And my parents could never bring themselves to talk about it. All that I knew was that my grandparents had died in concentration camps. And we had a Jewish assembly, I think that I must have been thirteen or fourteen. A visitor came in and they brought books about the Holocaust. And I still remember they had photographs of the aftermath and I just couldn’t believe it. I was crying all the way home. All down to road to my parents. And I just, I couldn’t believe it. I became quite fixated by it. After that I bought every book and anything I could find on it and saturated myself with it. My parents began to talk about it, which in the end was a good thing. I think that it was necessary. **But had I not gone to Jewish assemblies, I don’t know how many years later it would have all come out. And it has had a very profound affect on my life. I wanted to make sure that all my children knew about it. Perhaps in more detail than another parent would have passed it on but I felt that it was very important at a very early age.**’ [R8]

5. Zionism

The husband of family R2 considered the role that Zionism had played in strengthening his Jewish identity during his schooling in South Africa.

‘Maybe I’m understating the value of what the Jewish education gave me because **I was imbued with a sense of Zionism** for example which I **didn’t associate directly with Judaism.**’ [R2]

He agreed with his wife who suggested: ‘Maybe it helped you keep your identity as well’, and added:

‘Yes, I think that’s probably key, **the identity of my Zionism which has waned a little in the past - in the recent past - has helped me to assert more my Jewish identity.**’ [R2]

6. Non-Jewish schooling and its effect on Jewish identity.

The wife of family R2 who had never attended a Jewish day school felt that her own **Jewish identity** had been **reinforced as part of a minority group in her daily environment.**

‘On the other hand I went to non-Jewish schools and **Jewish people always sought out Jewish people anyway**, so we **kept our identity** in that respect.’ [R2]

This experience of the wife was however seen as advantageous by her husband who regretted his early lack of contact with non-Jews.

‘I think that was something that **I’m sorry that I didn’t have, interaction with non-Jewish people**, it was definitely something that I missed and I’m sorry I didn’t have that. I was later to have that kind of experience in the Army and it was a bit of a rude awakening. In school life I was really surrounded by Jewish kids, Jewish friends, it wasn’t quite a cocoon but **I don’t think I was exposed enough to other cultures.**’ [R2]

At the age of eleven the wife of family R6 attended a school in the USA where there were only four Jews in the whole school. It was there that she experienced a degree of racist comments:

‘Because the school I went to at eleven was the complete opposite. There were **four Jews in the whole school** and everybody else wasn’t Jewish. And **all the children learned from their parents**. The word kike came up, or the Jews have all the money, or they’re cheap or big noses because the air is free, all things you never heard of...I don’t remember any anti-semitism personally. I was angry. because I had never known a cheap Jew in my life. I had never heard a derogatory term towards Jews. Or even to acknowledge Jews actually growing up. Because in Brooklyn I’m sure that my parents’ generation had terms for black people, but we weren’t brought up with it...I just actually realised that there was anti-Semitism at a young age, but we never had to hide it.’ [R6]

These experiences of her childhood created, in a special and specific way, a feeling of identity with the Jewish religion that would remain with her in the future.

‘**I was angry because it wasn’t true as far as I was concerned. I felt that I was able to always show my Jewish background. because again we were always able to.** Because even if my neighbourhood wasn’t Jewish, the rest of New York was. Brooklyn was, Queens was. Not so much Manhattan, the Bronx was. And when I first moved here it boggled my mind that Jewish people here celebrated Christmas. How could they...and I’m not half as religious... half the people...how can you celebrate Christmas, it’s not your holiday ? But in New York I could find Chanukah paper, Chanukah cards; you couldn’t find that here. On the TV at Chanukah the Menorah’s up on all the channels. **So you never had to hide your Jewishness.**’ [R6]

The experiences of the wife of family R7 at her school in Ireland, where she was the only Jewish pupil, caused her to suffer a degree of discomfort although every effort was made by the school to ensure that this would not occur.

'I didn't go to the Jewish school, and I was the only Jewish girl in a non Jewish school which was horrible. Absolutely awful. It was what they call inter-denominational. It was really sort of 90% Catholic, 9% Protestant and 1% Jewish. So obviously quite a lot of the things, they would always do morning assembly where **I'd have to stand there but they knew that I wouldn't participate.** You know, it's something that you always remember. I mean I knew every hymn, **I just wasn't allowed to sing them.** So if it was Pesach or Rosh Hashanah I used to be asked to go to all the classes and give a little talk on it, which was awful because I felt very singled out. You know I'd have to bring the Matzah in every year and everybody would taste it and everybody would go "ugh" and **I'd stand at the front of the class, it was horrible.'** [R7]

7. Jewish identity retained through the influence of growing up in a small cohesive Jewish community.

In family R7 the husband had attended a Jewish primary and secondary school in Liverpool and his wife had attended non-Jewish school in Dublin. The husband had benefited from being a part of a small but cohesive Jewish provincial community which had created within him a strong sense of Jewish identity.

'I was brought up in Liverpool and obviously Liverpool not having a huge Jewish community, I was sent to the King David Jewish school in Liverpool which wasn't a totally Jewish school. It was 70% Jewish and 30% non-Jewish at that time. So although the community was small in Liverpool, **I felt very much a part of the Jewish community there.'** [R7]

Although his family could not be termed "observant", his own strength of Jewish identity appeared to be formed from his peer contact within the Jewish community.

'We were never Shomer Shabbat, we didn't go to shul regularly... We kept kosher at home, but we ate out. That was about it really... But really my involvement with the Jewish community was the fact that going to the King David **my friends tended to be Jewish.** And also there was a **Jewish youth community** in the centre of Liverpool, in Harold House which I used to go to very regularly whether it was sporting events or just socially... I got very involved in the Jewish football team up in Liverpool, so again we went round playing teams in Manchester and Leeds. And there was a **big social scene**, again sort of teenager, during my teenage life. And **really it was all through Harold House, the Jewish community, which we used to go to.** And being a small community, I guess in a sense it was much easier. You knew all the Jewish families in Liverpool.' [R7]

It was the same situation for his parents which also reinforced in Jewish identity in a social rather than a religious sense.

'My parents, again not being very religious, but all their friends tended to be Jewish people within Liverpool. I think that you felt a part of the community, because it wasn't this huge mass of people. It was very small. Everyone really felt a part of the community. So I'd say that **I was quite actively involved in the community, although as I said, we were never particularly religious.** We got very involved in the community. Our family was very well known within the community. My father was on various committees, Jewish committees which I obviously I got involved with sometimes to a greater or lesser extent. And that was really up until I left school was really my Jewish life in Liverpool.' [R7]

Even at University and in his early years of employment it appears that, 'more by chance than design', he was always surrounded by members of the Jewish community.

'Then I went to University inI ended up in Harold House. So again I was surrounded by Jewish people even when I went to University. And in all honesty, the friends that I tended to home in on at University, tended to be Jewish people. That was not what I particularly intended doing but it was just the way that things panned out and the way that things ended up. **So I think, you know, right through my life, the friends and the people that I tended to mix with and socialise with tended to be Jewish people even though I was never in a big Jewish community** or even go to Manchester University where there was thousands of people there, it always tended to be amongst Jewish people. Obviously I joined the Jewish Society at University and was actively involved with that and went to all the Jewish do's. So I guess that's really the background until I came to London and started work.' [R7]

8. Bereavement as a factor in religious observance

The family R3 had already become more observant before sending their children to a Jewish primary school. Although, as the husband admitted, when he was younger he had always been the more observant member of his family, it was the death of his mother that had been a principal source of motivation.

'I always had, within the family I was always the one that tended to be more frum than the rest. I'm not quite sure what the real motivation was, why I am built that way, more suggestible - I don't know. The ritual and the drama, I really don't know what the primitive motivations were. **But I think I started to get more frum I think when my mother was dying.** My initial reaction on the day she died was we've got to do the right thing'. What's the right thing? And I was very much more focused not on the medics, what I could or couldn't do for my mother at that point but rather to the Rabbi, what's the right thing to do? I was very very certain that that had to be followed.' [R3]

9. Jewish youth group increased religious observance.

The husband of family R4 had the benefit of a reasonably observant childhood home:

'That's what instilled the orthodox into me, Bnei Akiva and my home.' [R4]

10. Influence of marrying a more observant spouse.

The husband of family R8 came from a totally assimilated background in contrast to his wife whose parents became more observant when she was still a child.

'My parents kept almost nothing at all. I would go to shul on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. We'd go inside a shul if there was a Barmitzvah or a wedding in the family, or of close friends. But that was about it. I was sent to cheder. I think that my parents belonged to the United shul when I was very young and then they joined the Reform. As I said they kept very little. My father, my mother has passed away, keeps nothing really to this day. [R8]

In spite of the absence of parental examples of religious observance in his younger years, he appeared to gravitate socially towards Jewish friends to whom he attributes his exposure to Jewish culture. This may well be the result of his parents interest in Jewish cultural organisations and in Zionism.

‘Once I was a teenager, nearly all my friends, well **virtually all my friends were Jewish** and nearly all of them were members of families that belonged to the United. So it was through my friends, and going to their homes that I got any exposure at all to Jewish culture.’ [R8]

His first real introduction to a more observant Jewish life came about when he met the woman who would eventually become his wife and was influenced by her family.

‘We met when we were both teenagers, she comes from an observant family who are members of the United shul... We knew each other for seven years before we got married and we had known each other for five years before we got engaged. And **it was inevitable that I suppose I would be drawn more into religious life...** My father-in-law was, he was observant, but he was tolerant. And I would actually enjoy going with him. We would go together on the High Holidays and before we had children we would spend Rosh Hashanah at my in-laws.
I would go to shul with my father-in-law. That was the first time I was introduced to a shul and I felt welcomed. That was it... He introduced me to everybody, so immediately I was sort of welcomed in as one of the community. That made a huge difference and by the time we got married I felt really at home there and knew everybody and of course going to shul more than I’d ever done in my life, I was actually beginning to pick things up. I was never much good at reading, I’m not good now, but I was a lot better by the time we got married than I had been in my earlier life, even when I was at cheder. So that was how I got drawn more into a religious sphere.’ [R8]

The wife of family N7 received an orthodox observant Jewish upbringing.

‘My family is Sephardi from Gibraltar ... **I’d say that I was brought up to be observant.** We didn’t ride on Shabbat, we were always kosher at home. We had a time switch for the lights, a time switch for the TV. I’d regard my upbringing as middle of the road. I attended Jewish Primary School. From there I went to the Latimer Grammar School in Hammersmith and I ran Jewish prayers. I taught at the shul cheder from the age of 16 . All my close friends were always at shul. I went to shul every week. I was very involved in the cheder and everything that goes on in the shul.’ [N7]

Her husband however was reared in a far less observant household but due to the influence of his wife, agreed to live in a more orthodox manner.

'I come from Dublin ..I was brought up in a liberal synagogue ...quite observant from the liberal point of view. We didn't eat treife but we were not strictly kosher. We would always ride on Shabbat and Yom Tov....I would say that I was reasonably knowledgeable about all the prayers etc.' [N7]

My comments and conclusions relating to the above examples of childhood experiences which appear to have been the foundation for increased religious observance in later years are in section [c] on page 135 below

Examples of childhood experiences which appear to have brought about a lessening of adult religious observance

1. Rejection of orthodox family upbringing.

The husband and wife of family R6 had totally different childhood experiences. He came from an ultra orthodox Sephardi Moroccan background whereas she came from a partially assimilated family from the USA. **The wife described the life-style of her husband's parents as being totally controlled by the norms and requirements of the religion.**

'Jack's parents, they don't live a life. Religion dictates, no dictates is a very strong word, they would do each day as the religion says. So that's their life. So Friday you get up and do this, Saturday is Shabbos, and Sunday is after that, and then whatever the holiday is that will come. And that's how they live their life according to the Jewish calendar. So that's their life and they don't know any different do they?' [R6]

The husband, who claimed to be a rebel from an early age, reflected on his life at home:

'Because I was doing it because of my father. Because if I was sitting at the table after a meal I would try to say Birkat HaMazon quickly and I will jump up and my father would kick me. So I would go to the synagogue Friday night, I would have a wash and my shoes clean to be able to go to the synagogue on Friday night. Because if I didn't, I had an argument with my father. Saturday morning it was the same, but as soon as my father would turn his head, I would go and play football near by the synagogue and come back. So I was doing it I think by fear of not having too much fun with my father when I was young. But as soon as I had the freedom as such per se. I was not doing it.' [R6]

He observed that in recent years:

'The more my family gets more religious, the less I become. So the gap is widening.'

He admitted however that even though his current level of religious observance was far less than that of his childhood, his early years upbringing had furnished him with a certain degree of strong roots which remained with him.

'I think that it is due to the background. The background was solid with very strong roots and we carried it away with us even from Switzerland to Paris and from Paris to England we have been doing it that way.' [R6]

He did not however completely forsake his past but felt that he would retain what seemed appropriate and relevant to him, something that his parents would never have condoned.

'To me the Jewish religion is a very large spectrum **and I take from it what is suitable for me.**' [R6]

He felt that his own current level of observance was a sincere one. When his father would say to him:

'How can you be Jewish if you don't do this or you don't do that. How can you call yourself a Jew ?' [R6]

His reply was: **'I do it because it's in my heart.'**

2. Secular family upbringing.

The husband of family R2 had received 12 years of a Jewish day school education in South Africa but felt that his secular environment at home was the predominant one which influenced him during those early years.

'My Jewish education was 12 years of a Jewish education....I think that it probably didn't leave me being as religious as it might have, as it should have after twelve years of education, but I suppose **my home environment was relatively secular** and not that religious, and that played a greater part when I left school in not being that committed to religion.' [R2]

Although the husband of family N3 was born and reared in Israel, it was in a totally non-observant secular manner and admitted that he still observed practically nothing.

'Even from the time of my grandfather who came to Israel with the early pioneers, he was completely non-religious. When I had my barmitzvah he told me that if I wanted to have a barmitzvah that was OK but he wouldn't come. **So it was in this sort of environment that I grew up.'** [N3]

His wife however had a more traditional upbringing and was clearly the major influence on the religious activities of their children.

‘I grew up differently. We celebrated everything. I used to go every Saturday to the synagogue, me and my dad. My dad still goes to synagogue every Saturday. He lives in Israel, in Jerusalem. [N3]

The early background of the wife of family R6 was quite different to that of her husband. She grew up in a neighbourhood which was ‘99% Jewish’.

‘So the fact that you were a Jew was not hidden as it might have been here, or protected as it was in Morocco.’ [R6]

It is evident from her comments that the majority of families in that area were not strictly observant and appeared to be generally assimilated.

‘**Religion didn’t have much to do with anything.** We all went to state schools, public schools But again 99% of the kids there were Jewish. But we were brought up in the schools to learn about Chanukah as well as Christmas, Passover as well as Easter.’ [R6]

The family appeared to celebrate only the major festivals, but only when the children were younger. The observance of the dietary laws was non-existent.

‘At home there was everything in the house. **Whatever you are not supposed to eat, we ate. But we observed the traditional holidays.** On Yom Kippur we all fasted, on Rosh Hashanah and Pesach, the main holidays. The other holidays we never even heard of, I have to be honest. We went to synagogue on those holidays but that also petered out when we were younger.’ [R6]

3. Influence of non-religious friends.

The husband of family R6 felt that the influence of his friends and acquaintances had encouraged him to lessen his level of religious observance:

‘I went out from it slowly slowly **because of the people I was mixing with** and so on.’ [R6]

The early childhood experiences in Dublin of the wife of family R7 were quite different to that of her husband.

‘My family are, well my grandparents who thank goodness are still alive, are very very traditional. Shabbos is Shabbos. They go in the car to shul because of the infra-structure. The shul was so far away from where everybody lived so it was just..well everybody went in the car on Shabbos to shul. But you were still orthodox. It’s quite funny. Everything else was observed as it should be observed.’ [R7]

Her parents continued to attend the synagogue on the Sabbath and keep a kosher home but they also moved further away from the Jewish community. As most of her friends were from her school she did not generally mix socially with the local Jewish community.

‘Then I went to secretarial college and that was when all sort of the troubles really started between me and mum and dad. Because obviously I’ve been brought up with this sort of mixing out rather than in and of course their big night out was Friday night. So I’d want to go out on a Friday night but Friday night was Shabbat so **it always led to an argument**, always. if I wanted to go out and I wasn’t allowed to. Some Friday nights I did.’ [R7]

It is clear that her parents did attempt to maintain some kind of Sabbath atmosphere for the family until she eventually left Dublin and arrived in London where her social life began to change.

‘**We did go to shul regularly.** My father made us go to shul every Shabbat I would then go back to my grandparents and we’d have a proper Shabbos lunch and all the family would get together in the afternoon. It’s just so completely opposite to the way Paul’s family is and the fighting on the Friday nights kept going on and on because obviously I’d really got into a crowd that was there. I then reached an age when a lot of people had begun to leave Dublin. And then I followed suit. And **when I came to live in London I’ve really only ever mixed with Jewish people.**’ [R7].

4. Influence of marrying a non-observant spouse.

In family R6 the influence on the husband of marrying a relatively non-religious wife was also a major factor in his lessening of religious observance.

And also I should say that **marrying someone** who came from completely **non-religious** background.’ [R6]

Section [c] Discussion and conclusions of the data presented in this chapter relating to parents' childhood education and family background as factors connected to their later adult religious observance.

The purpose of the questionnaire and interviews was to determine whether or not there was any correlation between the childhood experiences of the parents with any later increase in their level of religious observance. It is important to establish in which way their own early experiences may have played a part in their attitude and behaviour in later years.

The data from the questionnaire responses (see pages 103-119 above) related to the country of birth of the husbands, wives and their parents; the earlier Jewish education received by husbands and wives; and the estimated levels of religious observance of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the children. With this data it will be possible to determine whether there is any pattern in the increase or decrease of levels of observance and to suggest that the countries of origin of parents and grandparents of the children might be a contributory positive or negative factor.

From the comments made by the majority of the interviewees there seems little doubt that their own childhood experiences laid the foundations for their acceptance or rejection of later potential influences on their level of religious observance. The examples given above appear to reflect varied practices. Yet the data have shown that at the very least these parents were receptive to the early childhood influences that would confront them in later years through their own children.

Regardless of whether or not their own childhood experience encouraged them to conform to their parents' way of life, they seemed to have created within themselves a more positive and receptive attitude towards a Jewish day school for their own children. The nostalgia of a warm close Jewish family life which acted as a positive catalyst in adult life can be contrasted with the totally strict orthodox life which caused one parent to reject in later years.

Similarly the positive environmental influence of a small but cohesive Jewish community and attendance at a Jewish Youth Club can be contrasted with the experience of growing up in a secular minded Jewish family and also that of the influence of non-observant and non Jewish friends. It is however important to note that in three families their Jewish identity was reinforced through being a minority in non Jewish school.

The parent who admitted that his interest in secular Zionism and modern Israel was a catalyst towards being receptive to a more religiously observant life was a typical example of the close affinity that exists in this case between a political, cultural and religious ideology.

With some parents, an early childhood experience of being part of a minority group at school appeared to reinforce their later decision not to allow their own children to have the same problems. In other families, an early sense of Jewish identity was established through the experience of family bereavement, the tragedy of losing members of the family in the Nazi Holocaust, and also in a more positive way through a developing interest in Zionism and Modern Israel. Experiencing the sorrow of bereavement and the search for comfort and meaning at such a traumatic moment, is often one of the known 'entry points' which can lead into a more religious and personally meaningful lifestyle. In a somewhat similar manner, the tragedy of the Holocaust can cause either rejection or, in some cases, a strengthening of faith of the survivors

The purpose of this chapter is to examine whether the possible effect of parents' childhood experiences of a religious nature might have played a part in their religious attitude and behaviour in later years? The data has shown that those parents who had themselves experienced a traditional Jewish family life, wished to recreate this with their own children. However, the parents who grew up amongst a more secular non-observant family had no such 'religious' nostalgia which they wished to emulate.

This was especially true in the case of those whose wider family and friends were themselves non-observant. With this group of families, evidence from the data points to other reasons which brought about a decision to send their children to a Jewish day school. These reasons were frequently socially based and invariably due to the influence of friends or the community where it was the norm amongst many families to send the children to a Jewish school.

In the main however, I feel that the over-riding reason for this decision, regardless of their level of religious observance, was based on the importance of maintaining a Jewish identity in order to develop a love and pride of being Jewish and to act as a buffer against possible intermarriage.

A common theme throughout all the interviews was the awareness of many parents of the contrast between the relative lack of active and practical involvement of a religious nature in their own families during their childhood years compared to their current more religious life style. This lack of active participation may well have been a factor in the decline of religious commitment amongst many parents. This was especially evident when parents commented about their increased observance of Passover with their own children.

It seems clear from the above varied examples of the childhood experiences of the majority of these parents that regardless of their initial level of adult religious observance, they were, at the very least, receptive to the later influences that would confront them through their own children. The next chapter will examine in depth the various reasons and influences that prompted the parents to select a Jewish primary school for their own children.

Chapter 7

An analysis of the questionnaire and interview responses of parents, giving reasons for choosing a Jewish primary school for their children.

Sending a child to a Jewish day school may well be a starting point for many less religious families on the road to greater observance. Indeed, it can be said that those who decide to send their children to such a school have already taken this step. I consider it to be of great importance to determine the main reasons why parents choose to send their children to a Jewish day school. Nevertheless, I feel that regardless of the initial reasons for selecting a Jewish day school, it is by no means certain that the religious life style of the parents will alter. The evidence for this must therefore come through a closer inspection of the reasons of those less religious families who selected a Jewish school and the effect it had on them.

SECTION [a]: Questionnaire responses and analysis.

Listed below is the analysis of responses to question 11 of the questionnaire relating to the reasons given by parents for their choice of a primary school. In order to indicate major trends I have added together under the heading of 'Important' the responses for: 'Very Important' and 'Quite Important'. Similarly I have added together under the heading of 'Unimportant' the responses for: 'Not a priority' and 'Totally Unimportant'. As in previous chapters the actual number of responses is printed in *bold italics in brackets*.

TABLE 6 Lack of parental education.

11[a] Giving the children the education that parents did not have.

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
R	59.0%(72)	9.8%(12)	2.4%(3)	28.7%(35)
N	46.2%(12)	19.2%(5)	11.5%(3)	23.0%(6)
B	52.3%(45)	12.8%(11)	10.5%(9)	24.4%(21)

TABLE 7 The same as parents received.

11[b] Giving the children the education that parents received.

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
R	65.5%(80)	2.4%(3)	3.3%(4)	28.7%(35)
N	34.6%(9)	11.5%(3)	3.8%(1)	50.0%(13)
B	45.3%(39)	10.5%(9)	7.0%(6)	37.2%(32)

As indicated in Table 35, many parents felt that they wished their children to enjoy and benefit from the same type of education that one or both parents had received. It is interesting to note that in Table 36, approximately the same percentage of parents felt that they had not been given the opportunity to benefit from a Jewish day school education but wished their children to receive this.

TABLE 8 Reflects family way of life.

11[c] Our family are observant and the school reflects our way of life.

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
R	61.4%(75)	16.4%(20)	10.6%(13)	11.5%(14)
N	57.7%(15)	7.7%(2)	19.2%(5)	15.4%(4)
B	46.5%(40)	20.9%(18)	24.4%(21)	8.1%(7)

It is possible to make a comparison with the response to question 10 below, relating to the reasons for no increase or change in observance.

Q10.	<u>Always been Observant</u>	<u>Always been Non Observant</u>	<u>Sees no Connection</u>
R	97.9%	2.0%	0.0%
N	84.5%	7.6%	7.6%
B	89.1%	5.4%	5.4%

It can be seen that the percentage of parents who chose the school because they are observant and the school reflects their way of life (see Table 37 above) is lower than the figure of those who stated that they have always been observant, see question 10 above. This figure remains lower even with the combination of the 'Important' and 'Possible' responses to question 11c. This may well indicate that some parents who were already leading a religiously observant life did not see that as the reason for their choice of school. Evidence from interviews will investigate this further.

TABLE 9 Jewish friends.

11[d] We want our children to have Jewish friends

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	79.5%(97)	14.7%(18)	5.7%(7)
N	46.1%(12)	30.7%(8)	23.0%(6)
B	60.5%(52)	20.9%(18)	18.6%(16)

There is a relatively high percentage of parents who feel that this is a most important reason for selecting a Jewish day school. The combination of percentages of both 'Important' and 'Possible' gives an even clearer indication of reasons for parental choice. Rubin 94.2% Norton 76.8% Brook 81.2%.

TABLE 10 To read Hebrew prayers.

11[e] We want our children to read Hebrew and follow a Synagogue service.

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	84.4%(103)	6.5%(8)	9.0%(11)
N	84.6%(22)	11.5%(3)	3.8%(1)
B	76.6%(65)	16.3%(14)	8.1%(7)

The combination of the 'Important' and 'Possible' percentage figures gives an even higher rate of importance to this reason.

Rubin 90.9% Norton 96.1% Brook 92.9%

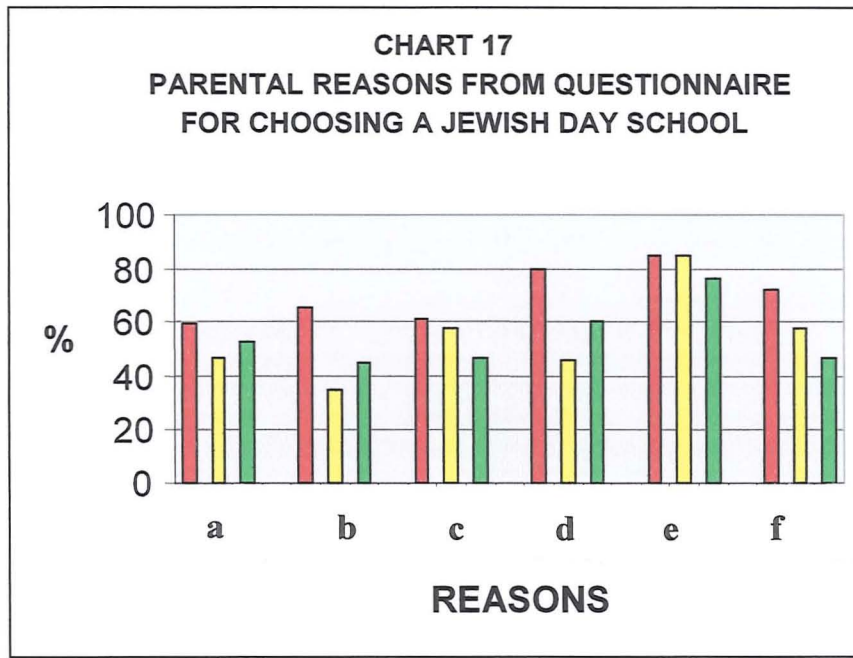
TABLE 11 To learn to speak Ivrit.

11[f] We want our children to learn to speak Ivrit (Modern Hebrew)

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	72.1%(88)	10.6%(13)	17.2%(21)
N	57.7%(15)	19.2%(5)	23.0%(6)
B	46.5%(40)	23.2%(20)	30.2%(26)

Although there is a high percentage of parents who view this as an important reason for choosing a Jewish day school, the figure is lower than those who see a greater priority in being able to follow a Synagogue service.

The above data of comparative reasons (in Tables 35 to 40) for choosing a Jewish day school may be understood in a clearer manner by studying the chart below.



As before the three colours represent the three schools:

Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook

- [a] Giving the children the education that parents did not have.
- [b] Giving the children the education that parents received.
- [c] Our family are observant & the school reflects our way of life.
- [d] We want our children to have Jewish friends
- [e] We want our children to read Hebrew and follow a synagogue Service.
- [f] We want our children to learn to speak Ivrit (Modern Hebrew)

The final section of questions relating to parental reasons for choosing a Jewish school referred to any possible concern or reason given by parents about sending their children to a non-Jewish or a multi-cultural school.

11[g] Reasons for not selecting a non-Jewish or multicultural school.

Three possible reasons were suggested to parents. The responses are analysed below:

TABLE 12

11[g-i] We were concerned about discrimination at non-Jewish schools

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	23.8%(29)	27.0%(33)	49.2%(60)
N	3.8%(1)	11.5%(3)	84.6%(22)
B	13.9%(12)	27.9%(24)	58.1%(50)

TABLE 13

11[g-ii] We did not wish our child to learn about other religions.

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	13.1%(16)	13.1%(16)	73.8%(90)
N	7.7%(2)	7.7%(2)	84.6%(22)
B	11.6%(10)	11.6%(10)	76.7%(66)

TABLE 14

11[g-iii] We did not wish our child to participate in other religious practices

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	55.7%(68)	12.3%(15)	32.0%(39)
N	34.6%(9)	7.7%(2)	57.7%(15)
B	46.5%(40)	11.6%(10)	41.9%(36)

Regarding all three sections of question 11g, by using a combination of the categories of 'Important' and 'Possible' it can be seen that only a minority of parents were concerned about discrimination, whereas a far greater percentage felt this to be unimportant: Even less were concerned about their children learning about other religions whereas a larger percentage of parents felt this to be unimportant. A greater percentage did not wish their children to participate in other religious practices.

In **Question 12** (see Table 44 below) parents were asked how important did they view a Jewish Secondary School. Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg (2001) indicate that in the UK there are now more children attending Jewish primary schools than part time cheder education. Far fewer Jewish pupils, however, attend a Jewish secondary school. The attitudes of parents whose children attend a Jewish primary school is of great importance to Jewish policy planning for the future.

TABLE 15

Question 12: How important to you is a Jewish secondary school ?

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>
R	66.3%(81)	29.5%(36)	4.1(5)
N	30.8%(8)	42.3%(11)	26.9%(7)
B	65.1%(56)	22.1%(19)	12.8%(11)

The percentage of those who consider it to be important is very similar at the two Voluntary Aided schools whereas the figure for the parents of the smaller private school is less than half. The combination of the categories of 'Important' and 'Possible' gives the following percentage:

Rubin 95.8% Norton 73.1% Brook 87.2%

Evidence from interviews in the following pages, will give some indication of the reason for these figures. There are three Jewish secondary schools, with excellent track records both secular and Jewish, at a reasonable distance to families of Rubin. At the time of writing, there are plans for establishing another Jewish secondary school in Hertfordshire. However, this is not unanimously welcomed as there are some fears expressed by the governors and headteachers of the existing Jewish secondary schools in London that a further Jewish secondary school in London would be detrimental to ensuring that all places at the existing schools are taken.

In an article in the Jewish Chronicle (7th November 2003), Professor Barry Kosmin, director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research was of the opinion that with current Jewish birthrates, opening another mainstream Orthodox secondary school would leave places empty in others. 'The schools are probably correct that within five years it would have a negative effect on their intake. Jewish state schools have been very successful in attracting Jewish pupils who would have gone to state comprehensives. If a new orthodox school opened, the schools would remain full by bringing people back from the fee-paying independent schools or having to take non-Jewish pupils.' There is at present only one small independent Jewish secondary school near the Brook Jewish primary school. Although the community has applied for permission to the LEA and DfES to establish a Voluntary Aided school, the outlook seems bleak.

Comments related to the above data.

A large percentage of parents stated either that they wanted their children to receive the same kind of education that they had received or that they had been unable to receive. Nevertheless, from the questionnaire responses of the parents (see Table 10 page 142 above), there is no doubt that an essential reason for the choice of a Jewish day school was the wish for their children to be able just to read Hebrew and follow a synagogue service. It is interesting to note that this percentage of parents who rated this as 'important' was higher than those who wanted their children to be able to learn and to speak modern Hebrew (see Table 11 page 142 above).

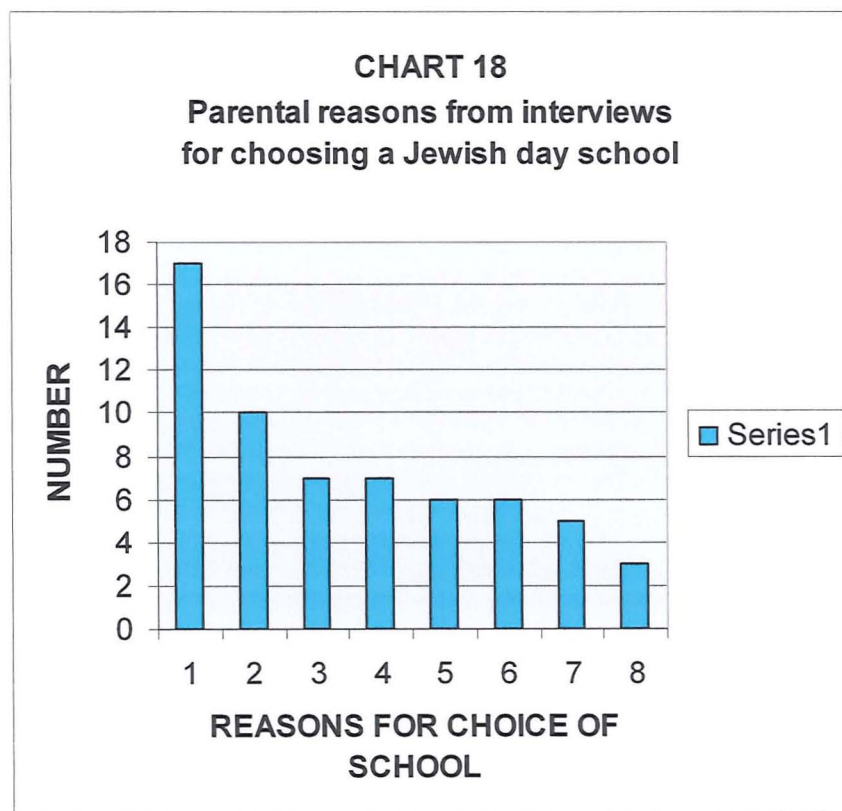
There may be two reasons for this which are explored in greater depth in the interviews below. Firstly, it may be prompted by the feeling of inadequacy of those parents who have difficulty with Hebrew reading and following a Synagogue service themselves. Secondly, there are parents whose knowledge and ability are far higher and who expect their children to reach the same standard.

The questionnaire responses indicate that although many parents did not wish their children to participate in the religious practices of other faiths, an even larger percentage of parents felt this to be unimportant. Evidence from the interviews below, suggests that many parents whose children attend Jewish day schools would in fact welcome the idea of their children learning more about other religions and being more aware of living in a multicultural society.

SECTION [b]: Interview data and analysis.

Eight main reasons for choosing a Jewish primary school were given by parents during interviews detailed below. The figures in brackets below indicate the number of families who included these comments.

1. Importance of obtaining a sound Jewish identity. [17]
2. Parent felt he/she had missed out a Jewish education. [10]
3. Parent(s) had attended a Jewish day school. [7]
4. Religious and secular studies are both a natural part of the curriculum.[7]
5. The children of friends of parents attended the school. [6]
6. Important for a social and community foundation. [6]
7. Warm/special Atmosphere. [6]
8. A parental substitute. [3]



(1) Importance of obtaining a sound Jewish identity

Seventeen families stated that they had chosen a Jewish day school with the hopeful intention that it would provide not only a sound Jewish education, but even more importantly, the foundations for a positive Jewish identity. Although only four families actually used the words ‘a Jewish identity’ in relation to what they wished a Jewish school to provide, it was clear from their comments that this was their over-riding aim. The various terms used in the section below gives a clear picture of the ways in which parents understand the concept of a Jewish identity.

In the words of one family the concept of being Jewish was, in a sense, belonging to a club:

‘I wanted him to know who he was and what club he belonged to and to identify with that.’ [B3]

Almost all families felt that a Jewish school should be able to provide:

‘A Jewish ethos in their life every day’ [B7]

These families did not mention their own role but appeared to view the school, and not necessarily their own influence, as the main basis for the children developing a strong sense of Jewish identity with a focus on the Jewish education provided by the school.

‘We needed to stress Jewish education, otherwise the children could easily grow up and not carry on their Jewish tradition.’ [B10]

One family summed up the views of many parents when they said;

‘We thought that by sending her actually to a Jewish school the chances were that she would grow up with a good knowledge of how Jewish people should live.’ [B11]

A clear indication of another important reason was stated by a parent who said that a Jewish school would:

'teach them the things that we could not.' [R5]

There was also a feeling by many parents that a Jewish day school was a form of 'buying insurance' to avoid the chances of intermarriage in later years. The comment below was equally reflected in the views of others:

"If they are to have any chance not to marry out it would be more chance for them if they went to a Jewish school.' [B7]

The report of Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg (2001) indicated that whereas a high percentage of Jewish families are happy to send their children to a Jewish primary school, it is not the case with Jewish secondary schools. In spite of the recent growth and popularity resulting in two new Jewish secondary schools in London, many Jewish parents with children at a Jewish primary school do not send them to a Jewish secondary school. The reason is generally due to the feeling that the secular education will be better.

'But I think also with us we decided that to get the primary education was important then maybe later on when it came to choosing secondary school then that might be a different matter. Maybe then we wouldn't choose a Jewish school.' [R3]

Several families felt that ultimately the decision of how to lead their adult lives would have to be left to the individual children. A Jewish school would at least give them the basic foundation on which to make an informed choice.

'I didn't want him to come home with Easter cards and Christmas bunnies. I thought that at five years old he wouldn't understand why we didn't have Christmas. Whereas, if he went to a non-Jewish secondary school by the age of eleven he would know that. But I felt that at five children are too impressionable and say well why don't we have Christmas, why can't I go to Jonnie's party at MacDonalDs.' [B3]

This important concept was echoed by another parent who stated:

'You have got to give them the values for them to then make their own decision in life.'
[R7]

Another similar observation related to the strong moral teaching of a Jewish school.

'And knowing about the moral values is what makes a decent human being.....That's the most important. That's what we really wanted from a Jewish school, that they taught them how to behave in a world that doesn't any more.' [N2]

(2) Parent felt he/she had missed out a Jewish education.

The responses to the initial questionnaires (see also Table 6: Question 11a page 140 above) gave the following percentage differences:

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
R	59.0%(72)	9.8%(12)	2.4%(3)	28.7%(35)
N	46.2%(12)	19.2%(5)	11.5%(3)	23.0%(6)
B	52.3%(45)	12.8%(11)	10.5%(9)	24.4%(21)

In the above table, the combination of the 'Important' and the 'Possible' responses gives a clearer indication of main reasons.

Rubin 68.8% Norton 65.4% Brook 65.1%

The interview responses quoted below clearly reflected those in the questionnaire.

Many parents felt that they wanted to give their children the opportunity to benefit from the early Jewish day school education that they themselves had not received.

'I grew up in a very non-Jewish environment and I wanted to give them the experience of going to a Jewish school which I hadn't received myself...But at the end of the day I've never looked at any other schools...I think that it was because I wanted the children to have a Jewish education because I didn't have one.' [B2]

There was a feeling of having 'missed out' on their Jewish education.

'I never went to a Jewish school and I thought I missed out. Although my grandparents were ultra-orthodox, my parents weren't. And I wanted to give my kids a start that I felt that I didn't have.' [B12]

The feeling of having 'missed out' was a major factor with all of the families who, when younger, had attended the part-time 'cheder' system but felt that they had not benefited from it.

'I went through the cheder system and I hardly learned anything....Cheder was a waste of time for me and if that's what we are going to do for Emma, sending her to a secular school and trying to send her to cheder and all the rest of it, it just wouldn't work.' [R2]

His wife who had not received any form of Jewish education was determined that her daughter would not have the same difficulty in later years.

'From my point of view I had no Jewish education at all when I was younger, no cheder, nothing so I felt I missed out. So I wanted her to have what I really didn't have.' [R2]

Another frequent problem mentioned by parents was that they did not wish their own children to experience the feeling of being in the minority at their schools.

'I was always aware that I was in a tiny minority and I didn't really want my children to have to go through that.' [R7]

(3) Parent(s) had attended a Jewish day school

The responses to the initial questionnaires (see also Table 7: Question 11b p.140 above) gave the following percentage differences:

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Possible</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Not Applicable</u>
R	65.5%(80)	2.4%(3)	3.3%(4)	28.7%(35)
N	34.6%(9)	11.5%(3)	3.8%(1)	50.0%(13)
B	45.3%(39)	10.5%(9)	7.0%(6)	37.2%(32)

Questionnaire responses indicated that many parents wished their children to enjoy and benefit from the same type of education that one or both parents had received. The combination of the 'Important' and the 'Possible' responses gives a clearer indication of main reasons.

Rubin 67.9% Norton 46.1% Brook 55.8%

The responses of parents during the interviews below, reflect the data derived from the initial questionnaires. The following key words and phrases extracted from these interviews all emphasise the feelings of happiness and benefit received by the parents and their desire to ensure that their children experience the same.

'I really enjoyed my years there, a very happy time ..I ended up very knowledgeable and I thought that was a very valuable experience. I thought that I would like my children to have the same sort of happy experience that I had.' [B1]

'It's not just about feeling safe, it's about feeling secure and it's about being happy.'
[B3]

It is important to note that the families from Brook primary school had an additional reason for sending their children. This school, unlike Rubin and Norton, can be termed a community school. It is situated in the heart of the area where most of the Jewish families live, and most families, whether observant or not, felt that sending their children to Brook was 'a foregone conclusion.'

'And there is such a small community that everybody knows everyone else...The children that my little girl, mixes with, she's known most of them since she was tiny, and because they are all going there, you tend to group together and all go to the same place.' [B6]

'The people that you socialise with, that you grew up with and that got married at the same time as you and had children at the same time as you, they are all going to send their children to that school.' [B12]

(4) Religious and secular studies are both a natural part of the curriculum.

Seven of the families interviewed felt that a main attraction of a Jewish day school was the natural fusion of Jewish education into the school curriculum, especially if the school is a part of the state system where the full National Curriculum would be taught. In this connection, an interesting observation made by one parent was:

'When you operate in a non- Jewish world it was very important to me that they had been to a state school yet it was also a Jewish school. So you could actually combine being normal and not being marginal and being Jewish.' [B2]

Parents understood that the secular standards had to be:

'the same as or as good as other schools' [R2]

A Jewish day school was therefore seen as:

'the best of both worlds. In a sense it was an easy decision to make because they were getting two for the price of one as it were.' [R2]

Parents commented that if they had sent their children to a non-Jewish school they would still want them to receive some form of a Jewish education. At a Jewish day school there was the added advantage of not having to send the children to a part-time cheder on Sundays or after school hours on weekdays.

Things are incorporated naturally into the school curriculum without having to go to cheder and take time out.' [B1]

Another important reason was given by more observant parents who would have to ask for special privileges if their children were at a non-Jewish school.

'We didn't want to send them to a school where they would have to make excuses to have early Fridays. There would always be a kosher meal for them and we wouldn't have that to worry about. It's all the things that we would keep in the house. If they went to a non-Jewish school you've got to start thinking about lots of things. It's just a lot less hassle.' [B7]

(5) The children of friends of parents attended the school.

Data from interviews with parents of children at Brook primary school confirmed that they had been influenced by their friends who had chosen that school for their own children. It was, as stated above, seen to be the local Jewish community school.

'No I think that with all our circle of friends we all sent our children to Brook primary school, so there was no other choice really.' [B1]

'All the people that I knew go there, girls that I went to school with, and Gerald's friends children go there.' [B3]

'There wasn't any choice. It was never discussed. That was where my children were going from the very beginning. I suppose it's where all their friends have gone.' [B9]

'We were also persuaded by the actions of our friends who had older children and were supporting the structure.' [B10]

At Rubin primary school however, where many parents did not live in close proximity to the school, any influence from other parents was due to quite different reasons. A good secular education was paramount. This parent admitted that there had been discussion with other parents in respect of the best secular education needed for boys rather than girls.

'I think that there was a lot of talk about what was the best education....A lot of the mothers would say, "well I wouldn't send a boy to Rubin or to whichever school. A boy's got to have a good education. For a girl it's OK." There was a lot of that.'
[R3]

(6) Important for a social and community foundation.

The comments made in the interview with one parent were echoed by others. Each point is worth examining here.

'I see a Jewish school in the same way that I see any Jewish body within the community as having a wider role within that community, in any event, in the sense of being a focal point for all parents. A focal point for kids to mix with their own kind and parents to mix with their own kind. Because at the end of the day if you don't mix with your own kind you are not going to be able to guarantee survival I suppose.'
[B11]

The essential core factor here is the idea of the school being not merely a place of education for the children but also a 'focal point' for Jewish parents as well as children to meet and mix socially within their own religious group. This was closely linked with the increased opportunity and encouragement for them and their families to remain within the fold.

'We have a whole circle of friends now through the children.'
[R7]

This is not an unusual occurrence and is quite common at all primary schools throughout the country. The important factor to note here, however, is that all the friendships made are between Jewish families.

'There is a bonding between Jewish people.'
[R7]

Parents felt that it was important for them to develop social contact with other like families.

'The people you mix with have been brought up in the same way as they are. They've got their Jewishness in common, socially they can see each other, the culture being the same.' [B11]

(7) A warm and special atmosphere.

I have no doubt that the great majority of all primary schools throughout the country are warm and happy environments for the children.

Nevertheless, parents commented on what they considered was a 'very special atmosphere at a Jewish primary school'.

'There's a very special atmosphere at a Jewish primary school. I noticed it when I was a child. My husband didn't notice it until he started going to the school functions. He said that there was a very special warm atmosphere.' [B1]

It is quite likely that the parents interviewed would have felt the same about any other primary school that their children attended. Yet it appears from the comments made by parents of pupils attending a Jewish primary school that this factor was especially noticeable. It may well have to do with the attraction and comfort of knowing that all the parents, regardless of their level of observance, all had the same religion and culture.

'You're all in it together. All the parents and all the children and most of the teachers all have a common link, a common bond that is very strong.' [B1]

Perhaps it was this cultural link with each other that made one parent state:

'I just felt that it was like a community-type school, it's like a village school in a way where everybody knows each other and the teachers know you.. It's almost like Auntie who-ever rather than Mrs. Who-ever. And it's just a nice warm feeling when we go there. I like it. I feel very at home and very comfortable there.' [B3]

It is interesting to note the comments of one family who had moved their child from a multicultural state primary school to a Jewish primary school.

According to the parents, the young child, without knowing it was a Jewish primary school, felt the difference.

'We never said to her we are taking you out of your school and we are sending you to a Jewish school. We just said to her, right you are going to go here because it's closer. Anyway on the Monday she went to school and when she came out I said well what do you think ? I never ever mentioned about it being a Jewish school. She said to me, the people are so so different. She was five years old. She said that they are so different and I feel so much happier. And it's amazing how a child can pick up on that. And we have never looked back, never.' [R7]

(8) A parental substitute

The final reason for choosing a Jewish primary school that was given by parents during interviews related to the self-awareness of some parents that, in connection with Jewish education the school was a substitute for the parents. For some parents the school was able to offer what they could not offer, because of a lack of adequate knowledge.

'Well for a start neither my wife or myself were particularly observant and what we were able to teach the children was always going to be less than what a Jewish school or Jewish education would be able to provide.' [R2]

H: 'Now, why did we do this ? For numerous reasons. The first one is, I knew that I will never

have the time, because I was travelling all the time, to give them the Jewish education.

W: And I couldn't.

H: And she couldn't. So I did pass that responsibility to the school...

W: I was happy that they were in a Jewish school because it's one of the things that I couldn't do.' [R6]

Other parents who could perhaps have imparted a sound Jewish education at home, were happy to leave it to the school.

'I see the school as almost being like a parental substitute in the sense that they do so much for the children in Jewish education. It leaves us with very little that we have to do to teach them. They get it from the school. It's a part of their daily life.' [B1]

Some parents were aware that through their children, they would be able to benefit from the Jewish education offered at the school.

'You could call it from two sides, one is the lazy one, that we wouldn't have to do the teaching, we would probably pick up from them, we would learn from them, which has been the case .' [R2]

Some thoughts and considerations of parents relating to the possible disadvantages, personally and socially, of attending a religious and mono-cultural school.

In this chapter I have focussed on the comments of parents relating to the positive aspects of Jewish schools and the reasons why they decided to send their children to such schools. There were very few negative comments, but it will be useful to examine, albeit briefly, whether there may be any disadvantages to attending a religious denominational school.

Since all the parents who participated in this research study had chosen to send their children to a Jewish day school, it was clear that they viewed such schools in a positive light. Nevertheless, during the interviews, parents were asked whether they felt that there were any disadvantages to a Jewish day school. A few examples of the responses from parents were all very similar and focussed on the following points:

- We do not live in a ghetto.[R1]
- We are a minority group in a multi-cultural country. [N2]
- Sooner or later our children will eventually need to come into contact with those of other faiths. [B8]
- Our children must learn about other faiths and respect their views and understand that they are different to ours. [R6]
- In the same way they should learn about the Jewish community and respect our views. [B7]
- Tolerance of other faiths should be taught at school. [R5]
- Pupils at Jewish schools should learn about other faiths. [B4]

The husband of family R3 who were firmly in favour of a Jewish day school education, expressed the following view:

Negative points first--- I can't see any negative points. I suppose that there is an opinion, not our opinion, it's not my opinion, there is an opinion that says, you are blinkering the children, you are only exposing them to a narrow view of humanity and it will come as a nasty shock to them later on. But I don't really think that it would come as a nasty shock to them. And even if it did, so what ! I'd rather they were brought up in a holistic Jewish environment, not only at school but also at home. Not just for their sake to bring them up that way because that's what we happen to believe. It's a way a life. Religious education is not something you bolt on to the secular general life style. You live life as a Jew, you get educated in a Jewish school your social group is Jewish, our social group is Jewish, it's an entirely holistic thing. Not going to shul on Shabbos is not in our minds now, it's what we do. I know there are children who go to a Jewish school and come out and perhaps leave all that behind them. [R3]

The debate about the advantages and disadvantages of denominational schools has continued within the UK for many years. The strongest argument against denominational schools is of course that, in a multi-cultural society, it discourages a full understanding and appreciation of all elements of society. Teaching about other religions is never as powerful as meeting and mixing with those whose beliefs and culture differ. Such debates still occur in Northern Ireland regarding the establishment of mixed schools for Protestant and Catholic children. In the USA, all state schools are multi-racial and a-religious. All religious day schools throughout America are private and independent of state funding.

Within the UK, the church schools pre-dated the 1870 Education Act and were thus the forerunner of the state day schools. This set the pattern which, in the 1944 Education Act, was extended to a tripartite system which eventually led to the establishment of Voluntary Aided denominational day schools which exist to this day. The arguments and debates of their advantages and disadvantages are certain to continue.

It appears, however, from the data obtained, that whether or not parents had received a Jewish day school education, they were anxious to ensure that their children did receive one.

Discussion and conclusions from the data relating to the reasons given by parents for the choice of a Jewish day school.

The decision made by parents to send their children to a Jewish day school was clearly connected with a number of other related issues which reflected the parents' philosophy and attitude to Judaism. All the parents expressed a personal love and pride for Judaism and the hope that their children would develop the same feeling.

The one main factor that was included in almost every interview, was the desire of parents to ensure that their children became aware of their 'Jewish identity'. This is the one common factor that was considered to be important by all families, regardless of their own level of Jewish observance. As stated above, the choice of a Jewish day school may well be a starting point for many less religious families on the road to greater observance and therefore the desire for their children to imbibe a sense and feeling of their Jewish identity is a key and core concept.

All the parents, regardless of whether or not they themselves had been educated at a Jewish day school, wanted the school to provide a sound Jewish education which would instil the foundation for developing a strong and positive Jewish identity. This, it was hoped, would act as a buffer towards avoiding the chances of intermarriage at a later stage in their lives.

A Jewish day school was viewed by some as a substitute for the parents and was frequently seen as being able to offer what they could not offer, due to a lack of their own adequate Jewish knowledge. Jewish primary schools were seen by parents to provide not only a warm and happy environment for the children but would also offer a very special

atmosphere as a Jewish primary school. There was the added comfort for parents knowing that all the parents, regardless of their level of observance, had the same religion and culture. Some parents admitted being influenced in their choice of school by their own friends who had chosen that school .

Parents were aware that the way to provide a good Jewish education for their children was through a combination of sound Jewish education in a warm and happy atmosphere. These parents commented on the appeal and importance of the warm and caring atmosphere that they found in the Jewish schools.

In summary, two principal reasons for choosing a Jewish day school were given by seventeen parents:

- Ten had not attended a Jewish school and felt that they had ‘missed out’.
- Seven had experienced the benefits of a Jewish day school wanted their own children to have the same advantages.

Another view of parents who had not attended a Jewish school themselves was the wish for their children to avoid the feeling of being in the minority at a non-Jewish or multicultural school.

A common benefit expressed by many parents was the advantage of the natural fusion of Jewish education into the school curriculum. This enabled them to avoid the need of sending the children to a part-time cheder on Sundays or after school hours on weekdays.

The advantages were three-fold. Firstly, it enabled the children to receive the benefit of a good secular and Jewish education without the additional burden of having to arrange for Jewish education out of the normal school

hours. By so doing, it also showed the children the natural fusion between religion and daily living. Secondly, it was less problematic for parents who would not have to make any special arrangements with a non-Jewish school in respect of days off for Jewish festivals for example. Thirdly, it was seen as a form of protection and insurance against the dangers of assimilation which could lead to possible intermarriage.

The communal aspect was also stressed by families who saw the Jewish school as a catalyst and focal point for increased parental and family contact with other Jewish families in the community. This was especially true of those in Brook primary school where the majority of families lived in close proximity to the school. The influence of friends of the parents of some families appeared to be a major factor in deciding on a choice of school for their own children. In the words of a parent from Brook primary school, 'there was no other choice really'.

To sum up, I found that there were four main reasons given by parents for choosing a Jewish primary school for their children:

1. The importance of maintaining a Jewish identity. This had a twofold purpose. Firstly, in a positive sense, to develop a love and pride of being Jewish, and secondly, to act as a buffer against intermarriage.
2. To provide a sound Jewish education, either as a substitute for the parents' inadequate Jewish knowledge or to reflect the earlier Jewish education of the parents.
3. To provide the benefit of a combination of secular and Jewish religious education within the normal school day with no additional burden of arranging for Jewish education out of the normal school hours.

4. To provide the Jewish family atmosphere of a warm and happy environment. There was also a sense of comfort for parents knowing that all the families, regardless of their level of observance, had the same religion and culture. To this was added the communal benefits with the school acting as a catalyst and focal point for increased parental and family contact with other Jewish families in the community.

In respect of point 3 above, it is important to note that even relatively non-observant parents said that they would have sent their children to a Sunday morning 'Cheder' in order to ensure that they had a basis of Jewish knowledge. This supports the frequent statements of parents that they wanted their children to develop a strong sense of 'Jewish identity'.

The questionnaire responses of the parents also indicated the level of perceived changes in their religious observance during the time that their children were pupils at Jewish primary schools. The following chapter will examine this issue in detail.

Chapter 8

Analysis and significance of the data relating to changes in the levels of religious observance and practice of the parents in specific areas.

The figures in the first part of this section focus on the questionnaire data and show the increase in the levels of observance of families from each of the three schools in each category plus the average increase in the levels of observance of the families of the three combined schools. A 5- point Likert Scale was used in assessing the responses to questions 4 and 5 (see Appendix C) which deal with the comparison of levels of Jewish observance both before and after having children attend a Jewish primary school.

In analysing the data below, I have reduced the five grades on the Likert Scale to three for the following reason. Since each respondent's understanding of personal levels of observance are likely to be mainly subjective, there is certain to be a 'grey area' of specificity relating to whether one can be classed as either 'Very Observant' or 'Reasonably Observant', or conversely 'Generally Non-Observant' or 'Totally Non-Observant'. Therefore in the initial analysis of all questions of this nature, I have joined together the first two levels under the general heading of 'Observant' and the last two levels under the general heading of 'Non Observant'. These together with a third category of 'Varied' will be sufficient to indicate a clear and general trend in a specific direction.

There are, in addition, a number of areas where prior observance is related to a husband and a wife individually but the current observance relates to the whole family, for example reciting kiddush on a Friday night. In order to make a comparison possible, I have, where appropriate, taken the average of the combined percentages of prior observance of the husband and wife.

Equally in the context of all questions of this nature, I have joined together the first two levels under the general heading of ‘**Observant**’ and the last two levels under the general heading of ‘**Non Observant**’. These together with a third category of ‘**Varied**’ will be sufficient to indicate a clear trend in a specific direction.

Where applicable, the average percentage figures of **prior observance of husband and wife combined** have been calculated from the **actual number of returns** in the appropriate section. **These actual numbers are in bold italic print to differentiate them from percentage changes** (plus or minus). Each section of percentage change includes a chart which will clarify the main changes in respect of each of the schools.

It will be seen from Tables 6 to 12 on the following pages, that the changes in the levels of observance have been marked either plus (+) or minus (-). These figures indicate the percentage of change from one group to another. It is clear from this data that there has been an increase in all the eleven specific areas examined. At the same time, there has been a marked reduction in the number of families whose level of religious observance was initially either ‘varied’ or ‘non-observant’.

Questions 4 and 5, addressed in the following pages, refer to the comparison of parents’ prior and current religious observance in eleven specified areas, at a rating level from 5 to 1.

5 = Very observant

4 = Reasonably observant

3 = Varied

2 = Generally non-observant

1 = Totally non-observant.

Note: The total number of actual responses for each school is as follows: Rubin: 122 Norton: 26 Brook: 86

A brief introduction to Tables 16 to 29 (see pp.168-193 below).

The eleven specific areas of religious observance below, were selected for two main reasons. Firstly as I explained on pages 87-88 above, it may be possible to show relevant links with similar learning activities of the children at their schools. Secondly, they are representative of the most commonly practised Jewish religious observances. Explanatory comments follow each of the sections detailed in the Tables and illustrated in the Charts. Each area is also examined in far greater depth during the interviews with parents. (see Chapters 8 to 12 below). Two questions form the basis of this data:

Q4. What is the level of your religious observance today in each of the areas listed below ?

Q5. When you were adult but before you were married, what was your level of religious observance in each of the areas listed below ?

The eleven specified areas are:

Table Chart

16	19	Observance of dietary laws at home
17	20	Observance of dietary laws away from home.
18	21	Lighting Shabbat candles on Friday night.
19	22	Shabbat Kiddush recited at home.
20	23	Synagogue attendance on Shabbat.
21	24	Havdalah ceremony observed at home.
22	25	During Passover: eating only kosher for Pesach food.
23	26	Participating in a full Passover seder.
24	27	Attending synagogue on Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.
25	28	Lighting a menorah at Chanukah.
26	29	Having a Sukkah at home on Tabernacles.

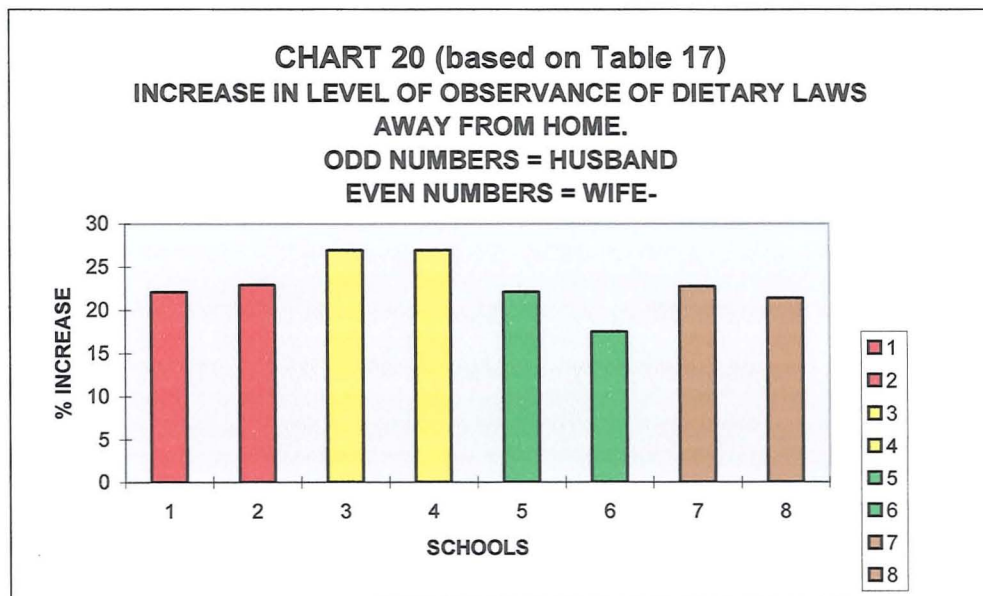
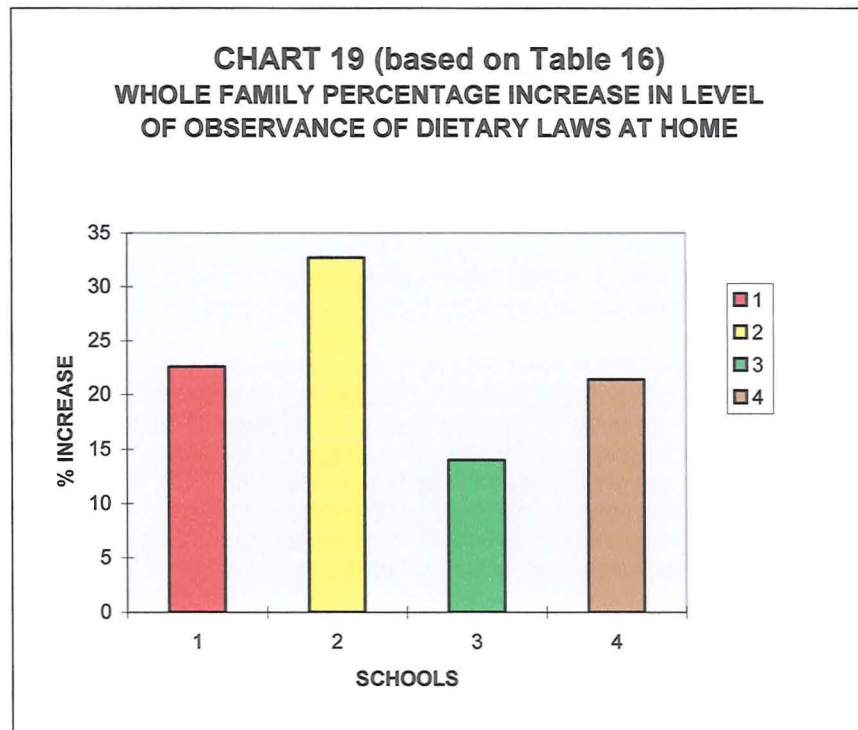
TABLE 16**Q4 & Q5 [a]****Observance of Dietary Laws at home.**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	<i>76</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>23</i>
	Wife	<i>80</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>20</i>
Prior R	Average	64.3%	17.6%	17.6%
Current R	Family	86.9%	8.2%	1.6%
	Change	+ 22.6%	- 9.4%	-16.0%
Prior N	Husband	<i>12</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9</i>
	Wife	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
Prior N	Average	44.2%	23.0%	30.8%
Current N	Family	76.9%	15.3%	3.8%
	Change	+ 32.7%	- 7.7%	- 27.0%
Prior B	Husband	<i>54</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>12</i>
	Wife	<i>52</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>
Prior B	Average	61.6%	23.8%	16.9%
Current B	Family	75.6%	15.1%	8.1%
	Change	+14.0%	- 8.7%	- 8.8%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	<i>142</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>44</i>
	Wife	<i>144</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>44</i>
	Average	60.8%	20.4%	18.7%
Current	Family	82.4%	11.5%	4.2%
	Change	+ 21.6%	- 8.9%	- 14.5%

TABLE 17**Q4 & Q5 [b]****Observance of Dietary Laws away from home.**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	36.0%(44)	31.9%(39)	31.9%(39)
Current R	Husband	58.1%(71)	25.4%(31)	14.7%(18)
	Change	+ 22.1%	- 6.5%	- 17.2%
Prior R	Wife	45.9%(56)	25.4%(31)	28.7%(35)
Current R	Wife	68.8%(84)	18.0%(22)	13.1%(16)
	Change	+ 22.9%	- 7.4%	- 15.6%
Prior N	Husband	30.7%(8)	23.0%(6)	46.1%(12)
Current N	Husband	57.6%(15)	26.9%(7)	15.3%(4)
	Change	+ 26.9%	+ 3.9%	- 30.8%
Prior N	Wife	26.9%(7)	34.6%(9)	38.4%(10)
Current N	Wife	53.8%(14)	34.6%(9)	11.5%(3)
	Change	+ 26.9%	- 0.0%	- 26.9%
Prior B	Husband	30.2%(26)	37.2%(32)	32.5%(28)
Current B	Husband	52.3%(45)	22.1%(19)	25.6%(22)
	Change	+ 22.1%	- 15.1%	- 6.9%
Prior B	Wife	32.5%(28)	30.2%(26)	37.2%(32)
Current B	Wife	50.0%(43)	25.6%(22)	24.4%(21)
	Change	+ 17.5%	- 4.6%	- 12.8%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	33.3%	29.0%	33.7%
Current	Husband	55.9%	25.6%	18.7%
	Change	+ 22.6%	- 3.4%	- 15.0%
Prior	Wife	38.8%	27.7%	32.8%
Current	Wife	60.2%	21.7%	17.5%
	Change	+ 21.4%	- 6.0%	- 15.3%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:
 Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook
 Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



The largest overall increase in observance in any category was 32.7% attributed to the parents of the Norton school relating to the observance of the dietary laws at home. There is a sizeable increase of 22.6% at Rubin and a smaller increase of 14% at Brook and an overall average increase of 21.6%

For the observance of the dietary laws outside of the home, there is a similar **average overall increase** of 22.6% for men and 21.4% for women. This is particularly interesting and relevant in respect of men. One would perhaps have expected a lower level of religious observance from the majority of men, since it is suggested that they are likely to be more lax in this respect due to the pressure of business and work commitments. The same could of course apply to working women, although it is likely that the majority of women who responded to the questionnaire had young children and were less likely to have the same degree of external work commitments as their husbands.

There appear to be many factors which contribute to this increase in the observance of the dietary laws and all are examined in greater depth in the interviews. The figures above indicate quite clearly that an increase of observance has taken place and later information through the interviews will highlight the role that the children and the school have played in this respect.

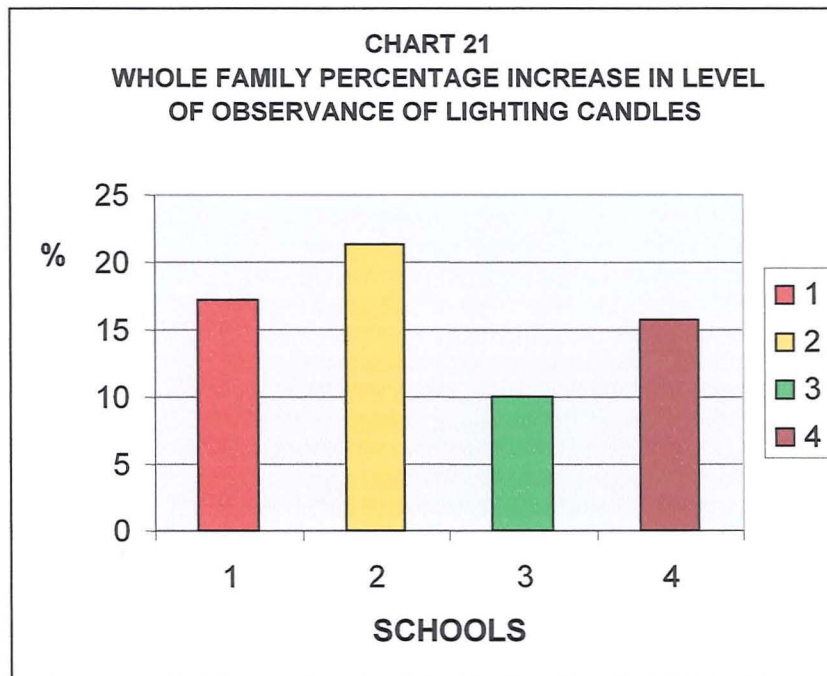
TABLE 18**Q4 & Q5 [c] Lighting Shabbat candles on Friday night.**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	71.3%(87)	9.0%(11)	19.7%(24)
	Wife	81.1%(99)	5.7%(7)	13.1%(16)
	Average	76.2%	7.3%	16.4%
Current R	Family	93.4%(114)	4.9%(6)	1.6%(2)
	Change	+ 17.2%	- 2.4%	- 14.8%
Prior N	Husband	65.3%(17)	26.9%(7)	7.6%(2)
	Wife	69%(18)	7.6%(2)	23.0%(6)
Current N	Average	67.1%	17.2%	15.3%
	Family	88.4%(23)	4.9%(1)	7.6%(2)
	Change	+ 21.3%	- 12.3%	- 7.7%
Prior B	Husband	59%(51)	17.4%(15)	23.2%(20)
	Wife	66.2%(57)	10.5%(9)	23.2%(20)
Current B	Average	69.0%	13.9%	23.2%
	Family	79.0%(68)	9.3%(8)	11.6%(10)
	Change	+ 10.0%	- 4.6%	- 11.6%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	66.2%(155)	14.1%(33)	19.6%(46)
	Wife	74.3%(174)	7.6%(18)	17.9%(42)
Current	Average	72.2%	7.0%	18.8%
	Family	88.0%(206)	6.0%(14)	6.0%(14)
	Change	+ 15.8%	- 1.0%	- 12.8%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:

Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook

Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



The percentage change at Rubin (16.2%) and Brook (10.0%) is in contrast to a far higher percentage change at Norton (25.0%). The relatively lower figures, when compared to other areas of increased observance, may well be caused by the in-built tradition and custom of lighting Shabbat candles found even amongst less religious families.

TABLE 19**Q4 & Q5 [d]****Friday Night Shabbat Kiddush recited at Home.**

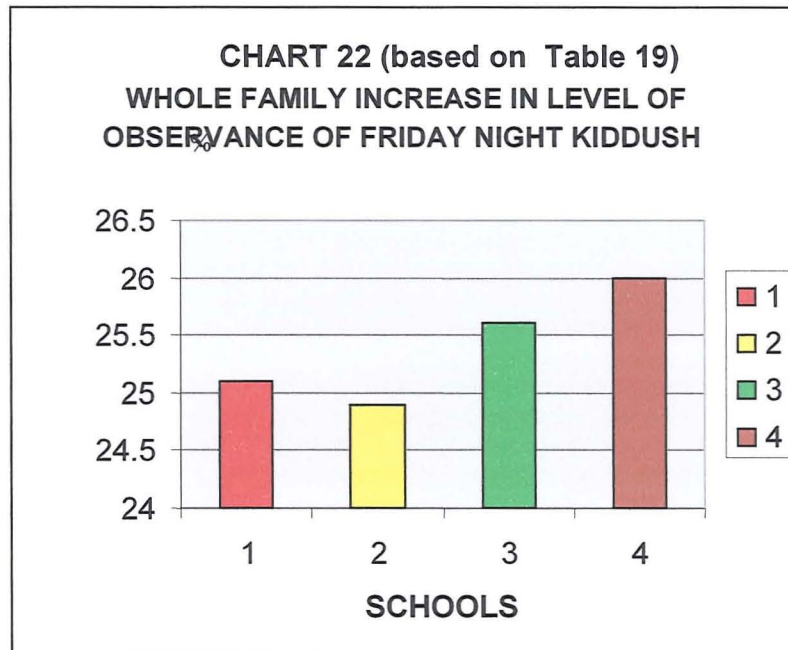
		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	61.4%(75)	13.1%(16)	25.4%(31)
	Wife	65.5%(80)	6.5%(8)	27.8%(34)
	Average	63.4%	9.8%	26.6%
Current R	Family Change	88.5%(108) + 25.1%	9.0%(11) - 0.8%	2.4%(3) - 24.2%
Prior N	Husband	65.4%(17)	11.5%(3)	23.0%(6)
	Wife	61.5%(16)	11.5%(3)	26.9%(7)
	Average	63.5%	9.6%	25.0%
Current N	Family Change	88.4%(23) + 24.9%	3.8%(1) - 5.8%	7.6%(2) - 17.4%
Prior B	Husband	50.0%(43)	20.9%(18)	29.0%(25)
	Wife	43.0%(37)	12.8%(11)	44.1%(38)
	Average	46.5%	16.8%	36.5%
Current B	Family Change	72.1%(62) + 25.6%	9.3%(8) - 7.5%	18.6%(16) - 17.9%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	57.7%(135)	15.8%(37)	26.5%(62)
	Wife	56.8%(133)	9.4%(22)	33.7%(79)
	Average	57.3%	10.2%	30.1%
Current	Family Change	83.3%(195) + 26.0%	7.7%(18) - 2.5%	9.0%(21) - 21.1%

Friday Night Shabbat Kiddush recited at home.

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:

Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook

Brown = Average of all 3 schools.

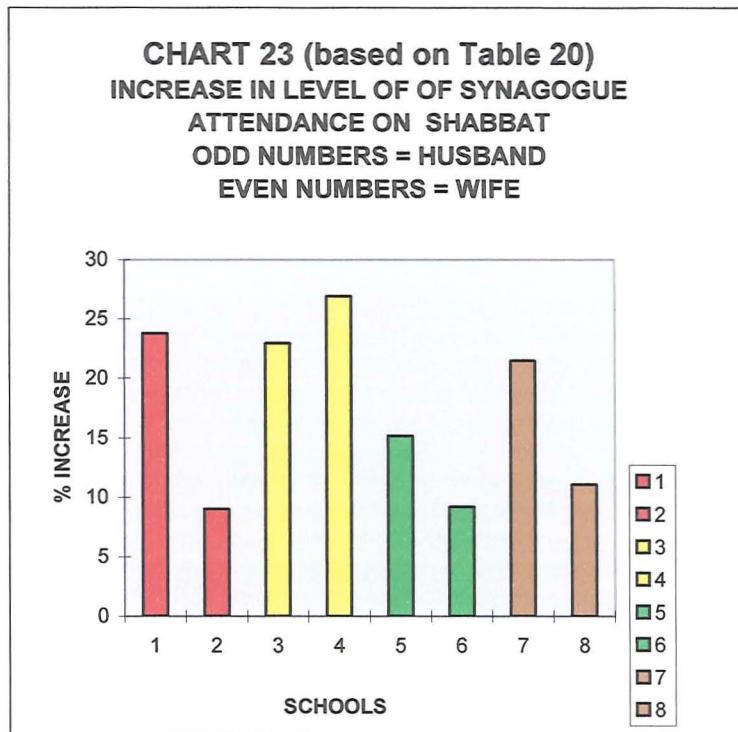


The percentage increase in observance for reciting Kiddush at home on Friday night (approximately 25%) is similar for all three schools. It should be noted that before marriage, an average of 62.2% (men) and 74.3% (women) regularly lit Shabbat candles at home on a Friday night. A smaller average percentage of 57.7% (men) and 56.8% (women) had Friday night Kiddush recited at home. This can be compared and contrasted with the far higher **current** average percentage of the families who claim that they are observant in both the above areas of observance. Lighting Shabbat candles: 88.0% Reciting Friday night Kiddush: 83.3% Both represent a relatively high percentage of current observance.

TABLE 20**Q4 & Q5 [e]****Synagogue attendance on Shabbat**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	34.4%(42)	26.2%(32)	39.3%(48)
Current R	Husband	58.2%(71)	17.2%(21)	24.6%(30)
	Change	+ 23.8%	- 9.0%	- 14.7%
Prior R	Wife	31.1%(38)	27.9%(34)	41.0%(50)
Current R	Wife	40.2%(49)	32.0%(39)	27.9%(34)
	Change	+ 9.1%	+ 4.1%	- 13.1%
Prior N	Husband	42.3%(11)	15.4%(4)	42.3%(11)
Current N	Husband	65.3%(17)	3.8%(1)	30.7%(8)
	Change	+ 23.0%	- 11.6%	- 11.6%
Prior N	Wife	23.0%(6)	30.7%(8)	46.1%(12)
Current N	Wife	50.0%(13)	15.4%(4)	34.6%(9)
	Change	+ 27.0%	- 15.3%	- 11.5%
Prior B	Husband	24.4%(21)	32.5%(28)	43.0%(37)
Current B	Husband	39.5%(34)	31.4%(27)	29.0%(25)
	Change	+ 15.1%	1.1%	- 14.0%
Prior B	Wife	21.0%(18)	19.8%(17)	59.3%(51)
Current B	Wife	30.2%(26)	32.5%(28)	37.2%(32)
	Change	+ 9.2%	+ 12.7%	- 22.1%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	31.6%(74)	27.3%(64)	41.0%(96)
Current	Husband	52.1%(122)	20.9%(49)	27.0%(63)
	Change	+ 20.5%	- 6.4%	- 14.0%
Prior	Wife	26.5%(62)	24.8%(59)	48.3%(113)
Current	Wife	37.6%(88)	29.9%(71)	32.5%(75)
	Change	+ 11.1%	+ 5.1%	- 15.8%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:
 Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook
 Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



Summary of the levels of increase in synagogue attendance on Shabbat.

R	Husband	23.8%	Wife	9.1%
N	Husband	23.0%	Wife	26.9%
B	Husband	15.1%	Wife	9.2%
AV	Husband	20.5%	Wife	11.1%

There is a similar increase of observance amongst the men at both Rubin (23.8%) and Norton (23.0%) with a far lower percentage increase amongst the men at Brook (15.2%)

Amongst the women however, there is a far greater comparative difference: Rubin (9.0%) , Norton 26.9% , Brook (9.2%)

There could be two possible reasons for the lower percentage increase among the women. Firstly it is certain that observant families will not use a pram or buggy for younger children on Shabbat and would thus need to

remain at home with these children. It is however 'obligatory' for men to attend the services. A second possible reason may well be the opportunity taken by women with slightly older children to send them to the synagogue with their father on a Shabbat and thus allow the women to rest quietly at home. My own personal experience shows that on average and for whatever reason, in most synagogues the male attendance is generally greater than female.

However, in a recent conversation with the Rabbi of a Sephardi community, I was informed that a large percentage of Sephardi families who wish to attend the synagogue are prepared to drive to the synagogue on the Sabbath or use a pram to take younger children, neither of which are permitted in an orthodox community.

However, whichever method of arriving at the synagogue is used, the data clearly points to an increase of attendance. The great majority of in-depth interviews with families in Chapter 9 (see pages 206-221 below) will indicate that the main reason for any such increase in synagogue attendance is due to the influence of their children who learn at school about Jewish life and the importance of the synagogue and want to attend and participate in children's services. The interviews will show (see for example page 213 below) that many parents who initially decide to attend synagogue purely for the sake of their children, continue attending for their own needs.

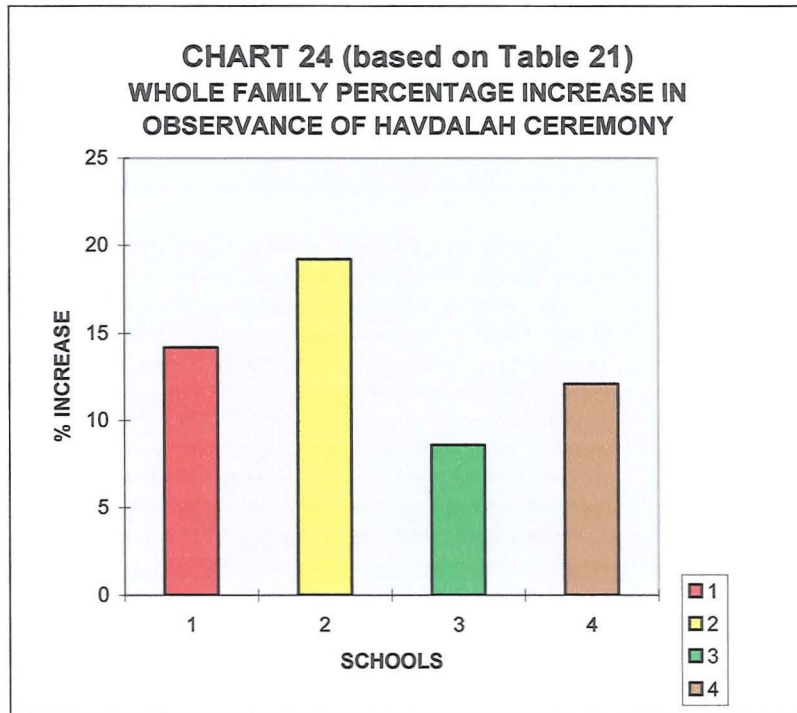
TABLE 21**Q4 & Q5 [f]****Havdalah Ceremony observed at Home**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	19.7%(24)	0.8%(1)	79.5%(97)
	Wife	13.9%(17)	8.2%(10)	77.9%(95)
	Average	16.8%	4.5%	78.7%
Current R	Family Change	31.1%(38) + 14.3%	15.5%(19) + 11.0%	53.2%(65) - 25.5%
Prior N	Husband	26.9%(7)	3.8%(1)	69.2%(18)
	Wife	19.2%(5)	3.8%(1)	76.9%(20)
	Average	23.1	3.8	71.1
Current N	Family Change	42.3%(11) + 19.2%	7.7%(2) + 3.9%	50.0%(13) - 21.1%
Prior B	Husband	11.6%(10)	6.9%(6)	81.3%(70)
	Wife	3.4%(3)	11.6%(10)	84.8%(73)
	Average	7.5%	9.2%	83.0%
Current B	Family Change	16.2%(14) + 8.7%	8.1%(7) - 1.1%	75.5%(65) - 7.5%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	17.5%(41)	3.4%(8)	78.7%(185)
	Wife	10.6%(25)	8.9%(21)	80.3%(188)
	Average	14.1%	6.1%	79.5%
Current	Family Change	26.2%(38) + 12.1%	11.9%(53) + 5.9%	61.0%(143) - 16.6%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:

Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook

Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



Havdalah Ceremony Observed at Home- Whole family

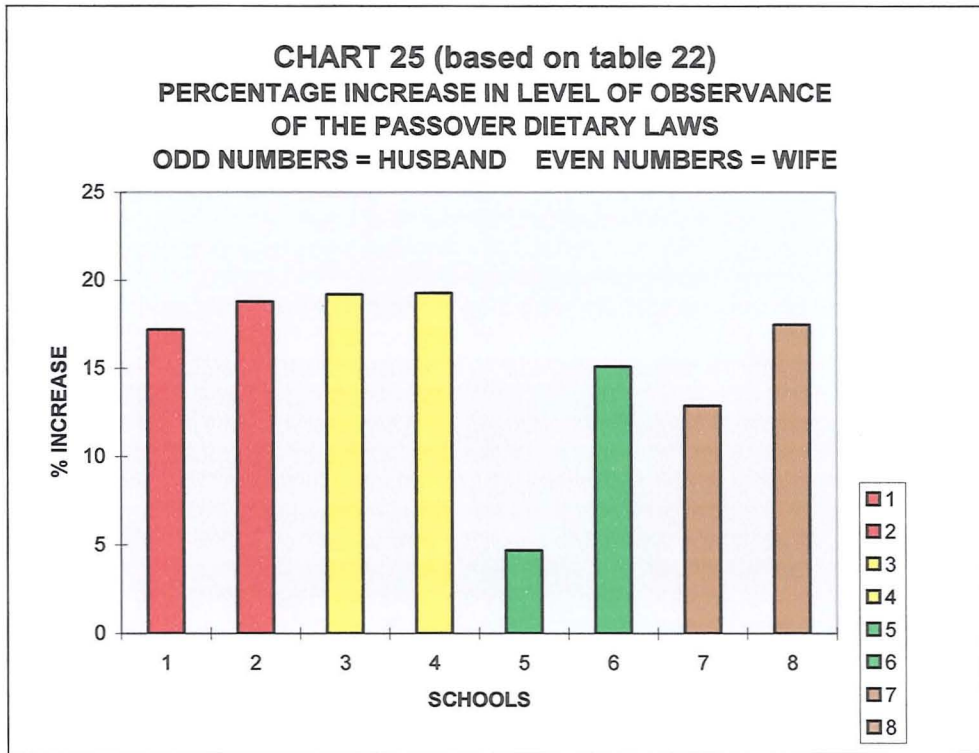
R = 14.2% N = 19.2% B = 8.6% AV = 12.1%

The general increase of observance of the Havdalah ceremony at home appears to be relatively small. The data indicate that this ceremony may well be of minor importance amongst the majority of families in all three schools.

TABLE 22**Q4 & Q5 [g] Eating only kosher for Pesach food during Passover.**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	74.6%(91)	15.5%(19)	9.8%(12)
Current R	Husband	91.8%(112)	4.9%(6)	3.3%(4)
	Change	+ 17.2%	- 10.6%	- 6.5%
Prior R	Wife	78.7%(96)	9.8%(12)	11.5%(14)
Current R	Wife	97.5%(119)	0.8%(1)	1.6%(2)
	Change	+ 18.8%	- 9.0%	- 9.9%
Prior N	Husband	57.6%(15)	19.2%(5)	23.0%(6)
Current N	Husband	76.9%(20)	19.2%(5)	3.8%(1)
	Change	+ 19.3%	00.0%	- 19.2%
Prior N	Wife	53.8%(14)	26.9%(7)	19.2%(5)
Current N	Wife	73.1%(19)	23.0%(6)	3.8%(1)
	Change	+ 19.3%	- 3.9%	- 15.4%
Prior B	Husband	66.2%(57)	22.1%(19)	11.6%(10)
Current B	Husband	70.9%(61)	19.7%(17)	9.3%(8)
	Change	+ 4.7%	- 2.4%	- 2.3%
Prior B	Wife	64.0%(55)	17.4%(15)	18.6%(16)
Current B	Wife	79.1%(68)	11.6%(10)	9.3%(8)
	Change	+ 15.1%	- 5.8%	- 9.3%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	55.1%(129)	32.9%(77)	11.9%(28)
Current	Husband	82.5%(193)	11.9%(28)	5.5%(13)
	Change	+ 12.9%	- 6.4%	- 6.4%
Prior	Wife	70.5%(165)	14.5%(34)	14.9%(35)
Current	Wife	88.0%(206)	7.2%(17)	4.7%(11)
	Change	+ 17.5%	- 7.3%	- 10.2%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:
 Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook
 Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



Summary of percentage increase in levels of observance during Passover:
 eating only permitted food for Passover.

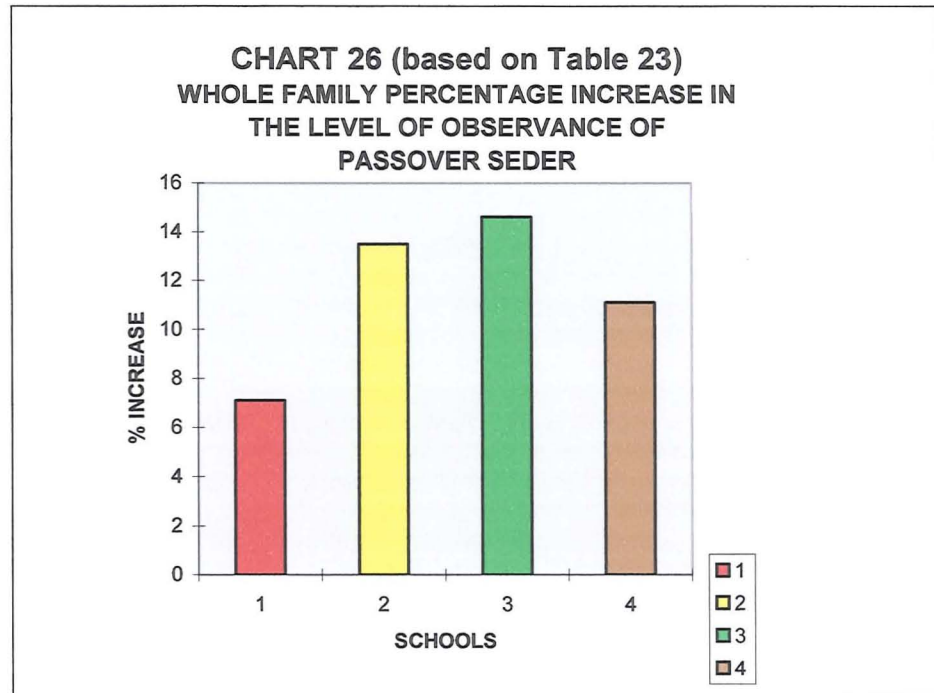
R	Husband	17.2%	Wife	18.8%
N	Husband	19.2%	Wife	19.3%
B	Husband	4.7%	Wife	15.1%
AV	Husband	12.9%	Wife	17.5%

General comments relating to the observance of Passover are given on
 pages 184-185 below, following the next section.

TABLE 23**Q4 & Q5 [h]****Participating in a full Passover Seder**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	88.5%(108)	4.9%(6)	6.5%(8)
	Wife	91%(111)	3.3%(4)	5.7%(7)
	Average	89.7%	4.1%	6.1%
Current R	Family Change	97.5%(119) + 7.8%	0.8%(1) - 3.3%	1.6%(2) - 4.5%
Prior N	Husband	92.3%(24)	3.8%(1)	3.8%(1)
	Wife	80.7%(21)	7.7%(2)	11.5%(3)
	Average	86.5%	5.7%	7.6%
Current N	Family Change	100.0%(26) + 13.5%	0.0%(0) - 5.7%	0.0%(0) - 7.6%
Prior B	Husband	79.0%(68)	15.1%(13)	5.8%(5)
	Wife	79.0%(68)	9.3%(8)	11.6%(10)
	Average	79.0%	12.2%	8.7%
Current B	Family Change	94.1%(81) + 15.1%	4.6%(4) - 7.6%	1.1%(1) - 7.6%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	85.5%(200)	8.5%(20)	6.0%(14)
	Wife	85.5%(200)	6.0%(14)	8.5%(20)
	Average	85.5%	4.9%	7.3%
Current	Family Change	96.6%(226) + 11.1%	2.1%(5) 2.8%	1.3%(3) - 6.1%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:
 Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook
 Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



Summary of increase in level of observance of Seder service:
 Rubin – 7.8% Norton – 13.5% Brook – 15.1%

General Comments on data relating to the observance of Passover.

There are some interesting comparisons to be made here. There appears to be little change in the level of observance of families who participate in a full seder service: Rubin (7.1%) Norton (13.5%) Brook (14.6%). The reason for this may be due to the high percentage of families who claimed to have attended a full seder in previous years. Rubin (89.7%) Norton (86.5%) Brook (79.0%) .

Passover has now become a traditional occasion for families to get together on an annual basis regardless of the level of observance of each member of the family. Many families are likely to have used the traditional seder service printed in the Haggadah as the basis for the evening's celebrations, although the depth of religious content of each seder service is likely to differ. This may well be the reason why so many families stated that they had always attended a 'full seder service'.

There is certainly an increase in two of the schools amongst both men and women in respect of eating food during Passover that is strictly kosher for Passover.

Rubin Husband 17.2% Wife 18.8%

Norton Husband 19.2% Wife 19.3%

Brook Husband 4.7% Wife 15.1%

It is interesting to compare these figures with the higher percentages of increase with those who are now observing the general dietary laws away from home as shown above on pages 165-168.

Rubin Husband 22.1% Wife 22.9%

Norton Husband 26.9% Wife 26.9%

Brook Husband 22.1% Wife 17.5%

These contrasting figures demonstrate that although there is a clear increase in levels of observance of eating food during Passover that is strictly kosher for Passover, it is still below the increase in level of observance of the general dietary laws away from home. The difference between the two groups averages about 5%, with the notable exception of the husbands of Brook school. The data demonstrate a relative lack of strict observance of the dietary laws during Passover as compared to the rest of the year.

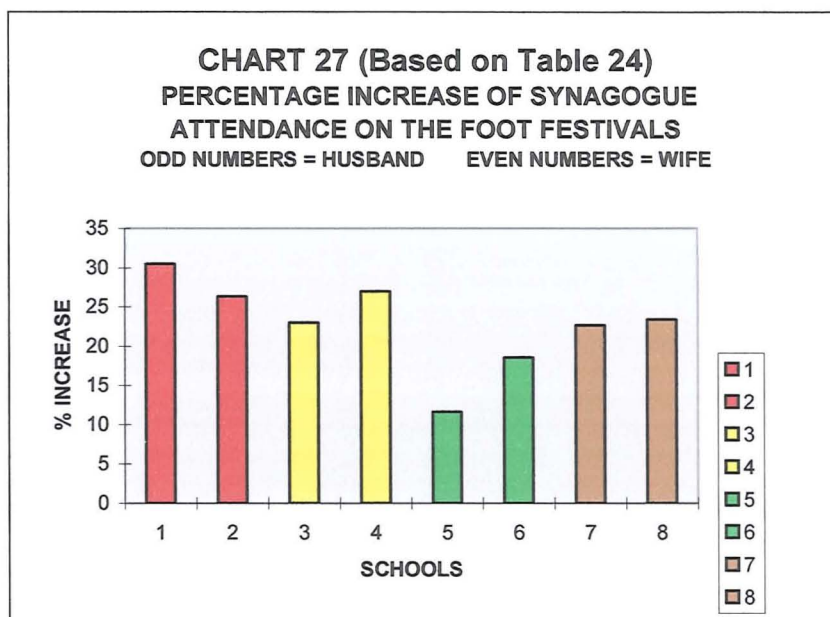
TABLE 24**Q4 & Q5 [i] Attending Synagogue on Pesach, Shavuot & Sukkot.**
(Foot Festivals of Passover, Pentecost & Tabernacles)

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	31.1%(38)	30.8%(37)	38.5%(47)
Current R	Husband	61.5%(75)	22.9%(28)	15.6%(19)
	Change	+ 30.4%	- 7.9%	- 22.9%
Prior R	Wife	36.0%(44)	26.2%(32)	37.7%(46)
Current R	Wife	62.3%(76)	23.7%(29)	13.9%(17)
	Change	+ 26.3%	- 2.5%	- 23.8%
Prior N	Husband	46.1%(12)	23.0%(6)	30.7%(8)
Current N	Husband	69.2%(18)	15.4%(4)	15.4%(4)
	Change	+ 23.1%	- 7.6%	- 15.3%
Prior N	Wife	34.6%(9)	19.2%(5)	46.1%(12)
Current N	Wife	61.5%(16)	15.4%(4)	23.0%(6)
	Change	+ 26.9%	- 3.8%	- 23.1%
Prior B	Husband	33.7%(29)	33.7%(29)	32.5%(28)
Current B	Husband	45.3%(39)	25.5%(22)	29.1%(25)
	Change	+ 11.6%	- 8.2%	- 3.4%
Prior B	Wife	29.1%(25)	23.2%(20)	47.7%(41)
Current B	Wife	47.7%(41)	25.5%(22)	26.7%(23)
	Change	+ 18.6%	+ 2.3%	- 21.0%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	33.7%(79)	30.7%(72)	35.4%(83)
Current	Husband	56.4%(132)	23.1%(54)	20.5%(48)
	Change	+ 22.7%	- 7.6%	- 14.9%
Prior	Wife	33.3%(78)	24.3%(57)	42.3(99)
Current	Wife	56.8%(133)	23.5%(55)	19.6%(46)
	Change	+ 23.5%	0.8%	- 22.7%

Families from each school are represented by the following colours:

Red = Rubin Yellow = Norton Green = Brook

Brown = Average of all 3 schools.



R	Husband	30.4%	Wife	26.3%
N	Husband	23.1%	Wife	26.9%
B	Husband	11.6%	Wife	18.6%
AV	Husband	22.7%	Wife	23.5%

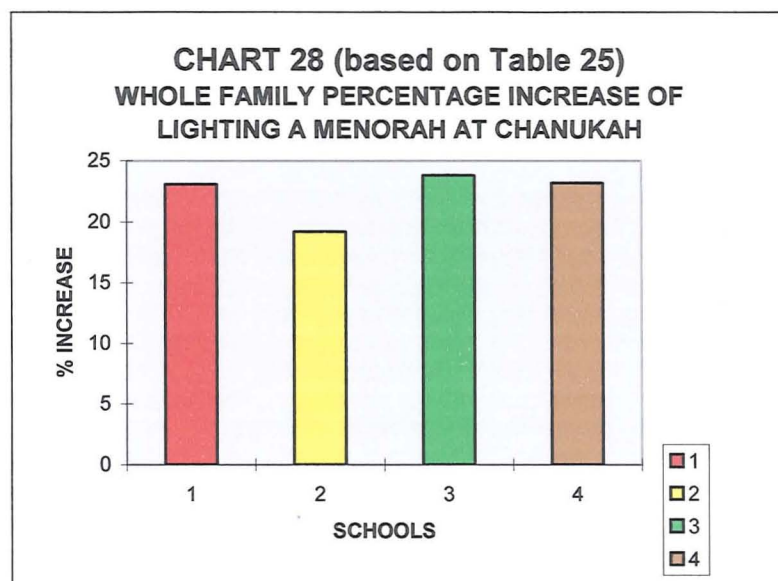
The increase of observance in this category is of particular significance since on many occasions it necessitates not going to work on weekdays. Observance of the New Year (Rosh Hashanah) and Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) was not included in the survey since, traditionally, the great majority of families will be likely to attend the synagogue on these occasions. It is an established and well known fact that, in what are termed 'central orthodox synagogues', attendance on the Three Pilgrim or Foot Festivals of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles is without doubt

considerably less than on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and any increase of observance on these days would certainly imply a greater religious commitment. Only the more observant will not go to work on Passover (Pesach), Pentecost (Shavuot) and Tabernacles (Sukkot). The increase in synagogue attendance on these days and which is confirmed by the interviews, (see pages 206-221 below) is a clear indication that more families are taking time off work in order to take their children to the synagogue on those occasions.

TABLE 25**Q4 & Q5 |j** **Lighting a Menorah at home on Chanukah**

		Observant	Varied	Non-Observant
Prior R	Husband	68.8%(84)	16.4%(20)	14.7%(18)
	Wife	78.7%(96)	9.8%(12)	11.5%(14)
	Average	73.7%	13.1%	13.1%
Current R	Family Change	97.5%(119) + 23.8%	1.6%(2) - 11.5%	0.9%(1) - 12.2%
Prior N	Husband	73.1%(19)	7.7%(2)	19.2%(5)
	Wife	65.4%(17)	7.7% (2)	26.9%(7)
	Average	69.2%	7.7%	23.0%
Current N	Family Change	88.4%(23) + 19.2%	7.7%(2) + 0.0%	3.8%(1) - 19.2%
Prior B	Husband	67.4%(58)	17.4%(15)	15.1%(13)
	Wife	77.9%(67)	3.5%(3)	18.6%(16)
	Average	72.6%	10.4%	16.8%
Current B	Family Change	96.5%(83) + 23.9%	2.3%(2) - 8.1%	1.2%(1) - 15.6%
Average of R+N+B				
Prior	Husband	68.8%(161)	15.8%(37)	15.4%(36)
	Wife	76.9%(180)	7.3%(17)	15.8%(37)
	Average	72.9%	11.5%	15.6%
Current	Family Change	96.1%(225) + 23.2%	2.6%(6) - 8.9%	1.6%(3) - 14.0%

Lighting a Menorah at Chanukah



Comments relating to lighting a Menorah at home during the Festival of Chanukah

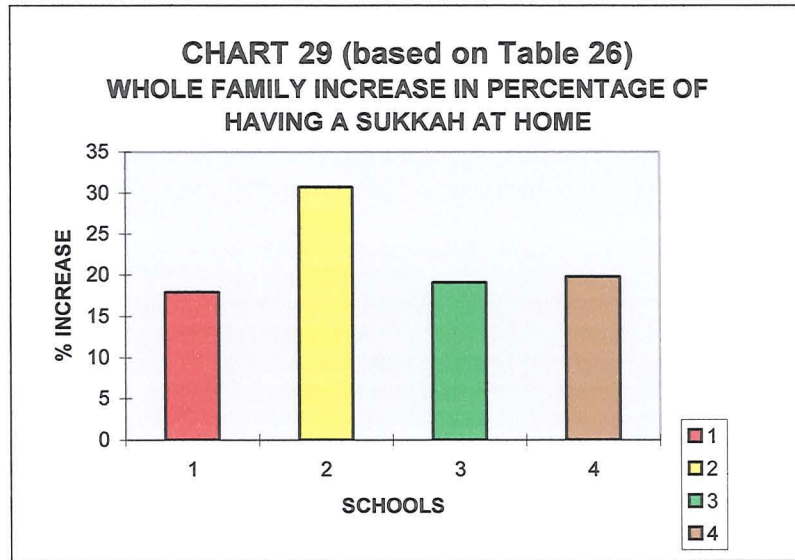
There is once again a significant increase of observance from parents in all three schools for both festival observances: Rubin 23.9% Norton 19.2% Brook 23.8%. Average percentage increase from all 3 schools: 23.2%

Additional data from the interviews (see pages:125,133, 208, 230, 242) will show that the increase of observance of lighting a Menorah at Chanukah is due mainly to the wish to involve the children in this ritual which they learn about at school and talk about at home. Many families during interviews admitted that if it were not for the children they would not have observed these occasions with the same zeal. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the relatively large percentage of families who had always lit a Menorah at Chanukah even if they did not consider themselves to be 'observant'. I feel that this has much to do with the wish of many parents to retain a sense of 'Jewish identity' in their lives. This ritual is relatively easy to observe as it requires no other commitment other than possessing a Menorah and lighting it at home when it gets dark.

TABLE 26**Q4 & Q5 [k] Having a Sukkah at home on Sukkot (Tabernacles)**

		Yes	No
Prior R	Husband	18.8%(23)	81.1%(99)
	Wife	18.8%(23)	81.1%(99)
	Average	18.8%	81.1%
Current R	Family	36.9%(45)	63.1%(77)
	Change	+ 18.1%	- 18.0%
Prior N	Husband	26.9%(7)	73.1%(19)
	Wife	19.2%(5)	80.7%(21)
	Average	23.1%	76.9%
Current N	Family	53.8%(14)	46.1%(12)
	Change	+ 30.7%	- 30.8%
Prior B	Husband	9.3%(8)	90.7%(78)
	Wife	5.8%(5)	94.1%(81)
	Average	7.6%	88.9%
Current B	Family	26.7%(23)	73.2%(63)
	Change	+ 19.1%	- 15.7%
Average of R+N+B			
Prior	Husband	16.2%(38)	83.8%(196)
	Wife	14.1%(33)	85.9%(201)
	Average	15.2%	84.7%
Current	Family	35.0%(82)	64.9%(152)
	Change	+ 19.8%	- 17.8%

Having a Sukkah at home on Tabernacles



A Summary of percentage increases for Having a Sukkah at home on Tabernacles

Rubin 18.1% Norton 30.7% Brook 19.1% Average 19.8%

The increase in observance here is of particular significance as it implies a strong commitment related to the need for considerable physical and, in some cases, financial involvement. The building of a sukkah at home can be a strenuous DIY effort or can be made relatively easy with the purchase of an easily erectable ready made sukkah. There is still a need for careful planning and preparation to enable it to be decorated, furnished and ready for use for meals. As with other Jewish rituals, many families during interviews (see pages 216 & 230) admitted that if it were not for the children they would not have even considered the possibility of building a sukkah at home.

Brief overall comments on all the data in Chapter 8.

This chapter has investigated, through the questionnaire data, whether there were any increases in the levels of religious observance before and after marriage in eleven specific areas:

- Observance of dietary laws at home
- Observance of dietary laws away from home.
- Lighting Shabbat candles on Friday night.
- Shabbat Kiddush recited at home.
- Synagogue attendance on Shabbat.
- Havdalah ceremony observed at home.
- During Passover: eating only kosher for Pesach food.
- Participating in a full Passover seder.
- Attending synagogue on Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.
- Lighting a menorah at Chanukah.
- Having a Sukkah at home on Tabernacles.

The data responses have indicated a clear increase in the level of religious observance in almost every one of the areas examined. Each category will be examined again in far greater detail during the course of the in-depth interviews with parents. Bearing in mind the relative dearth of similar focused studies related to changes in parental observance, as detailed in the Literature Survey, it is difficult to make many comparisons. However, there are notable comparisons to be found in the works of Nulman (1955), Ingall (1993), Drewinko (1999), Ravid (1993) Pinkenson (1987), and Rosenblatt (1999) whose research studies are detailed in Chapter 4 above.

The next chapter will examine the various causes and factors that may have influenced the above changes in their levels of religious observance and determine to what extent the children of the parents interviewed have been a predominant factor in these increases.

Chapter 9

Analysis and significance of the data relating to the influence of the children on the parents' level of religious observance.

There are two parts to this chapter relating firstly to the questionnaire data and then to the interview data.

Questionnaire Data:

Question 9 in the questionnaire related to parents whose level of observance had increased during the time that their children attended the primary school. They were asked to indicate whether they thought that any specific aspects of the school had influenced them towards this higher level of observance. For the sake of clarity I have printed the text of question 9 on the following page.

This is followed by the responses for question 9. The five areas of possible influence listed on the questionnaire were: Maximum, Partial, Possible, Minor, None. As with questions 4 and 5, I have combined the figures for 'Maximum and Partial' into one group and 'Minor and None' into another group. These figures will be used to demonstrate a trend and indication in a specific direction, which will be examined in greater depth during the interviews with parents later in this chapter. I have left the middle section for 'Possible Influence'. The actual number of responses for each section is in brackets in *bold italics* next to the percentage figures. The analysis and comments of the questionnaire data for this section follows on page 203 below.

Q.9: If any of your levels in question 4 were higher than those in question 5 it means that during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school there has been a increase in the level of religious observance of either husband or wife or both. If this is so, which of the areas listed below could have played a part ?

If there has been no increase in your level of religious observance during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school, leave this section blank and go on to question 10.

Give a rating from 5 to 1 and circle the appropriate number.

5 = maximum influence 4 = partial influence

3 = possible influence 2 = minor influence 1 = absolutely no influence

[a] Children's friendships	5	4	3	2	1
[b] Adult friendships made through the school	5	4	3	2	1
[c] Wishing to support ethos of school	5	4	3	2	1
[d] Children need help with Jewish Studies homework	5	4	3	2	1
[e] Children ask to go to Children's Services	5	4	3	2	1
[f] Witnessing school assemblies etc.	5	4	3	2	1
[g] Children's religious activity at home.	5	4	3	2	1
[h] Comments made by children at home.	5	4	3	2	1
[i] Greater awareness of Israel due to school.	5	4	3	2	1
[j] Children are learning to speak Ivrit	5	4	3	2	1
[k] Adult Education courses at school	5	4	3	2	1

TABLE 27

9[a] Influence of Children's Friendships with other children at the school.

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	21.3%(26)	13.1%(16)	23.7%(29)	41.8%(51)
N	7.7%(2)	7.7%(2)	38.5%(10)	46.1%(12)
B	22.1%(19)	5.8%(5)	29.0%(25)	43.0%(37)
AV	17.0%	8.9%	30.4%	43.6%

TABLE 28

9[b] Influence of Adult Friendships made through the school.

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	16.4% (20)	10.6%(13)	31.9% (39)	40.9% (50)
N	11.5% (3)	15.4% (4)	26.9% (7)	46.1%(12)
B	22.1%(19)	8.1%(7)	26.7%(23)	43.0%(37)
AV	16.6%	11.4%	28.5%	43.3%

TABLE 29

9[c] Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school.

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	36.0%(44)	12.3%(15)	9.8%(12)	41.8%(51)
N	23.1%(6)	15.4%(4)	19.2%(5)	42.3%(11)
B	22.1%(19)	10.5%(9)	24.4%(21)	43.0%(37)
AV	27.1%	12.7%	17.8%	42.4%

TABLE 30

9[d] Influence caused by helping children with Jewish Studies Homework.

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	18.8%(23)	10.6%(13)	29.5%(36)	41.0%(50)
N	19.2%(5)	15.4%(4)	19.2%(5)	46.1%(12)
B	22.1%(19)	10.5%(9)	24.4%(21)	43.0%(37)
AV	20.0%	12.1%	24.4%	43.4%

TABLE 31**9[e] Influence caused by children who want to go to the Synagogue.**

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	18.0%(22)	11.5%(14)	29.5%(36)	41.0%(50)
N	7.7%(2)	11.5%(3)	34.6%(9)	46.1%(12)
B	13.9%(12)	13.9%(12)	29.1%(25)	43.0%(37)
AV	13.2%	12.3%	31.1%	43.4%

TABLE 32**9[f] Influence caused through attending school assemblies etc.**

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	26.2%(32)	12.3%(15)	20.5%(25)	41.0% (50)
N	23.1%(6)	15.4%(4)	15.4%(4)	46.1%(12)
B	26.7%(23)	6.9%(6)	23.2%(20)	43.0%(37)
AV	25.3%	11.5%	19.7%	43.4%

TABLE 33**9[g] Influence caused through children's religious activity at home**

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	39.3%(48)	10.6%(13)	9.0%(11)	41%(50)
N	34.6%(9)	3.8%(1)	15.4%(4)	46.1%(12)
B	38.4%(33)	11.6%(10)	6.9%(6)	43.0%(37)
AV	37.4%	8.6%	10.4%	43.4%

TABLE 34**9[h] Influence caused through children's conversation at home**

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	36.0%(44)	11.5%(14)	12.3%(15)	40.2%(49)
N	19.2%(5)	19.2%(5)	15.4%(4)	46.1%(12)
B	36.0%(31)	11.6%(10)	17.4%(15)	34.9%(30)
AV	30.4%	14.1%	15.0%	40.4%

TABLE 35

9[i] Influence caused through greater awareness of Israel due to school

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	19.7%(24)	9.8%(12)	29.5%(36)	41.0%(50)
N	11.5%(3)	3.8%(1)	34.6%(9)	50.0%(13)
B	25.6%(22)	8.1%(7)	23.2%(20)	43.0%(37)
AV	18.9%	7.2%	29.1%	44.6%

TABLE 36

9[j] Influence caused through children learning to speak Ivrit

	Max/Part	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	22.1%(27)	9.0%(11)	27.8%(34)	41.0%(50)
N	19.2%(5)	3.8%(1)	30.7%(8)	46.1%(12)
B	19.7%(17)	9.3%(8)	27.9%(24)	43.2%(37)
AV	20.3%	7.4%	28.8%	43.4%

TABLE 37

9[k] Influence caused through Adult Education courses at school.

	Max/P art	Possible	Minor/None	No Comment
R	3.3%(4)	6.5%(8)	49.2%(60)	41.0%(50)
N	19.2%(5)	3.8%(1)	30.7%(8)	46.1%(12)
B	3.5%(3)	2.3%(2)	51.1%(44)	43.2%(37)
AV	8.6%	4.2%	43.6%	43.4%

Analysis of the questionnaire data.

The section below shows the full list for each school in percentage order of maximum plus partial influence. There is also a comparison between the three schools. This is followed on page 203 with my comments on these figures.

TABLE 38

Rubin Table of Maximum Influence.

%

39.3	[g]	Influence related to children's religious activity at home
36.0	[h]	Influence related to children's conversation at home
36.0	[c]	Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school.
26.2	[f]	Influence related to attending school assemblies etc.
22.1	[j]	Influence related to children learning to speak Ivrit
21.3	[a]	Influence of Children's Friendships with other children.
19.7	[i]	Influence related to awareness of Israel due to school
18.8	[d]	Influence related to helping children with homework.
18.0	[e]	Influence related to children who want to go to the synagogue.
16.4	[b]	Influence of Adult Friendships made through the school.
3.3	[k]	Influence related to Adult Education courses at school.

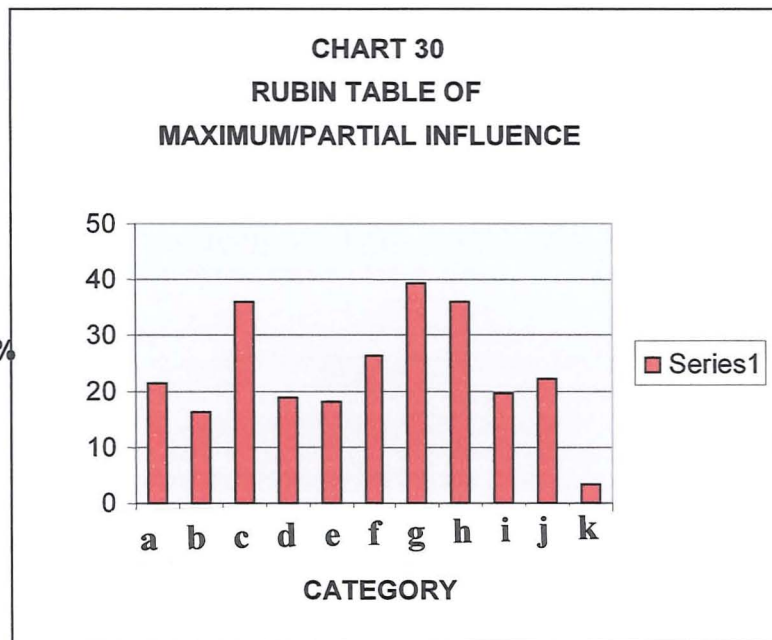


TABLE 39

Norton Table of Maximum Influence.

%

- 34.6 [g] Influence related to children's religious activity at home
- 23.1 [c] Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school.
- 23.1 [f] Influence related to attending school assemblies etc.
- 19.2 [h] Influence related to children's conversation at home
- 19.2 [j] Influence related to children learning to speak Ivrit
- 19.2 [k] Influence related to Adult Education courses at school.
- 19.2 [d] Influence related to helping children with Homework.
- 11.5 [i] Influence related to awareness of Israel due to school
- 11.5 [b] Influence of Adult Friendships made through the school.
- 7.7 [e] Influence related to children who want to go to the synagogue.
- 7.7 [a] Influence of Children's Friendships with other children.

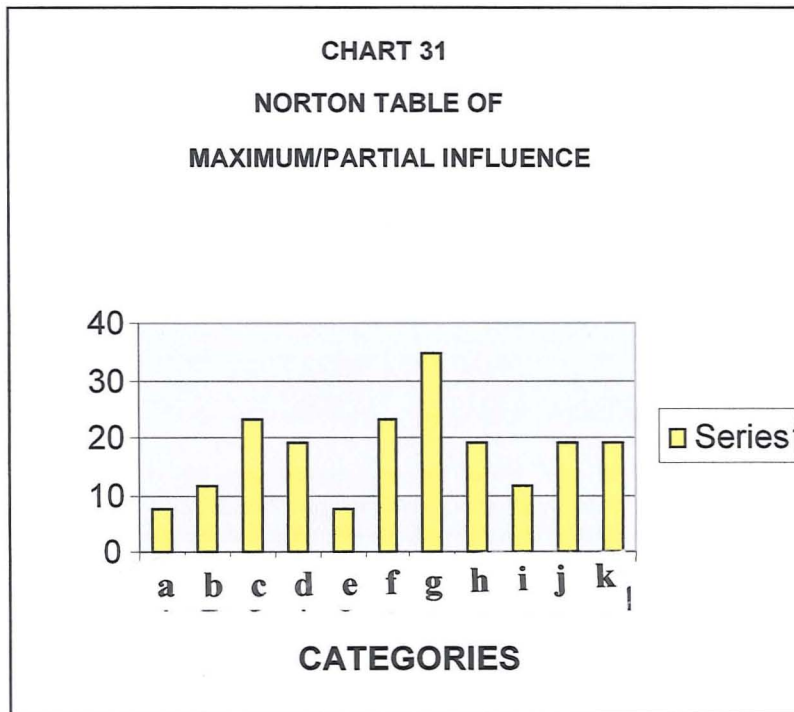


TABLE 40

Brook Table of Maximum Influence.

	%
38.4	[g] Influence related to children's religious activity at home
36.0	[h] Influence related to children's conversation at home
26.7	[f] Influence related to attending school assemblies etc.
22.1	[c] Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school.
25.6	[i] Influence related to awareness of Israel due to school
22.1	[a] Influence of Children's Friendships with other children.
19.7	[j] Influence related to children learning to speak Ivrit
22.1	[b] Influence of Adult Friendships made through the school.
22.1	[d] Influence caused by helping children with Homework.
13.9	[e] Influence caused by children who want to go to the Synagogue.
3.5	[k] Influence related to Adult Education courses at school.

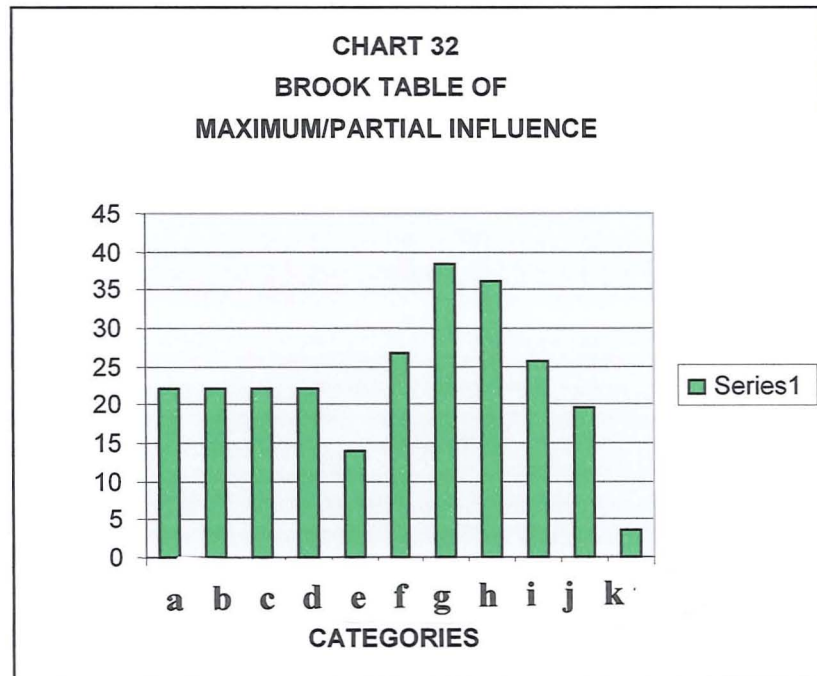
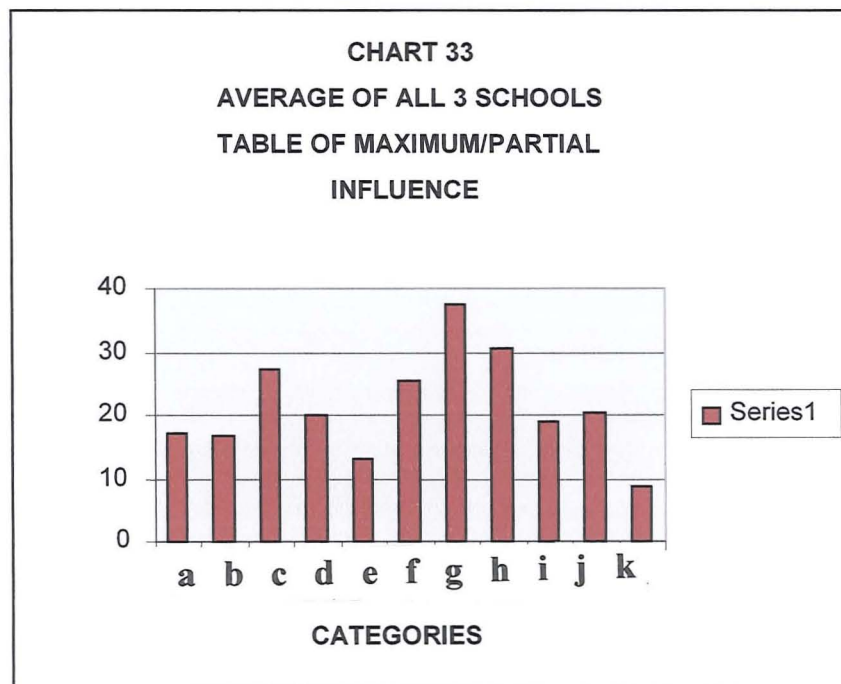


TABLE 41

Average of all 3 schools: Table of Maximum Influence.

	%
[g] Influence related to children's religious activity at home	37.4
[h] Influence related to children's conversation at home	30.4
[c] Influence due to a wish to support the ethos of the school.	27.1
[f] Influence related to attending school assemblies etc.	25.3
[j] Influence related to children learning to speak Ivrit	20.3
[d] Influence related to helping children with Homework.	20.0
[i] Influence related to awareness of Israel due to school	18.9
[a] Influence of Children's Friendships with other children.	17.0
[b] Influence of Adult Friendships made through the school.	16.6
[e] Influence related to children who want to go to the Synagogue	13.2
[k] Influence related to Adult Education courses at school.	8.6



Comments on the analysis and significance of the above areas of influence.

It is evident from the questionnaire data that for the majority of parents from all three schools the three main factors that have been of maximum influence on their religious attitudes and practice are the **children's religious activity at home, the conversation of their children at home and the wish of parents to support the ethos of the school.**

Children's Religious Activity at Home:

Rubin 39.3% Norton 34.6% Brook 37.4%

Children's Conversation at Home:

Rubin 36.0 % Norton 19.2% Brook 30.4 %

The wish to support the ethos of the school:

Rubin 36.0% Norton 23.1% Brook 27.1%

Attending synagogue services.

The questionnaire data indicated that a relatively lower percentage of parents were influenced by requests from their children to attend the synagogue: Rubin - 18.0% Norton - 7.7% Brook - 13.9%

However, evidence from the interviews will suggest that because the parents have been influenced by other factors within the school, they felt a greater need to identify with the community by attending the synagogue on Sabbath and Festivals. This will be explored in greater depth on pages 206 to 221 below.

Attending school assemblies and being able to witness at first hand a religious ceremony or presentation given by the children is an activity which has also been a major influence on many parents.

Rubin - 26.2% Norton - 23.1% Brook - 26.7%

Zionism is not necessarily seen as a religious issue. It is possible however, that it might act as a catalyst in encouraging a greater awareness of the fuller implications of being Jewish. It was with this in mind that two questions were included in the questionnaire relating to an awareness of Israel promoted by the school and also of the ability of their children to speak and understand Ivrit, Modern Spoken Hebrew.

Influence related to a **greater awareness of Israel** due to the school
Rubin - 19.7 % , Norton -11.5 % Brook - 25.6%.

Influence related to **children learning to speak Ivrit**
Rubin - 22.1% Norton - 19.2% Brook - 19.7%

The questionnaire data revealed that many parents felt that they were encouraged to become more involved in a Jewish way of life due to helping children with their **Jewish Studies homework**
Rubin -18.8% Norton.19.2% Brook - 22.1%

This factor is also explored in greater depth during the interviews when some parents realised their own deficiency in Jewish knowledge. Many of the interviews on the following pages (206-221) stress the related experiences of the parents in learning from their children.

My final comments on the questionnaire data produced in this chapter relate to areas which appear to have been of relatively minimal influence on the level of religious observance of the parents.

Adult education courses at school appear to have been of minimal influence to parents at Rubin: 3.3% and Brook: 3.5%. It is interesting to note however that 19.2% of Norton parents felt this to be a major influence on them. The reason for this difference may be due to other

factors, for example parents could be attending such courses run through the synagogue and not the school but might have been encouraged to do so because of the influence of the school on their awareness of Judaism.

An area explored during interviews concerns the influence on parents caused through **contact with other families** of the school. It is clear that only a small percentage of parents in all three schools felt that adult friendships made through the school were of maximum influence. Rubin 16.4% , Norton 11.5% , Brook 22.1%

Evidence from interviews will show that families whose level of religious observance has increased have nevertheless retained a close contact with their less religious friends. The percentage at Brook is far higher and is indicative of the fact that this is more of a community school than the other two.

Approximately one fifth of families at two schools have been influenced through **children's friendships** with other more religious friends from the school: Rubin: 21.3% and Brook: 22.1%. But there were only 7.7% of families at Norton who had been influenced in this manner. This may well be due once again to the fact that unlike the other two schools, the parents at Norton live over a very wide area and the children may thus not be able to socialise with other school friends to the same extent as those in other schools.

Chapter 9: Interview Data.

The interview data has been divided into three sections:

1. Parents who have been influenced by their children or by the school.
2. Parents who have not been influenced by their children or by the school.
3. Discussion and comments relating to four main factors that have influenced parental changes in their levels of observance.

Section 1: Parents who had been influenced by their children or by the school.

Interview data from the families below indicate that their children have influenced them in three main areas of religious observance: Dietary Laws, Sabbath Observance and Festival Observance. Another factor that led to the increased observance of the parents was their increased awareness of Jewish knowledge brought to them through their children and thus felt themselves caught up in the religious spin-off both from the school and their own children.

The wife of family B10 was quite sure that her children had been the prime influence of the increased religious observance of the family although she stressed that she and her husband consulted together in order to make family policy decisions on matters of religious observance.

'It's very important I think because at key times we decided on policy decisions as a family unit. When David for example was three it became clear that he had to wear tsitsit and so my husband said, well I ought to wear them too and if we have any further sons they will also have to wear them. So therefore that's a policy decision.' [B10]

The level of their Sabbath observance also increased at that time.

'Around the same time we took the view that we wanted a quiet Shabbos and therefore we stopped listening to radio and telly which was probably one of the most profoundest decisions because it just lifted outside influence from Shabbat.' [B10]

She added that her husband had wished to improve his knowledge of Judaism and had undertaken a course of Adult Jewish education. When asked how far she could be pushed by the children to do more things, she replied:

'In loads of things. because I started wearing mini skirts and then I felt uncomfortable....I was going through a stage a few years ago of wearing a more modest dress attire, but really I didn't feel that comfortable. I was mixing maybe in frummer circles.....but now I've gone back to wearing trousers....' [B10]

She felt that both she and her husband were being drawn into a more involved and knowledgeable way of life due to the influence of the school.

'Going through the yearly cycle, **we do get sucked into all the activities.** Tu Bishvat was never a big deal I didn't even know what it was as a teenager. That's a very happy occasion and the children always do something to decorate pictures, and plant a tree for Israel, so I became more aware of what that was. The Omer, I didn't know what the days were but they were obviously counting it. If you go to the school hall you are aware of what day of the Omer it is.' [B10]

Nevertheless she admitted that her own increased level of kashrut observance was due to the influence of her husband and not the children.

'My husband's never eaten meat out of the house. **Kashrus I think is the one firm thing in his background that he adheres to.** Perhaps it's not as great as it should be but kashrus has always been important to him. **He's always been kosher.** From the beginning of our relationship when we were serious, **I had to agree to respect that.** So it is a **foundation stone.**' [B10]

The parents of family B12 had no doubt that having a child at a Jewish primary school was a major factor in their own increased level of religious observance. They felt that they wished to support all that she was being taught at school.

'Definitely...we do things so that we set the example for Jennifer lighting the Shabbos candles, keeping Shabbos.' [B12]

In the same way the parents were reinforcing the observance of keeping kosher.

'Jenny never actually does eat non kosher meat... I never give it to her. We try to show the difference, like if she has a meat meal she cannot have milk afterwards.' [B12]

There was another reason given for their increased observance of the dietary laws.

'It does cause problems if her other friends who come round are coming from a fully kosher home and I've got to respect that.... I've always got kosher food in the house and I never mix. I know that it's hypocritical when my utensils aren't fully kosher.' [B12]

It was clear that this family had increased their level of religious observance not only to support the teaching at the school but also to avoid any social problems when inviting friends from more observant families.

The husband of family B2 had previously gone to his work place on Jewish festivals, but with the growing influence of the children, he admitted to a greatly increased level of religious observance.

'It has sometimes been difficult. In fact there has been some pressure from the children. Especially now that Sarah is at a non-Jewish secondary school, she can't take off less time than us now so we are doing it for her.... Their influence would have been enough to make me take the time off from work. These are things that we think about. We are on the edge so to speak.' [B2]

His wife agreed and added:

'There has to be some form of consistency. They wouldn't like it if I and them celebrated the festival and their father went to work. They would say that he shouldn't be doing this.' [B2]

The wife of family B3 was certain that any increase in their religious observance had been due to the influence of their children.

'We are more kosher. We have started to do more. If they are not too tired we have started to do kiddush on a Friday night and he understands it and he likes it. The Menorah on Chanukah, we never did it before really except when we were kids ourselves and then it goes away, and now it has come back again...lighting the candles. The seder has been important. Rosh Hashanah, Fridays and the holidays have always been important.' [B3]

However, when asked to what extent would they be prepared to follow any request from their children which would necessitate leading a more observant life, her reply was very revealing:

‘We spoke about this. I said that if Joe comes home and says that we should be kosher, I mean we’ve even got our degree of kosher, we don’t bring pork in the house, you know it’s really weird and **it certainly wouldn’t make the odds if we only ate non-kosher meat**, no way, because it’s ridiculous we have our own degrees.’ [B3]

It was at this point that they made the following remark:

H: ‘**There’s a little flame that keeps burning**, maybe that’s the important thing, there’s a little flame somewhere....’
W: ‘**that could be rekindled by Joe.**’ [B3]

But when asked about the possible extent that they could be influenced by their children, it appears that there was a difference in the attitude between the wife and her husband.

‘I said to Mike if Joe comes home and says, right we’ve got to have kosher this or kosher that, you know **then I’ll do it because it doesn’t make any difference** and Mike said, “Oh I’d rather become vegetarian”.’ [B3]

When asked about the possibility of their children wanting the family to be even more observant with increased synagogue attendance or observance of the dietary laws, her response appeared to centre around one main concept:

‘I’d like to think that **I would make it as comfortable for my children** to be in that particular community, in that school, as much as possible for our home life.’ [B3]

In a practical sense she felt that she could cope with any request from the children.

‘**If he says that he wants to have kosher plates then we will do it, it’s not such a big deal.** If that’s how he would feel happy for friends to come home and maybe not to see a Marks and Spencer Chicken Kiev in the fridge than that’s fine by me for the period that he wants it. **And if it goes on I don’t think that it will be so difficult.**’ [B3]

Nevertheless she did admit that there was a limit as to how observant she and her husband were prepared to be.

'Maybe I'll turn round and say, Oh we don't do that here Joe, don't worry about it because it's not important to us. Maybe that's what I'll do, I don't know.' [B3]

The husband of family B7 had previously attended the synagogue reasonably frequently on a Sabbath, but had lapsed in more recent years. He admitted that his children were responsible for a return to increased attendance:

'In some ways they force me to do what was natural but had become unnatural , into going to shul more often. But that would be about all.' [B7]

Family R1 , especially the husband, had been deeply influenced by their son. It was clear that his more frequent attendance at the synagogue on Sabbath and Festive days was due to the influence of their son.

'I would probably not have done as much as I do now..... Yes, he's definitely changed me. I have a lot more respect for Chaggim and in a way for him. I feel that I want to do a little bit more especially for him whereas I might have felt that I don't want to do as much or really anything at all. So yes he has drawn me in a lot more.... I will take him to shul, whereas before I probably wouldn't have gone.....It's something that I suppose I've always wanted to do but I've always drawn back from doing and as he wants to, its given me more of a reason to do it.' [R1]

Family R2 were initially non-observant Jews, yet they had decided that their children should attend a Jewish day school.

'We didn't choose the Jewish school because we wanted it to have an effect on our lives , but it has. We chose it because of the children. It wasn't any kind of deliberate move.' [R2]

When asked if their children or the school had prompted them to become personally involved in any religious activity, the wife replied:

'Yes, I took a crash course in Judaism not that it helped me a lot, just to know how to observe things because I'm the only one here who's behind everyone so that prompted me.' [R2]

The husband felt that the school and his children were responsible for his increased attendance at the synagogue.

'I think that, probably, the greatest area that's had an effect has been me going to shul on certain holidays where I or we might not have gone.....It's partly the fact that they are off school then which is a big plus and the attractions of shul anyway where hopefully shul makes a child friendly, that's prompted us again when they say that there has been some build up at school, [R2]

The same had applied to his increased observance of the Sabbath.

'There must be a knock-on effect of the children becoming more observant and saying, we don't want to do this on Shabbat, and we shouldn't be doing this. So there is that kind of indirect effect.' [R2]

They both admitted that their sons had without doubt influenced their own level of religious observance particularly in respect of Shabbat. One major area of their increased observance was the decision not to ride on the Sabbath day.

'When L was at the school, he wanted us to do certain things. At that stage he didn't want us to ride on Shabbat and we were. And there were certain other things that he didn't want us to do and he just asked us nicely and we said well this is the way that we are living. And then J came along and he also wanted us to go along a certain path...so we decided that we were going to conduct ourselves along that path....we don't drive to shul, we walk. It's a big thing, we have a 45-50 minute walk. So it's kind of a big thing to go to shul.' [R2]

It was interesting to note the reaction and inner feelings of the wife who had resigned herself to the fact that she had no option other than to comply with the wishes of her sons even if it caused them certain hardships. This was an revealing comment as she had earlier stated that she was the driving force 'the only one here who's behind everyone'.

'Well they are pushing and pushing and pushing and they are succeeding..... There's no compromise any more... He has stopped us from going out.' [R2]

Her husband saw this in a rather different and more positive light:

'I don't think that you can put it down to him stopping us, I think that we are adults and we can do what we want, we have the car keys and we can do that. **I think that it's something that we don't feel uncomfortable doing.** In other words to my mind it is not a major sacrifice.' [R2]

Both felt that it was in their observance of the dietary laws that most of the conflicts with the children had occurred.

'I think that's (*i.e the Jewish dietary laws*) where we have had the most direct conflicts. I think it's a case of my wife's arm being twisted far enough so that she now does with less complaining than she used to buying what L is happy with. **I think that we've now settled into a pattern. One has to make the decision as to whether you're going to be totally kosher everywhere or not or try and do the best you can.** And there is always the danger, I'm well aware of when you are doing the best you can, you are not doing enough because you can do more.' [R2]

There was no doubt that family R3 had become very observant. There had been various influences that had affected the lives of the parents. The main factor that I wished to determine was the influence attributed to their children and the school. The wife had no doubt at all.

'**What has influenced it ? Oh I am sure the children.** Had it not been for the children with Emma wanting to, for me to be able to relate to what she was doing, I think that's why I've changed, definitely.' [R3]

She admitted that her own early background had been totally non-religious and felt the need to become more knowledgeable when her daughter started at a Jewish day school.

'I couldn't read Hebrew, so I actually started on a one to one learning programme. I didn't want Emma to be able to come home and say, "this is alef beis or whatever" and I wouldn't be able to sit with her and know what she was saying, so I actually did start to learn.. and learned very slowly.' [R3]

The husband also 'wanted to do more things' saw this as 'a good lever for those new things'. But viewed it in as the natural development of the whole family.

'But I don't think that it was so much that she was influencing us or telling us what to do, or that we were reacting to Emma, **we were just moving as a family in that way.**' [R3]

The opinion of his wife was quite clear.

'I think it's us wanting to continue whatever Emma was learning and not wanting to give her conflicting messages.' [R3]

This was certainly the case for the husband in respect of attending the synagogue on Festive days that fell during the working week.

'I mean I couldn't possibly go to work if the children were going to be off school and apart from anything else I didn't want to go to work.' [R3]

The main area that I wished to clarify in the interview was in fact adequately summed up by the husband.

'So is it our daughter influencing us or is it us emphasising and drawing her to the right more than the school is perhaps? Maybe that's a star point in all of this. Take a look at the children trying to assess where they are in the religious spectrum and then look at the parents and see whether the tail's wagging the dog as it were or vice versa.' [R3]

In this particular case the family had clearly become very observant and the father now saw himself as the prime mover and example to his children. It would appear however that initially it had been the influence of the school and the children that had started the movement towards greater observance.

Both the husband and wife of family R4 had a basic Jewish education but were not strictly observant when they first married. They had no doubt that the increase in their level of observance was due to the influence of their children and that it would not have been so had the children attended a non-Jewish school. 'Definitely, it's all for the children'.

The wife was determined that her children should benefit from the Jewish school they were attending.

'I mean to me my children are our life, so if I can help to make them feel happy about what they are learning and what they are doing, I will.' [R4]

This had practical implications on the family.

'From the time that Jodie first started at school, since she started, we started using a Shabbat urn and we had a time switch fitted....Also we stopped using the phone on Shabbat. I have actually found it harder than I thought I would. **It was a very drastic change for me. We made a decision and we just did it. But it was the children who were saying that you shouldn't press buttons on Shabbos....These were drastic changes.**' [R4]

The husband had not previously returned home on a Friday in time for the commencement of the Sabbath. This was another area that was due to change.

'I didn't always get home on a Friday on time before Shabbos and now, it's only for the last 4 or 5 years that I do so....It was very difficult to get home early in time for Shabbos particularly in the winter...**But I made a decision, that's it, from now on I am going home early on Friday.**' [R4]

Family R5 were in no doubt at all that it was due to the influence of their children and the school that their own level of religious observance had dramatically increased. They were not observant when they were first married "we knew and kept very little". They had chosen a Jewish day school for their children for a clear reason.

'When the children were born we knew that we wanted them to learn about the things that we never knew.' [R5]

They admitted that what had commenced for the sake of their children had now developed into doing it for themselves as 'a way of life'. The reason for their change of religious observance was the realisation that their children would benefit from their school education if the religious ethos of the school was also supported at home.

'We didn't feel that they would benefit by learning one thing at school and seeing something else at home...We wanted to do things for our children. When they came back from school having learned about Shabbat or kashrut, we felt that we wanted to help them by doing these things at home as well.' [R5]

The direct effect of the influence of their children was emphasised by the husband.

'We wanted our children to see that we were happy to live in a religious way. To begin with it was really only for the children, but after a while it became important for us too.'

This influence was manifested in a number of practical ways. Increased and regular attendance at the synagogue was a major change in the life of the whole family. The husband stated that:

'We became more involved with the shul. We knew that at school they were learning about Shabbat and going to shul and I felt that it would be sensible if I took them there for the children's service, but after a while I got used to going and I enjoyed being there myself.' [R5]

They had even moved home to be nearer to a synagogue.

'Now, I go because I want to and enjoy it, but to begin with it was certainly because of the children. I wanted them to experience the Shabbat at shul that they were learning about in school. When we moved, we wanted to live near the synagogue for the sake of the children and ourselves.' [R5]

Other practical examples of their increased observance due to the influence of their children were on the Sabbath.

'They have encouraged us to sing Zemirot at the Shabbat table and to bench at the end of the meal. They love teaching us all the songs they learn at school..... we have stopped having the TV on Shabbat and have made a proper Shabbat atmosphere for them because it seems that it is the way they enjoy and now so do we.....Due to the children we don't cook or drive on Shabbat. We have a time switch for the lights..... We try to do most things but we are not extreme ultra religious.' [R5]

The benefit of the children's involvement at the Passover seder was another area that had influenced the parents.

'Thanks to what the children have learned at school, we have a really lovely seder. We say some in Hebrew and some in English but always we stop to explain and of course to listen to our children who have always something to tell us about a part of the seder or to teach us a new song. It is all so lovely and so different and all thanks to the school. It has really changed our lives.' [R5]

On the Festival of Sukkot due entirely to the influence of their children they built a Sukkah and purchased a Lulav and Etrog for the first time. When asked if they would have done this if it was not for the children, the answer was unequivocal:

‘Definitely not, it was only that they felt we should have one, because of what had been taught at school and **they had been speaking about it so much**. But to tell you the truth, now that I have it, I enjoy using it in shul with the others.’ [R5]

Another major change, due to their children, that had affected the whole family, was in respect of the dietary laws.

‘The children always seem to know what they may eat or not eat. **They have learned about these things at school and they want to keep these laws at home**. They are very careful especially when other people offer them food and this has also made it important for us to do the same.’ [R5]

The children now expected their parents to observe the dietary laws both at home and when out:

‘**They would be horrified if we were to do anything different**. They learn this at school and we feel that it is important to support them. **Now it is a way of life for us**, and there is no way now that we would change.’ [R5]

This family had obviously been strongly influenced through the children and the school to lead a far more observant life than before. When asked to express their inner feelings about this drastic change in their lives, the response of both parents was similar.

‘**Almost everything that we do, we started doing because we wanted the children to feel comfortable about what they had learned**. ...A real feeling of pride. I feel that I want to show them that we too are a family who live in the way that the school is teaching. And it’s lovely for us....**Now we couldn’t live any other way**. We weren’t like that when we were first married. We lived in a non-religious way, we didn’t know any better. But now we do and we want to continue.’ [R5]

The comments of family R6 were of particular interest due to the very different backgrounds of the husband and wife. It was clear that both parents, especially the wife, were willing to encourage and accommodate the wishes of their children whether it was related to increasing their level of religious observance or decreasing it. They did not appear to be

personally imbibing any of the religious values to suggest that they would continue to observe them in the future.

When asked to what extent do you think that the school has been a catalyst in being primarily responsible for any change in your life, the wife replied:

'It's changed me in that I do some things that I've never done before. Kashrut I've done because you wanted to do kashrut. I went to shul because of the children, none of that would have happened if it wasn't for the children. **The school has given me my Jewish education. It made up for what I lacked as a child.'** [R6]

A major change in her own religious experience, caused by her children, had been the observance of Passover.

'Passover. I've never done a Passover in the house we've always been away. But we did one Passover and they were insistent. They wanted the closets cleaned out. They wanted the chametz out of the house. They wanted new dishes and knives and forks. To me, I was easy. If the bread was out of the house, fine. Dishes are dishes. They wouldn't eat off of that. Actually that's the one holiday they wanted. Are we cleaning the rooms thoroughly, did you sell the chametz? I've never sold chametz in my life. That was the one time in my life where I actually remember all of them they were making a stand there. So we didn't use the dishes. We used paper and plastic.' [R6]

In the opinion of the husband, all this was only possible

'Because it was at an acceptable level so we did it... It's only when it goes to another level that it's not acceptable.' [R6]

His wife added her own philosophy to this:

'Why do things to upset them if it can be done and it's feasible and it makes them happy. Absolutely. I can't think that we've said no to anything they wanted. I would always let them do it.' [R6]

It was clear that this family were willing to accommodate the wishes of their children but only up to a point. They did not impose any religious or non-religious standards of behaviour on them.

'They've been brought up to know that there's not just one way to do something. You need to do what you feel is right to do.' [R6]

The husband, who had grown up in a very religious family, was less accommodating than his wife.

'I don't want to be religious it doesn't suit me. I want to drive, I want to watch my TV. But I'm really a good Jew and Zionist but I'm not religious. Now where do I stand? Where is the line? I don't know. **But I don't want the children tomorrow to impose on me, that's the way of life which I didn't choose....**We don't impose. Yes we have a kosher home, but driving - we drive...I know it doesn't make sense, we are sending them to a Jewish school...' [R6]

Both husband and wife of family R7 were totally unobservant when they were first married and did not even light the Sabbath candles on a Friday night. Their level of religious observance, especially the wife, had increased dramatically due, they said, to the influence of their children and the school. According to the wife, the children 'played a huge part in it.'

'Certainly now Shabbos is Shabbos on a Friday night. I light the candles, the children light candles, we make kiddush, we have a nice dinner. But when there was just the two of us, I don't think there was any difference to any other night of the week. **The Friday night has now become a part of us'**. [R7]

Synagogue attendance had also increased on both the Sabbath and on Festivals.

'Whereas before, we would never have gone. We would have gone for Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur and that's all.' [R7]

When asked to what extent this was for the sake of the children or for themselves, the response of the wife showed the additional effect on her of the children's influence.

'I suppose I would go for myself as well. I feel like, well if they are not going into school, they're not going to sit in front of the television, and for me as well. I also feel the last six months or whatever, whenever we've gone to the shul, whereas before I'd be quite happy to go into the children's service, have the kiddush and then go home, now I will go into the main shul, say my prayers and feel that I am saying what I want to say and they go to the children's services on their own. It would be a lot easier for me just to go into the children's service because I wouldn't have to do anything. **But I feel that I want to go into shul. And I think that's for myself.'** [R7]

It was not quite the same with her husband.

'I don't know if I go to shul any more than I used to. I probably still go on High Holidays. No more than that. Although I will probably start taking the kids on a Shabbat a bit more because I think they want to go.' [R7]

Unlike his wife, he did not feel personally attracted or stimulated by synagogue attendance.

'I would doubt it. Although, having said that I'd feel happy that I'd taken my children. **I would feel very comfortable in the fact that I've taken my children and that to me would be a sense of achievement.** That I've actually taken my children and I've gone on a Shabbat.' [R7]

He was however fully aware of the effect of the children on his own level of observance. He had been brought up in a family which had been traditionally Jewish but not observant. When they were first married they did decide to keep a kosher home but did little else. His wife commented about Passover.

'When we first got married we bought a box of matzahs and that was it. And now it's everything.' [R7]

Nevertheless the husband was convinced that:

'subconsciously we both probably felt that we should do a bit more.' [R7]

The opportunity came with the decision to send the children to a Jewish school.

'And the kids have come as a good excuse for us actually to do more. They've made us do more. They've pushed us. Which neither of us have actually said no we don't want to do more. We've just done it because we felt that we wanted to do it.' [R7]

The practical effect of having their children attend a Jewish day school has introduced these parents to many new facets to their daily lives. It was clear that the wife had become far more observant for her sake as well as that of her children. Her husband, whilst giving her every support, admitted that he was not as committed as his wife. She was prepared to become even more observant and felt that this was due to the influence of the school.

'I would like to become even more religious. I would be quite happy to but we've sort of found our middle of the road that both of us are happy with. But I would be happy to become Shomer Shabbat. It wouldn't be...you know I've gone probably more the other way than Paul. And I think that's from school.' [R7]

The wife was determined to support the ethos of the school and this had affected her own attitude and religious observance.

' My ethos is that I try and back up what they are learning at school as best as I can with what I can physically do rather than doing nothing at all... Just trying to back up what they do at school. Just so, in the way that we, in how far we are prepared to go, is showing them the right way. And what we feel is the right way.' [R7]

The result of this was evidenced in her daily life.

'I think that when I'm shopping now, I'm more careful, whereas I just picked up packets of biscuits before, now I look to see what is written on them..... **I can't cheat any more.** At Pesach I have got to do the Pesach plate and they come in and check that everything has got a hechsher on and that all the cooking things and the dishes are changed over.' [R7]

It was due to the children and the school that she attended an adult education course. She felt inadequate when finding herself unable to assist her children with their homework.

'Obviously each week we learn the parasha. I mean I certainly never knew this before. Now I know what happens because of the children because they come home with the sedra sheet. And they have to answer questions on it. But it's amazing because they learn very quickly. Gabriella, the older one, if she's reading she'll say to me, "there's no point in you helping me because you can't". And she knows. So **I did one of those Hebrew courses to learn how to read Hebrew so that I could help the children.'** [R7]

The comments of family R8 showed that any change in their level of religious observance had not initially been influenced by their children.

H: 'We'd always had really good Friday nights anyway, that's the point. Since we got married.' [R8]

Even when the children were born:

W: 'I don't think there was anything really different was there about what we did actually..... I don't think that we've changed dramatically in any way really.' [R8]

However, it was apparent that there had been some influence due to the parents increased awareness of Jewish Festivals because the children were attending a Jewish school.

'The children would talk about the Festivals when they came home from school... I would be made aware of what was coming, I must say that I don't always look at the diary, it would just happen upon me, but I would know from the children what's coming...It would bring it home in a very practical way. **So you can't ignore it and you end up taking part in it in one way or another. So I think that it's this sort of spin off that pulls you in as a parent.** Suddenly you realise that you were actually taking part in it events that may be organised at the school that you go along to. And in that way you gradually get drawn in. And once you're part of it, you're part of it, so you are doing it. **Part of the objective is that it is already happening and you didn't even realise it.'** [R8]

Both parents of family N2 agreed that their children had been a prime influence for encouraging them to improve their own level of Jewish education.

W: When our daughter was little, she used to love it and it was coming back to us. From our point of view it was the children that taught me how to follow the reading of the Torah which I never knew before. Who was called up, I never understood any of it. My children have taught me and I understood it quickly being older. Having learned from the older one I can now ask the little one, why are we doing this and so on.
H: When Samantha was six or seven I felt that I wanted to improve my understanding of Hebrew reading, so I went on a Hebrew reading course. I'd never have thought of doing that years before.
M: Why did you want to improve your Hebrew reading ?
H: I wanted to be able to follow more things that they followed. I wanted to be able to sit in the synagogue and say to the children this is where we are, this is the place. To be able to follow it and not to be completely lost. I am able to show them something.
W: And I wanted you to be able to do the seder service.
H: Yes, I wanted to be able to do the seder service.
W: My father always had, and he as now the father and I thought that now he should.
H: It was last year or the year before that I took it. [N2]

The wife of family N2 was convinced that their current regular synagogue attendance on the Sabbath was due to the influence and enthusiasm of their children

'**They have taught us, they've taught us to go.** With the children's service and the things from school. They've taught us and I now think that we've picked it up for ourselves.' [N2]

When asked, 'Who is making the Shabbat atmosphere at home?' her response was most interesting:

'They are certainly. We did observe Shabbat before they were born, but **now we feel that we are doing it for a purpose.** When there was just two of us, we wonder why we are doing it. When the children are involved it seems much more important.' [N2]

When asked which part of the family's observance was due to the influence of their children, her response was immediate:

'**Everything, because of them, or we wouldn't have done it.**' [N2]

Section 2: Parents who had not been influenced by their children or by the school.

Four families B5 , B9 ,B11 and N7 felt that neither the Jewish school nor their children had any noticeable effect on their own level of religious observance.

Family B5 had already made the decision to live in a religiously observant manner before any children were born and had considered the environment in which they wanted any future children to live.

‘And so that sort of became a watershed and it turned our minds to becoming more religious only in the sense that I firmly believe, and my wife quite properly agreed that **unless you can set the example both at home and at school, then there is no incentive for the child to follow up a particular course of action.**’ [B5]

When their son began attending Brook primary school, they were already living in an observant manner and felt that the school was basically supporting the religious life that their son was experiencing at home. Nevertheless, the parents were pleased that this was being reinforced.

‘ I’m happy about it. It’s difficult to say what my feelings are. I am satisfied that he is learning, that he is taking things in, that his knowledge of various aspects of the religion is increasing, that he is aware of his Jewish identity a lot more, and that he is happy to take part. It gives me a good degree of satisfaction.’ [B5]

The lifestyle of family B9 was quite different from the above family. It was quite evident that it was the wife who was the driving force in their religious life, whereas the level of religious observance of her husband was much lower.

W: ‘I think that he disassociated himself from it. He can’t do anything about it. I mean, before we had children we already decided that they were going to be brought up how I wanted from the religious point of view.’ [B9]

They did not feel that their daughter had influenced the family in any way.

‘No, not much. I mean I think that this is what has caused the most debate. I think that the one thing that we’ve done is try and show that she observes and she understands what the Festivals are all about and try to get her to shul for all the Festivals. She learns that at school. I think that what we’ve done is to encourage her to do what she wants to do.’ [B9]

When asked about the effect on their daughter of a relatively non-observant father, the wife replied:

'I'm waiting for her to point out that her father eats certain things out that we don't at home and say to him, "you shouldn't be eating that". She probably will but she's not done it yet.....I think that he'd expect it. I think that he's just waiting for that to happen. **We've talked about it but he's not prepared to stop.** I told him that if he continues to do that in front of her then I would just explain to her that what her daddy is doing is wrong.' [B9]

Before any children were born, family B11, like family B5, had decided that they would keep a kosher home for the sake of future children.

W: 'When we got married we immediately kept kosher because, **I also had this idea that if we didn't do it then how would our children know to do it or know any difference.**' [B11]

But when asked whether their children have ever influenced the parents, the reply was clear.

W 'But I don't know if the children have influenced us really. **They've never come home and said, "we learned this at school and we don't do it."**
H: 'Well I suppose that to a very slight degree, not too much but to a slight degree.our daughter came home and said that she was preparing for the Festivals, on Pesach it was certainly the case, and therefore I thought that I'd better do some homework then. But it's a very slight degree. **I think there was an impact because of that, but it was slight rather than great.**' [B11]

The parents saw the Jewish school as having a wider and deeper purpose than providing Jewish education.

W: 'I'd certainly be hugely upset if the school wasn't there, really very very upset. I mean as well as the Jewishness, **they are building friendships for life** and it's just nice that **they've got this solid Jewish grounding** , and they've got all these Jewish friends, it's lovely.' [B11]

The three families above, were the only parents interviewed who felt that neither the school nor their children had been of any influence in the increase of their level of religious observance.

The husband of family N7 whose son attended the Norton Jewish primary school was quite certain that any increase in the family's level of religious observance was due to factors other than the school.

'I think that if we have increased our level of observance it's probably for his benefit but not because he went to a Jewish school. It's not because the school says that you mustn't drive on Shabbat and that you must eat kosher. We would do that anyway. **The fact that he goes to a Jewish school I don't think wouldn't persuade us either way.** I don't think that there has been any custom that we have adopted because the school thinks it is a good idea. Or that he says this is what they tell me at school.' [N7]

Section 3:

Discussion and comments relating to four main factors that have influenced parental changes in their levels of observance.

I will now deal in greater depth with an analysis of the comments of parents during interviews relating to their children's religious activities at home in four main areas.

1. Parent's satisfaction at the happiness and Jewish knowledge of their children
2. Passover activities (especially seder night)
3. Shabbat and Festival activities
4. Blessings, Prayers and Grace after Meals

[1] Parent's satisfaction at the happiness and Jewish knowledge of their children

It was evident from the following comments made by parents during interviews that the enthusiasm and happiness of their children had a major effect on the parents. The comments of the first family [B10] were indicative not only of their happiness and pride at the achievements of

their offspring, but also of the wish to do something themselves in order to reinforce the school ethos at home.

'You see their faces at half past three, beaming from ear to ear. How can you not reinforce it at the home and make an exciting thing because of your child's face? You've just seen it and it's glowing and you want to do something to reinforce the happiness.' [B10]

'It's really a great pleasure....it comes naturally, there is nothing strange to him, he is growing up with it which is wonderful.....he doesn't feel threatened by it, he doesn't feel that he shouldn't be doing it.' [R1]

'I think that it gives young children quite a thrill when they can teach their parents something. There's almost no expression on a child's face like one he has when he or she teaches his or her parents something that they didn't know.' [R2]

'We thoroughly enjoy listening to the kids. The amount of pleasure we get from hearing them bench or make kiddush or whatever they do it gives us tremendous pleasure.' [R4]

'It does bring tears to my eyes to see all those children daven so beautifully and it's all in Hebrew. I don't know how you explain that...Their understanding of the Festivals is so much greater than mine was at that age. Oh it was wonderful. I mean you know, the nachas (pleasure) as a parent, wonderful, they can bench !!' [R7]

Another practical area of influence was the fact that the parents were learning from their children and feeling a sense of pride in this reversal of roles.

'They will come back and often say...and they'll even say things like "you're not supposed to do that because... We shouldn't be doing this because of such and such....Well, if I feel that I'm not up to doing it, I would say that, well you know, I don't think that I'm up to doing that. Sarah will fast on the minor fast days. I say to her, yes I think that it's very good if we can take it on then we will do it.' [B2]

'They do come home with loads of little snippets, different things that they'll tell you about. Something somebody had told them, certain things that I never knew. Something about the raven and the dove from the story of Noah. I didn't know that there were the two birds until tonight. Now I always know what the parasha is.....And when it's Rosh Chodesh. I mean I'd never have known any of those things... if we discussing the sedra which we don't do each week or if we are discussing something they are very keen to put in what they have learned in that context.' [R7]

[2] Passover activities (especially seder night)

Many parents felt that their own increased level of religious observance and practice at Passover was directly attributable to their children and the school.

Family R7 were impressed by the knowledge of Passover that their children had received from the school and were now 'correcting' their parents.

'On Pesach they were correcting us on various things.....they knew about the service, they knew about the plagues and they were able to do quite a few of the songs and obviously Ma Nishtana they had a fight over who was going to do Ma Nishtana because they all wanted to do it.' [R7]

Family B10 realising that 'the kids take it very seriously in school' had supported and encouraged their enthusiasm. This was a complete change from the manner in which the husband had experienced his early childhood years which tended to 'make a mockery of it' and 'never knew how to participate fully'.

'We do a proper seder night now.... Because they know the songs so well it seems a shame not to give them the opportunity to repeat it. Also they like to help to make everything, so although it's terrific mad hard work for me we've tightened up on the seders. My husband never had proper seders. His father was very ill and often in bed upstairs and he was the boy downstairs and used to have a telly under the table and make a mockery of it. He never knew how to participate fully. But now we take it very seriously because the kids take it very seriously in school. They all know the songs very well and are particular about singing all the songs. So we do it properly, as properly as we are able.' [B10]

Family B3 had enjoyed the additional opportunities to sing Passover songs at the Seder due to the school song sheet and the active participation of their own children. It was also a connection for them with modern Israel where they had once lived.

'What I love about it, when we get the song sheet and then we've got something to sing because I've forgotten. They have started to do a little bit more. We are not just singing or saying the blessings like we were doing at school, they are actually singing the folk songs and more in tune with what the kids are singing in Israel. Because we lived there and I know what the kids do over there.' [B3]

For family R5 the children appeared to 'take over' and lead the singing with the school songs for Passover.

'It is also lovely on Pesach at the Seder...they always seem to take over, with the songs and stories they have learned, it is really lovely.' [R5]

Family B4 had also enjoyed learning new Passover songs from the children and took pride in their ability to participate actively. This was not always in accord with the views of the grandparents who had always insisted that the head of the household lead the seder and that everyone else should be passive onlookers.

'Our seder night is all about which songs to sing, which tune to use, because they've learned a different tune in school to the one that we know. I remember Rachel angry that her Grandma wouldn't let her sing the way she had learned at school. And Rachel of course is also very competent and wanted to be able to lead a lot at the seder night services... Our parents find that quite difficult to accept because they still think that it should be the head of the household and they can't quite grasp the concept that in order to involve the children and make it more interesting for them the more they do and it makes it more fun.' [B4]

The husband of family B7 was aware of the input of the school regarding the Passover Seder and decided to base his own family seder entirely around the children.

'Every year we have our family round. I decided very early on that the seder would be dictated from what they knew from school. So before anything takes place, I sit down with the girls and we go through absolutely everything they know, song wise, what parts they do. We basically just reaffirm everything they do at school at our seder.' [B7]

These parents compared the knowledge and ability of their own children to other guests at their seder whose children did not attend a Jewish day school and whose knowledge was far less

‘When we had Yom Tov, my niece and nephew , my brother’s children, they haven’t got a breeze what it’s all about. And in fact last year at Pesach time the children were singing dayenu, one of the songs, and my niece turned round to my sister-in-law and said, “what is she saying - what is she talking about ?’ [R7]

In the same fashion as all the other families mentioned above, they were impressed by the new melodies brought by their children to the family seder.

‘And they’ve got lovely tunes. My father still sings the tunes of sixty years ago and they’ve got like these real hippy tunes. They do benching to the match of the day tune, it’s more modern and because it’s brought up to date they are more interested in it. The way I was taught at cheder, we weren’t interested in it. I guess that more so this year than before they both actively wanted to get involved in the service. It was because they’d learned it at school.’ [R7]

The influence of one of her four children resulted in the wife of family R8 observing a higher level of preparation than she would otherwise have done.

‘I remember Simon a few years ago telling me off because I didn’t prepare for Pesach properly. I hadn’t scoured this or swept this. I remember one year, I can’t tell you which year it was, that I lined all the shelves with paper and I had done all the changing of the crockery and cutlery, and it still wasn’t enough. He went through a phase didn’t he. I remember, he drove me mad that year. And he is the one that was most interested at that particular age. He still is. He is very lively in debate at his school. But Simon had a tremendous influence at Pesach time as that was all very important to him.’ [R8]

The children of family N2 were certainly instrumental in enabling their father to conduct the seder service.

W: ‘Because that was his first one that he was taking and there were chunks that he didn’t know, and the children said things like, I know that one, I can do that page, I learned that and so on...And when we got to Grace after Meals we all chipped in, and when we came to Hallel, they had done a chunk at school. And after Hallel we got to the tricky bits and we handed it over to them. So they did a huge part. Last year you were pretty good going on your own.’
H: ‘It’s very satisfying to get past that stage and to be able to do it all instead of just sitting there. To me, that’s entirely down to the children.’ [N2]

3] Shabbat and Festival activities

The Shabbat activities of the children were another major source of inspiration and influence for their parents.

Family B1 were impressed when they attended a school Shabbaton and discovered that their children were able to sing the Shabbat Zemirot which they had never sung at home.

'That was really nice, I thought, you know I thought well that's really nice that the kids know something that I'm not even aware of. So we come to a Shabbaton and suddenly the kids know it. That's great.' [B1]

The children of family R5 went a step further.

'They have encouraged us to sing Zemirot at the Shabbat table and to bench at the end of the meal. They love teaching us all the songs they learn at school.' [R5]

Family R1 were delighted that their young son was able to lead the Friday night kiddush at home.

'He does it very nicely, All the Chaggim he knows, he knows exactly where to find it, he knows every page.' [R1]

Family B2 commented on the impact of the 'very joyous celebratory feeling in the school' when they are preparing for any of the Festivals.

Families B8 and B10 had decided to build a Sukkah for the Festival of Tabernacles due to entirely to the influence of their children who had visited other sukkahs and wanted to have their own.

Family N2 felt that their children had been a strong influence on their lives in relation to the observance of festivals.

'Everything, because of them, or we wouldn't have done it...On Purim they would all dress up so that we all get into the spirit of it...They go to school in special clothes so that we are all aware of it during the week. Chanukah we already did at home.' [N2]

[4] Blessings, Prayers and Grace after Meals

It was also apparent that in certain families the parents had been impressed and amazed at the ability of their children to recite Hebrew blessings, prayers and Grace after Meals at the appropriate times.

Family B3 admitted to being 'gob-smacked' when they discovered that their son could recite the full Grace after Meals.

Families R3 and B12 were impressed when their children recited a blessing before eating or drinking anything

'Sophie makes a bracha whenever she eats now and asks which bracha to say.....she does it all the time.' [R3]

'She comes out with some very complex things. She asked if she could say the bracha for my new van. She must have been learning about blessings at school. That's the way her mind works. And bearing in mind that she's still so young.' [B12]

Family R4 discovered her daughter reciting prayers in her bedroom.

'I went in and she was standing by the window davening. They stand in their bedrooms and they do all that they have to do in the morning. I would never have expected them to do that. They say their Shema every night, they have always done that since they were very young.' [R4]

Conclusions relating to the data in this chapter.

Data from the responses to questionnaires indicated that two thirds of parents felt that the religious activities of their children were a major influence in their own increased level of religious observance. It was also clear (see page 203 above) that three main factors stood out as being of major influence on the religious attitude and practice of the parents:

- the children's religious activity at home
- conversation of the children at home
- the wish of parents to support the ethos of the school.

Other areas of influence certainly played their part, but they appear to be of minor influence when compared to the above three factors which were investigated and developed in far greater depth during the interviews with parents..

Interview data from the families, as detailed in this chapter, indicate that their children have influenced them in three main areas of religious observance: Dietary Laws, Sabbath Observance and Festival Observance.

Two main factors were evident:

- (i) the parents' happiness and pride in the knowledge and the various religious activities of the children.
- (ii) the practical effect of these activities on the parents' own religious observance.

Another factor that led to the increased observance of the parents was their greater awareness of Jewish knowledge brought to them through their own children.

A common theme made throughout all the interviews, was the awareness of many parents of the contrast between the relative lack of active and

practical involvement of a religious nature in their own families during their childhood years. This lack of active participation may well have been a factor in the decline of religious feeling amongst many parents. This was especially evident when parents commented about their increased observance of Passover.

I will leave the final comment in this connection to a parent (R2) who remarked:

'I always sense that it is being orchestrated at school in a deliberate way with the teachers making a play of that and for the culmination of something that was initiated at school and ends in the festival. That's probably the biggest effect it's had on us'

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate the effects of the influence of the children on their parents. In the next chapter I will examine parental attitudes towards their children's Jewish identification and experiences.

Chapter 10

Parental attitudes towards their children's Jewish identification and experiences.

The following questionnaire and interview responses of parents examine whether their personal attitudes towards their children have determined the extent to which they have been influenced by them regarding any increase in levels of religious observance.

Questions 13 and 14 of the questionnaire refer to the attitude of the parents toward their children by asking them to what extent they agree or disagree with the following two statements:

Q13: Parents should direct their children's beliefs by example.

Q14: To benefit from Religious Education at school, parents should reflect the value and ethos of the school.

It is clear from the responses given below, that a majority of the parents agreed with these two statements. Tables 42(a) and 43(a) below give full details of details of both the percentage of responses in each area and also in *bold italic*, the actual number of responses in each category.

In order to indicate a clear trend in a specific direction, I have also added Tables 42(b) and 43(b) which include a set of figures (F + P) being a combination of the responses of those who Fully and Partially agree with the statement. In a similar manner Tables 42(b) and 43(b) also includes the responses of those who Generally Disagree and Totally Disagree with the above statements in Questions 13 and 14.

TABLE 42(a) Full percentages

Question 13: Parents should direct their children's beliefs by example.

Rubin

Fully Agree	63.9% (78)
Partly Agree	28.6% (35)
Undecided	3.2% (4)
Generally Disagree	3.2% (4)
Totally Disagree.	0.8% (1)

Norton

Fully Agree	61.5% (16)
Partly Agree	30.7% (8)
Undecided	7.6% (2)
Generally Disagree	0.0% (0)
Totally Disagree.	0.0% (0)

Brook

Fully Agree	50.0% (43)
Partly Agree	32.5% (28)
Undecided	5.8% (5)
Generally Disagree	9.3% (8)
Totally Disagree.	2.3% (2)

TABLE 42(b) Combined F & P percentages

Question 13: Parents should direct their children's beliefs by example.

School	Fully Agree	Agree(F+P)	Undecided	Disagree
R	63.9% (78)	92.6% (113)	3.3% (4)	4.1% (5)
N	61.5% (16)	92.3% (24)	7.7% (2)	0.0% (0)
B	50.0% (43)	82.5% (71)	5.8% (5)	11.6% (10)

TABLE 43(a) Full percentages

Question 14: To benefit from Religious Education at school, Parents should reflect the value and ethos of the school.

Rubin

Fully Agree	54.9% (67)
Partly Agree	38.5% (47)
Undecided	4.0% (5)
Generally Disagree	2.4% (3)
Totally Disagree.	0.0% (0)

Norton

Fully Agree	65.3% (17)
Partly Agree	34.6% (9)
Undecided	0.0% (0)
Generally Disagree	0.0% (0)
Totally Disagree.	0.0% (0)

Brook

Fully Agree	50.0% (43)
Partly Agree	40.6% (35)
Undecided	2.3% (2)
Generally Disagree	6.9% (6)
Totally Disagree.	0.0% (0)

TABLE 43(b) Combined F & P percentages

Question 14: To benefit from Religious Education at school, Parents should reflect the value and ethos of the school.

School	Fully Agree	Agree(F+P)	Undecided	Disagree
R	54.9% (67)	93.4% (114)	4.1% (5)	2.4% (3)
N	65.3% (17)	100.0% (26)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
B	50.0% (43)	90.7% (78)	2.3% (2)	6.9% (6)

TABLE 44

This relating to Question 15 below, is the final question of the questionnaire and deals with the parental response if children wanted them to be more observant.

Question 15: What would be your response if your child wanted the family to become more religious ?

	R	N	B
We are religious No Change	20.5% (25)	19.2% (5)	22.1% (19)
We will all change	7.3% (9)	0.0% (0)	3.5% (3)
We will compromise	67.2% (82)	65.4% (17)	62.8% (54)
Child Yes Family No	4.1% (5)	15.4% (4)	10.5% (9)
Not religious No Change	0.8% (1)	0.0% (0)	1.1% (1)

Quite predictably, the majority of the parents decided on the easier option of being willing to compromise. However, this theme was developed extensively during interviews with parents to determine exactly how much of a compromise would be realistic. A main focus of interview questions dealt with attitudes to 'parental guidance and clear direction'.

Both the husband and wife of family B1 realised the importance of clear parental direction.

H: 'Because I think you have got to start off with a certain point. You have got to try and show them what is correct and then they will come to their own conclusions when they get older. If you don't give them a grounding when they are younger...it's the same with other things. You've got to show children the right way.'

W: 'I think that they are too young at this stage to make a decision themselves. Children are very much influenced by their parents and they do tend to put their parents on a pedestal and they do accept at face value what you say. So if you don't make the decisions for them at this stage in life, then they stand no chance later on. Whereas I'd rather know that I've instilled certain barriers in them and accept that when they do get to teenage years it will be a natural rebellious stage against it which is fine. As long as they have had these values instilled in them in the hope that they will come back to them in later life.' [B1]

Nevertheless, they were aware of the limitation of their own religious knowledge:

H: 'One thing I knew that we did worry about. I knew that we were very middle of the road and I wouldn't be able to give them that background if I didn't send them to a Jewish school. I personally couldn't give them everything that they have got from a Jewish school because I'm not so observant.' [B1]

They knew that eventually their children would enter a more rebellious stage.

H: 'I think that you have to lay down certain rules. There must be a point when they are no longer under your jurisdiction. When they are going out in the evening you can't dictate exactly what they are going to eat or drink. You have to trust them. If they decide to do their own thing, well that's up to them. You can say that whilst you are in our house you do it our way. I think that we would have to compromise somewhere along the line. We accept that rebellion is a natural thing.' [B1]

The wife replied instantly:

'I can't believe that... I don't know how I would cope with that. I think that the kashrut thing would be very traumatic in this house. The way I would respond is to explain that I see this as the way that Judaism will be able to carry on and I would see that as the beginning of marrying out. And that's the bottom line. I would be devastated if my children married out.' [B1]

Both husband and wife of family B11 felt that they were directing their children's religious behaviour by example. They were asked if they were giving the children a clear direction ?

W: 'Oh, I wouldn't be happy but **there's not much you can do about it.** You just hope that by pointing them in the right direction and explaining it to them... You know that they will realise what they should or shouldn't do.' [B11]

They realised however that the time may come when the children would rebel against these parental norms which they viewed as a normal factor of the teenage years.

W: 'But more than that I think, and it might not do them any harm to have a go off the rails for a while as long as they realise what's going on. And that we keep the same here all the time at home, so that you know, because once they start saying that they can't do that and we start falling out with them, then that's it because you know that they are not going to come back. **I think that you've got to have a considerable degree of tolerance. But let it be known that you are not happy about it.**' [B11]

The wife stressed the need for tolerance towards the children in order to avoid any serious confrontation that could alienate them., but her husband was not too sure about this.

H: '**But in certain things, hopefully we will still be able to put our foot down.**'
W: '**I don't think that there's going to be much that you can put your foot down for when they are fourteen or fifteen and they are out of the house.**'
H: 'Yes, but no way if she wants to go out on a Friday night what are you going to say ?'
W: 'I always thought that will come up at some point. But how on earth are you going to stop them ? How could you stop them ?'
H: 'I can't lock her in but I mean we can make it clear what we feel can't we ? And she knows that there isn't any negotiation taking place.' [B11]

The wife was still quite convinced that the policy of avoiding confrontation by offering a viable alternative was the best route to take.

W: 'Well actually there will be enough going on, on a Saturday night but she'll want to go out on a Friday night, and you see that's the whole thing because if all her friends if **she's got the right circle of friends who are going out to the Zone on a Wednesday and are meeting up on a Shabbos afternoon and are going out on a Saturday night, what on earth is she going to want to go out on a Friday night for ?** Unless it's to go out to somebody else's house, which isn't a problem. You see so there's a lot of things building up to that, it's not that she's going to come home now and say that because one of her friends do it she's not going to do it. You know and although I don't say no, you can't see that friend or you can't see that friend there are **friends we can discourage without her realising it that they are being discouraged along the way. So hopefully it will be determined.**' [B11]

Family B12 were asked about the extent that parents should direct their children's beliefs by example.

H: 'That sounds to be important in so far as they reach an age when they begin to comprehend what it is all about. **You have to show them by example and they will find that it reflects the school.** She is still young for some things and doesn't yet realise why. It is important to be able to explain the why and wherefore although there are some things that are just done and that's it. So yes I think that is a true statement.' [B12]

But when asked how they would react if their children eventually decided that they did not wish to be involved in a Jewish way of life, they replied,

W: '**In my home they have to respect my wishes** and if I turn fully kosher then they will have to abide by that in the house. What they do outside the house is up to them. Providing that they don't eat bacon or ham which we as a family do not eat.' [B12]

The husband however appeared to be far more tolerant:

H: 'Oh yes, I would be very happy, yes absolutely. **As long as they weren't doing something that would be a detriment to themselves** being silly, because unfortunately nowadays they've only got to watch out on the academic front, they need a good kick start in their adult formative years of 18 to 21.' [B12]

The wife of family B6 who admitted that they were not observant felt that to a certain extent children should be allowed to make up their own minds about the level of religious observance that they wish to follow. Whatever the family did appeared to be purely at the request of their child.

'I want her to have the right start and make up her mind. If she said to me, I don't want to go shul on Simchat Torah, I would never disagree with her. I would never make her do it. But if she...at the moment she wants to do everything, because she's learning all about it at school, because she's going to shul. She sees the people she knows. She wants to do it. And so I'm directing her. **I'm not directing her beliefs, I'm directing her knowledge.** I want her to know what every festival is. I want her to know where she comes from. I want her to know what her history is. I don't think that I really want to direct her beliefs. **I'm not encouraging her to believe in G-d. The school's doing that for me.** I don't have to do that. But if she said to me, of course there is, I think that I would let her let her make up her own mind. She is a little bit young. It's difficult for me as I've not encountered it really.'
[B6]

When I asked the following question:

'Is it possible that by not giving a clear direction to her, you are in another way giving her direction by allowing her to develop in ways that might not be the right way ? Can children be allowed to make up their minds ? By not showing her, you are perhaps inadvertently showing her something different.'

Her response was:

'I think that you could be right. But I suppose that we've found our own levels.' [B6]

She then stated that her child always watched her light the Sabbath candles on a Friday night. When I asked why she lit these candles, her response was very revealing.

'I don't know. I grew up with it. Obviously if we are going out to dinner to my brothers or somewhere else I don't light candles and leave them in the house alone. But I'm doing it for her. I'm trying to recreate the upbringing that I had, probably because I was happy with it. I never questioned it. **I loved it and I am trying to do for my daughter what my mum did for me.'** [B6]

There was another important reason which related to the importance of the family meeting and eating together on one special night of the week.

‘But I think that’s the one night that we try to eat as a family. On other nights, eating as a family with toddlers is horrendous, they throw food everywhere, really messy. We want them to go to bed so we can just relax. **But Friday night we really try to do something together, with my mum as well.** She was recently widowed and we try to be all together. And we try to do it here if it’s with my mum, because it’s easier if we do it together because I have to put them to bed. There is something in the home, **we try to make it a family evening on a Friday night. But that’s about as far as it goes.**’ [B6]

It was interesting to learn how the family observed the festival of Chanukah in spite of building work being carried out in the home.

Every Chanukah the candles come out and she enjoys it. This Chanukah we were having some building work, we had burst pipes, there was water dripping everywhere. It was an absolute nightmare and we had this Chanukiah stood on this table here. There was a table in the middle of the room here, a hundred bricks in the corner, six doors, an outside door and a cement mixer and the Chaunukiah in the middle of the room but we did it. **She could see that we were doing something.**’ [B6]

Family B7 were now living in a more observant manner than they were before they had children, but had decided to bring up their children to follow a more observant lifestyle

H: ‘I’ve wavered when I was a student, I won’t deny that and Deborah has as well before we had children. **But we knew exactly the way we wanted to bring them up.**’ [B7]

The husband did not see this as a practical form of guidance in what he termed a “dictatorial” manner.

H: ‘**They live in our environment, it’s not just a matter of guiding them.**’
W: ‘Well it is guiding?’
H: ‘**Well, they’re living with it, it’s not guiding, you’ve got to show them.....**It’s not at all dictatorial. It’s just that what they get at school they get here. You can’t count going to school and learning about kashrut and then coming home and eating a pork chop. It just doesn’t work. So the way they are at school is the way we are at home.’ [B7]

When asked how they would feel if the children did not want to follow these ways as they grew older, the husband replied:

'I don't think that there is any problem at all. **We can only do what we believe is right. They have got to choose their path in life and be happy with it.** We certainly wouldn't fall out over it. I think that we would discuss it with them, but it has to be their choice.'

[B7]

They were asked that as most of the families at the school were not observant, did they ever have to compromise on their standards of religious observance, for example in respect of kashrut at children's parties.

W: 'Well, yes. If we were in London there was never a question of if you send your child to a Jewish school they would keep kashrut, and that is the problem with this school. There are definitely people who have parties who you do have to ask. Which I would never have even dreamed of asking people in London. And if they don't keep kosher then I make it very clear that our children can't eat.'

H: But **there is no question of us lowering our standards.** There are certain levels we are at and that level will not be...it just won't happen.' [B7]

According to his wife, the husband of family B9, who was not present at the interview, was totally non-observant. She stated that he was content for her to bring up the children in the way that she preferred. She said that if it were not for her work commitment she would take them to the synagogue on the Festivals. When asked if the children would like her to take them, she replied:

'Yes, they probably would, but I know that I've never thought about the effect on them. It's never been an issue and probably won't be. We were lucky that last year all the Festivals fell on a weekend.' [B9]

She accepted that her children were receiving a mixed message in relation to their religious observance but insisted that she and her husband did discuss all the things that the children would do and see.

'Yes all the things that we do are always discussed. A lot of our friends keep very little and some keep more than us, and I know that some keep more because they've got children who are older and it's going to happen to us.' [B9]

When asked how she would feel if her children decided that they did not want to lead an orthodox life but be more like their father, she replied:

'I do think that until they reach the age when they are going to make their own decisions about how they want to live, they will do as I say.... **I just hope that they will know what's right and what's wrong and I wouldn't stop them.** I hope that they will realise what is the right thing to do. **But in the end it will be up to them.**' [B9]

Both parents of family R1 were asked to comment on the importance of the family supporting the religious ethos and values of the school.

H: 'For Elliot, I think that he is being supported in whichever way we felt he could be supported, yes maybe, he is being well supported in doing it. **He does a few things which probably I wouldn't do and he doesn't feel threatened by it, he doesn't feel that he shouldn't be doing it.**
W: '**I think that because of the way that he learned it,** it's a very nice way of doing it, he doesn't come up and say "Mum you must do it". **It's a matter of how he learns it at school and whatever we do here and however we do it**, you know, it's not as if we are not doing it at all. I feel that if we didn't make kiddush on Shabbat he would say that that would be really strange or if I didn't light the candles, but we are generally going hand in hand so it's not so confusing. It's very important because the school is doing it gently.'
[R1]

They were then asked to comment on whether parents of children of primary school age should direct their children's religious beliefs by example and practice and not let the children make up their own minds.

W: 'I think that at this stage it is very difficult. **In certain areas you can direct and in others you must let them make up their mind.** They are still so young but when they get older...As much as you want to take them. I don't want my child to be not religious at all on the other hand **I don't want him to be too religious so that we can't cope with it or he can't live without it.** You know I've heard of cases where, I mean I've got a friend who went to Hasmonian and became very very religious and now she doesn't even go to her parents' house. So they have had to turn their home life upside down. In our case, I mean me personally I feel that that is a bit too extreme, although it seemed to have worked for her.' [R1]

The wife agreed with her husband who said:

'We're sending him to a Jewish school - it's not really fair not to show him.' [R1]

Family R2 viewed their children's Jewish primary school education as being mutually advantageous, as a 'two-way thing'. These parents who saw themselves as:

'Supporting the school, being involved with the school, being involved with the education, secular and religious, supporting it.' [R2]

were aware that they would also benefit.

'We knew that it would be reciprocated by virtue of when the children came home they would want to impart their knowledge they had, and it's just a kind of an all-round bonding thing.' [R2]

They admitted that they were genuinely interested in learning from their children.

'Not patronising the child but actually saying, I want to know, I don't really know, so what exactly did happen? I think the value of that is absolutely immeasurable. We know Maths and English and Reasoning and we can teach the kids that but if we don't know anything and the kids come back and teach it, that's terrific.' [R2]

Not only did the parents experience 'a great sense of pride' in what their children were saying but they were also aware of another important aspect, a deeper awareness of Jewish identity.

'The fact they are talking about something which could effect how they are going to turn out is absolutely critical and you understand that they are learning all about what they are, it's about themselves as people, their religion, where they come from, it gives them a sense of identity.' [R2]

The parents felt that they were able to cope with the increased level of religious observance that their children were experiencing at the school..

'It seemed to be a level of religion we felt comfortable with. It was above our "then" level of religion and we felt comfortable supporting that.....I don't think that we will have any regrets at the way we have gone. I don't think that we would have done things differently.' [R2]

They were prepared to support the religious standards at the school in a sincere, open and honest manner

'I think that we tried not just to give the boys a sense of well this is how we do things and this is how you do things, but we took cognisance of what they said and what they wanted.' [R2]

It was clear however that the husband was determined to impart a sense of total honesty and integrity into his children.

'I've always been acutely aware, the real thing with me is the hypocrisy of conforming and really being 'religious' and I'm very very conscious of the nonsense of how one can disturb a child's mind by saying, 'well it's great that you learn this at school but we are not going to do it at home.' I think that creates a very particular problem in a child's mind. Where it gives them a sense of what - how to get out of situations and how to really evade responsibility....To me, my big thing is to cut out hypocrisy. I think that the whole environment reflecting the ethos of the school has always been honesty above all else, even if its meant saying, look I'm going to work today, I'm really sorry, I completely forgot that it was a Jewish holiday., as happened to me probably two months ago, I think it was Shavuot, two days and I had only put down one day and I am very careful, I've got a Jewish calendar at home and at work but I only put down one day and the second day I had a meeting. L would say to me yes you could miss it but I decided not to and I went to work and I said look I'm sorry I'm going, it's just a decision that I made. And it's honest, it may have been wrong and maybe that's not the ethos of the school because we are not quite conforming to what the school wants. But by me, honesty overrides that. And my view is yes they are right, I shouldn't have gone to work is my concession to them and in future I will avoid doing that.' [R2]

Family R4 were already reasonably observant and were determined to support the religious ethos of the school in order to avoid the problem of confusion in the minds of the children.

H: 'If you are going to send a child to a Jewish school and the kid is learning one thing at school, you have to, when he comes home, support what he is learning. **If you don't support what is learned at school then you are confusing the child.** I think that it is how we have got to bring our children up, believing in the principles behind the religious side of the school and whatever they learn at school is something that they should be seeing at home or bringing home to us.' [R4]

The husband felt that it was important for the children to feel that what they are learning at school can also be applied at home.

'Who knows, maybe I'll do something wrong, I only had a basic Jewish education, and they might say no, this isn't how we do it at school. Fine, I'll say, let's do it your way.' [R4]

He felt that a two-way relationship with the school was important:

'I think that it is very important that if they are bringing it home, they are taking something from the school to the home and from the home to the school....You just hope that you can instil values into them and that the school can instil that as well.' [R4]

His wife stressed the importance of the home providing the feeling and atmosphere of the Sabbath or Festivals.

'But you know, when we are talking about ethos, a general feeling doesn't necessarily mean that we have to do everything straight down the line. As long as the feeling is there. So that on Pesach when they come home that there is a special feeling in the house, they know that we are changing over. It might not be the same way that the Rabbi does it but there is a feeling in the house. On Yom Tov they know that something exciting is happening. They are getting it from school and they know that there is something in the home as well.' [R4]

The wife was especially sensitive to the sense of excitement brought home from school by the children.

'They thrive on the religious side of that school. On Yom Tov and Shabbat, everything, you know, the excitement and they just bring to the front door with them, and to me that is more precious than anything.' [R4]

According to the husband, the school can claim success on two counts:

'**If the child can change the parents** or the child continues it on where he didn't come from an orthodox background, that's where **the school has really won**. The school has instilled a way of life in the child that he never came from.' [R4]

His wife commented about the possible attitude of some children towards their parents.

'I do also feel very strongly that ...I don't think the child should make the parents feel badly what they are doing, I think that is really important.' [R4]

Both parents were delighted when their children demonstrated aspects of Judaism that they had learned at school.

W: 'Oh it's lovely.'
H: 'I think that it's tremendous. I think that if they come home and they say to us, listen tonight is such and such a thing.' [R4]

These parents had suffered a great loss with the death of five sextuplets born some eight years previously. Since that time they had four more children, but their earlier experienced had made them value every aspect of their children.

'We are a very child-orientated family...Everything is for the children We worked very hard to get them, we had a struggle to get the first of them. So our whole life is centred around the children.' [R4]

Family R6 stressed felt the importance of giving their children the opportunity to make up their own minds.

'We try to give them both views and eventually they will make up their minds....yes we are imposing already by having a kosher home.' [R6]

Family R8 were asked to comment on whether parents should direct their children's religious observance or let them make up their own minds. The following excerpt is rather long but worth including in its totality.

W: 'Both. I do feel both. I think that when they are younger you have to tell them what to do. You can't say to a six year old, "you decide whether or not to go to shul on Shabbat", or "you decide whether or not you're going to eat bacon". You can't give a child of six that freedom of choice. I think that you have to know the ground rules and you have to say what you will and won't do with a young child. And going I suppose on the maturity of the child you'll come to a certain point when you'll say, OK they are old enough now to start to make a few decisions for themselves. Which is exactly what we did. We stopped forcing them to go to shul on a Yom Tov when they got to post Barmitzvah age, and we started to say to them, "look, what you want to do now, is your own life", to a certain extent. Of course you've got to confirm to certain family values. We gave them a much freer rein when they started to become teenagers didn't we? Because I think that if you try to tie your children too much to you, it will have totally the opposite effect and they will just do what they want and just rebel. I know that's what I did. I went off shul and I went off religion totally as a young teenager. I just think that's one of the main reasons why we sent them to a Jewish school. It gives them the freedom of choice. They've got the knowledge, they've got the background and they can loosen the apron strings and then they can start to make their own decisions. You (to Husband) you were totally totally anti-religious for years during your teenage years. I'm not saying you're a religious person now but you are much more aware of other people's observances and much more tolerant....and you've been influenced again. All over again. I think that freedom of choice is very important but not when they are really young. When they are really young they must be under your guidance.'

H: '..unless you've learned about something first, you can't make an informed choice. And that goes for a background of religious knowledge.' [R8]

Family N7 felt that through their observant lifestyle they were showing their son the way they would like him to continue.

H: 'Well it's how we want him to grow up. If we don't show him the way how is he going to find it. When he becomes eighteen he might say that he wants to be a Muslim or Catholic or whatever. I'd be disappointed when I think that we've given him the chance to choose a Jewish life for himself. If I don't show him the Jewish life how is he going to chose it ?' [N7]

Discussion and conclusions from the above data relating to the attitude of the parents towards their children regarding religious observance.

The questionnaire data above indicated the high percentage of parents who felt that parents should direct their children's beliefs by example and not allow them to 'make up their own minds' in the early years. Only one family interviewed (B6) felt that children should be allowed to make up their own minds about whether to live in an observant manner or not.

The content of a high percentage of questionnaire responses from parents who saw their role as influencing the children through example, is very revealing. Bearing in mind the fact that the majority of these parents confirmed that their own level of religious observance had increased because of the influence of their children and the school, it was clear that they saw themselves as promoting a more religiously observant life style.

Many examples have been given in the chapter above, of the comments made by parents, such as: 'You've got to show children the right way' ... 'Children are very much influenced by their parents' ... 'So if you don't make the decisions for them at this stage in life then they stand no chance later on.'

An equally high percentage of responses from parents in respect of the second statement, showed the value they placed on the importance of a mutual role between parents and the school in order to promote a higher level of religious observance. Most did not see a religious school as a threat which might intrude into their own private lives.

It was apparent that the parents who were more 'traditional' than 'observant' felt the need to ensure a pleasant 'Jewish' family atmosphere for the children to enjoy. According to one parent: 'With such a family atmosphere at home, what on earth is she going to want to go out on a Friday night for?' Another parent focused on the social family atmosphere of a Friday night meal: 'But I think that's the one night that we try to eat as a family...Friday night we really try to do something together, with my mum as well.'

The overall response from the returned questionnaires and the interviews focusing on the importance of a Jewish school was very favourable. One of the above comments (see family R4 page 247) appears to reflect the attitudes of many parents: 'They thrive on the religious side of that school. On Yom Tov and Shabbat, everything, you know, the excitement they just bring in to the front door with them, and to me that is more precious than anything.'

Chapter 11

Comments of the parents relating to their anticipated future level of religious observance.

This chapter contains three sections:

1. Response of parents if their children want them to increase their level of religious observance.
2. What might have been the level of the religious observance of the parents if their children had not attended a Jewish primary school ?
3. Comments by parents regarding their own anticipated future level of religious observance.

Section 1: Response of parents if their children want them to increase their level of religious observance.

- **Eight families were fully prepared to increase their own level of religious observance if their children would make such a request.**

Family B1 were very positive, although the husband added a word of caution.

'I think that I would discuss it and see what they wanted us to do. I would take each individual thing on its merits and decide if I was capable of doing it and if I was interested in doing it..... I would consider them very seriously and try my best to do it.'
[B1]

The husband of family B5 pointed out that he and his wife were prepared to live in more observant manner even though most of their own personal friends were not at that level.

'We would go as far as he wanted really....but we probably would take that step further if it meant that he could observe more what he wanted to observe more.' [B5]

The wife of family R1 had actually suggested to her husband that he should work on a Sunday rather than a Saturday. His response was certainly positive:

'Yes, it could possibly happen. I think we could cope with that. As far as levels of observance, everybody takes Shabbat or observing to their own level and I am quite happy taking it to that level.' [R1]

The wife of family R3 viewed the possibility of increased religious observance in a reasonably positive manner, stating that:

'Ten years ago I would never have believed what we are doing now.' [R3]

Family R2 had responded positively to the pressure of their children. It was ultimately the combined pressure of both of their sons that made the family decide to conduct their own lives in a more religiously observant manner.

'Well they are pushing and pushing and pushing and they are succeeding. We might be able to tolerate it. We try not to be confrontational or defensive without reason. It's not easy.' [R2]

In family R4 when asked for their feelings if their children wanted them to become even more observant, the opposing attitudes and responses of husband and wife were very revealing. The husband, who felt that they were already leading a religious life, had no doubt that they would be prepared to become even more observant, but his wife was not so sure. There was a limit to the extent of increased observance that the wife was prepared to undertake:

'It depends on what extent they want us to go....I will do anything for them but it will not change me that much.' [R4]

When asked to what extent she would be prepared to increase her observance, she replied:

'I don't think that we'd go to that next stage.... I would say to them, look, I've always said to you that we're doing what we can to do what we feel is the right level for us. And I am prepared, I would be prepared to do more within the home. I would be prepared to do whatever we're going to do.' [R4]

The wife of family R7 believed that her children:

'Fully understand that this is how far we are prepared to go.' [R7]

Nevertheless she would be prepared to increase her level of observance if it would benefit her children:

'So say for instance if Gabriella joined Bnei Akiva, during the winter I would walk to shul when I would bring her there and I would obviously walk back with her. I would make life easy for her. I would never say, no you're not doing that.' [R7]

There was a clear difference of opinion between husband and wife of family N7. The wife was prepared to increase her level of religious observance whereas her husband had certain reservations.

M: To what extent could your children push you to be more religious ?

W: Very far.

H: Not me. What if they say don't drive your car on Shabbat. Would you do that ?

W: Yes. If they said don't talk on the phone on Saturday, I wouldn't.

H: You wouldn't do it ?

W: No, I wouldn't do it.

H: I would try to find a way to explain that I will back them up. If they want to do it. I grew up differently from them and they will have to respect my way as I will respect their way. It's not easy to talk with children in this way. One of the problems of being in a Jewish school is the lack of knowledge about other religions. They know nothing about other things that can be very beautiful. They are lacking in information. Sometimes I have to find a way to explain to them that they are Jewish but here are some other things in the world. This is why I don't want them to go to a Jewish secondary school. [N7]

- **Ten families stated that they would consider any possible request from their children that they should lead a more observant life but indicated that it would not affect their own long-term level of religious observance.**

The husband of family B4 felt that they were already leading a religious life at a level that suited them. Any increase in that level was dependent on the effect it would have on them.

'I suppose that the answer is, it depends what. If they said that they wanted to go to shul every week and they wanted to walk, well maybe that's pushing it. If they wanted to go to shul more often, that isn't pushing it.' [B4]

Similarly the husband of family B7 felt that it was unlikely to happen, but would be prepared to compromise if it was necessary.

The husband of family B8 felt that the whole family were 'moving together' as a unit.

'I think that to be honest we are probably doing more than the school would demand, certainly more than the school would suggest.' [B8]

The wife of family B10 felt that she would probably resist any effort by her children to live in an even more observant manner.

'I was going through a stage a few years ago of wearing a more modest dress attire, but really I didn't feel that comfortable. I was mixing maybe in frummer circles. And I don't like going to these separate seating larks.' [B10]

Both husband and wife of family B11 who were already observant regarding dietary laws, were in agreement that :

'The only thing would be our observance of Shabbos and the Festivals and I think that would probably be it really.' [B11]

Family B12, who were not observant, said that they would consider any request from their daughter, as long as they felt that it would not be too much of an imposition on them, but, as with many other families, emphasised that: 'it depends what she wants.'

The husband of family R5 was very positive regarding an increased level of observance due to the pressure of their children but it would be dependent on the level and the degree of additional observance that their children had asked them to reach.

'I think that there would have to be a limit. A lot would of course depend on what it was that they wanted us to do....Due to the children we had proper kiddush or Shabbat and sang Zemirot during the meal and benched. Due to the children we don't cook or drive on Shabbat. We have a time switch for the lights, we have a proper Seder. We try to do most things but we are not extreme ultra religious...The children can be as religious as they like but we would limit how religious we want to be...Well we are doing so much now which all began because of our children so I suppose that doing more wouldn't be terrible if it helped to keep the family together—as long as it was something that we could adapt to and cope with.' [R5]

The wife of family B6 was prepared to accommodate any increased level of observance for the children, but insisted that it would not have any long term effect on her own personal level of observance.

'While they are living under my roof? The home can remain kosher. I'll still get in my car on Shabbat and I will drive. I will still maintain my beliefs but I will accommodate the children to the best of my ability. So if they decide not to watch TV on Shabbat then I'll do my best to make sure that doesn't happen. I'm not really interested in time switches for lamps. I'm certainly not going to cut the toilet paper. But they can if they want to.....If our children want to be more orthodox then that's OK and I'm prepared to learn from them. But until somebody can convince me, my beliefs will remain the same. I am quite prepared to do whatever is necessary to make my children understand that whatever I believe and whatever they believe won't change.' [B6]

The response of the wife of family B9 was very similar to the above comment:

'I suppose that there is a lot more that we could and should be doing. I think that I've already pushed him a long way along the line, probably as far as he is prepared to go. I suppose that we should go a bit further and shul on Shabbos is the next thing..... It wouldn't mean that I would change my life style. It has happened to a couple of families I know. And I do think that it gets to a point where it's fine and we would ensure that we will try and respect them but it wouldn't mean that we would be changing our life style. By that time they would be of an age to make their own decisions. I can't see us changing.' [B9]

A comment referred to previously (see page 207) was made by the husband of family B3 who were not observant.

‘There’s a little flame that keeps burning, maybe that’s the important thing, there’s a little flame somewhere.’ [B3]

His wife took up the concept of the ‘little flame’.

‘That could be rekindled by Joe. I said to Mike if Joe comes home and says, right we’ve got to have kosher this or kosher that, you know then I’ll do it because it doesn’t make any difference and Mike said Oh I’d rather become vegetarian.’ [B3]

I feel that all the families who have been interviewed in this research project have indicated in one form or another that they have this ‘little flame’ of Jewish identity that keeps burning. With some families it is evident that the flame is more intense than in others, but I have not found any family where the flame is not burning at all. The purpose of this research is to determine whether the Jewish primary school or the children could be a catalyst in re-igniting the ‘flame of Jewish identity’.

- **Four families stated that they were unwilling to increase their level of religious observance, even at the request of their children.**

The wife of family B2 stated:

‘In the past I would have gone further. I don’t think that I would now... I think that’s the situation that we have reached now. so far and no further. But now I think that we’ve actually reached a point with what we want to do.’ [B2].....

The husband of family R6 was unsure what his future response would be, but felt that he would not, at that moment, consider any request to increase his own level of observance:

‘Today, if you ask me today, I will say no, there is no chance. But when the time comes and when it’s.... you are in a different situation, the way how you are maybe somehow I want to please my daughter. But from that you can build up and build up and build up, you never know. But if you ask me today I’d say, no sorry. If you want, you can invite but what you see is what you get and what you have. But sometime it would be...’ [R6]

The wife of family R8 was quite sure of her response even if it resulted in the creation of major problems.

'I would cope with it fine, if he didn't impose it on us. If he moved out and lived his own life, that's absolutely fine. Whenever I would want to see him I would fall in with whatever he wanted in his own home. But I would not want him to impose it on us... I would find it a problem. I would try and compromise. If Jeremy wasn't willing to compromise we would have a big problem. I don't know how we'd solve it but we wouldn't be happy would we. We've found our level I think...I don't know what we'd do. It wouldn't make for easy living. I think that we'd become quite acrimonious, irritated by each other. I don't think that either would give. So I think we'd have problems...' [R8]

Although the wife of family N2 considered that although she might be prepared to increase her level of religious observance at the request of her children, her response was not a very strong one. Her husband appeared to be more realistic in his response.

M: To what extent do you think that you might be prepared to be pushed to do something more if the kids made a stand ?
W: I might because the older one keeps saying to me there are other things and there are perfectly nice things and of course there are. And now delicatessen wise it's so easy to get nice Jewish food out that it might be easier to do. It becomes easier to do
H: I try to make a stronger stand when I'm out. I don't always succeed. I'm not saying I'm perfect but particularly when I'm with the children I try to respect their ways. And I will try not to eat non kosher, certainly if I'm with them. But I do lapse sometimes.
W: There was one holiday when we only ate fish all the time.
H: There are holidays when I only eat vegetarian. I try, I try but I'm not very observant. And I agree with the philosophy that we should encourage them to eat kosher food if possible. But none of us is perfect and we come from a background that isn't strictly orthodox in that way.
W: And it's a great treat to go out and have a vienna schnitzel or whatever.
H: My parents didn't even keep a kosher home. So I feel that I've moved forward a little bit. Not very far but I've moved a little bit. [N2]

Section 2. What might have been the level of the religious observance of the parents if their children had not attended a Jewish primary school ?

Parents were asked what their level of religious observance might have been had their children not attended a Jewish primary school.

Group 1: 12 families stated that they would certainly not have been as religiously observant.

Group 2: 3 families felt that there would have been no noticeable change in their level of religious observance.

Group 1: Families who stated that they would not have been as religiously observant if their children had not attended a Jewish primary school.

Family B1 relied on the school to provide a deeper Jewish knowledge. As a less observant family they felt that whatever their level of religious observance, it was due to the school and would be far less if their children had not attended a Jewish school.

‘Probably we would have been less religious.. I knew that we were very middle of the road and I wouldn’t be able to give them that background if I didn’t send them to a Jewish school. I personally couldn’t give them everything that they have got from a Jewish school because I’m not so observant.’ [B1]

Family R2 felt that the impetus for their own religious observance had come from the school and would have been greatly reduced had their children attended a non-Jewish school.

‘The impetus had to come from somewhere. We didn’t choose the Jewish school because we wanted it to have an effect on our lives , but it has. We chose it because of the children. It wasn’t any kind of deliberate move.’ [R2]

Family R8 were equally sure that the Jewish school 'had a tremendous influence' on their own level of religious observance and that they would 'have drifted' without this influence. It was also the social friendships that were made between parents.

W I think that we'd have drifted actually.
H: We might have, but then, because of your family there would have been a certain link.
W: Yes, but not to this extent.
H: It would have been more of an imposed thing than part of everyday life. I think that's probably what draws you in, it becomes part of your everyday life.
W: I think that the school had a tremendous influence. .That's how I made my friends [R8]

Family B3 needed the school to back up the religious life of the family. As far as religious observance was concerned, it appeared that the school had taken on the role of being 'significant adults' for their children. The husband still felt however that it was the role of the parents and the home to provide the religious background and ethos. The grandmother of the children was also present at the interview and made a most pertinent observation.

'I think that the big difference is in the relationship between children and parents, there's input from both sides and all the children would have had is what you would have had. But it's not just from us. I think that it's the background conversation, it's the way you live your life.....We haven't all got time in our lives to give them all the background that they need that we can live it in the middle with the background around us that's already spoken that we don't have to keep going on and defining. So the children have a definition from school that then puts what we do in the home into a different context and if they don't have it they miss it. I can see what they are missing as I compare my grandchildren and I think that it's a shame that they don't get it.' [B3]

At this point her daughter (the wife of the family) added what I consider to be the central point of all the above comments of this family:

'I couldn't give them that choice. I need the school to back me up. We can't all be significant adults for our children and they have to have their significant adults.' [B3]

Family B4 realised that they could not offer their children a sound Jewish experience at home and thus relied on the school to instil this. They had no doubt of what would have been the result of not sending them to a Jewish day school.

W: 'Probably we would have been less religious. I mean we have friends whose children go to non-Jewish schools but they are more religious than we are and the children haven't lost out on anything. One thing I knew that we did worry about. I knew that we were very middle of the road and I would be able to give them that background if I didn't send them to a Jewish school. I personally couldn't give them everything that they have got from a Jewish school because I'm not so observant.'

H: 'I see the school as almost being like a parental substitute in the sense that they do so much for the children in Jewish education. It leaves us with very little that we have to do to teach them. They get it from the school. It's a part of their daily life.' [B4]

The wife of family R7 stated that had the children not attended a Jewish school their life would have been different and they probably wouldn't do as many things as they do today.

'Well first of all, they wouldn't go to shul on the Festivals they would probably only go to shul on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. I think I would have done what my parents did. On Sukkot and Shemini Atzeret and the first two days of Pesach we went to shul, but on Pesach I still went to school and things like that. I think that I probably would have still sent them to school. I suppose that it would have been very different. I think that I would have still done the same on Friday night because I think that the tradition at home is very important.' [R7]

The husband also considered the other implications for their children due to the absence of a Jewish day school education.

'I think that here would have been big differences. As a mother and father we would be very concerned if they weren't at a Jewish school in terms of having Jewish friends and I think that we would have been looking at after-school clubs and other activities to try and get them involved in the Jewish way of life.' [R7]

The wife of family B6 felt that the school had given the family a Jewish cultural environment and had the children not attended a Jewish school there was every likelihood that their Jewish life could be forsaken.

'It would have been different. I think I would have either played more of a part in the religion to give her that start or not doing it at all, and forget it. You know, we're just not religious at all.' [B6]

She spoke of her brother's family who were totally divorced from a Jewish life.

'They have two children who have no idea that they have anything to do with the Jewish heritage whatsoever....They don't have any religion. They are completely atheist. Had we have not lived here, that that would have happened to us I think, not being a part of the Jewish community.' [B6]

Family B10 felt that Jewish life would be harder without a Jewish school and that 'probably we wouldn't be doing a lot of the things that we are now doing'. The children would probably remain at school on Festivals that fell on a normal weekday and that many other aspects of their Jewish life would lessen and probably end.

'From the religious point , probably we wouldn't be doing a lot of the things that we are now doing. If my children were at a non-Jewish school and it was winter, I'm not sure whether I would say that I would go to the different schools and pick them up early. I'd like to think that I would but I don't know. As it is now, I'm all ready for Shabbos when they come home. It might be at Shavuot time or the last two days of Shemini Atzeret, I might think that because school is so important, well these festivals are not that important and they would be easy to give up. They might be missing too much work. So those things start going.' [B10]

The husband of family R1 also felt that there would be a reduction in their level of religious observance.

'I would probably not done as much as I do now.' [R1]

The level of religious observance of family R4 had increased due to the influence of the school and would have been less if their children had not attended a Jewish school.

W: 'From the time that our daughter first started at school we started using a Shabbat urn and we had a time switch fitted. These were drastic changes.'
H: 'I didn't always get home on a Friday on time before Shabbos and now, it's only for the last 4 or 5 years that I do so.' [R4]

The husband of family B2 felt that the family currently depended on the Jewish school to give their children a sound Jewish education. Without a Jewish day school it would have been more difficult.

'We would have been under pressure to keep their Jewish education going.' [B2]

His wife added:

I personally feel that I would have been a lot less relaxed about Halachic things than I am. I feel that because they go to a Jewish school, to a certain extent I feel that I can relax about certain details.' [B2]

The husband of family B5 made the same comment:

'Well I think that in a way it would have made our lives a little more difficult only in the sense that by going to a Jewish school and mixing with Jewish children and being taught about all aspects of being Jewish, it's meant that it's taken the pressure off us to have to do it at home.' [B5]

It would be necessary to reinforce their child's sense of Jewish identity at home.

'So if he'd have gone to a non Jewish school it would have put a lot more pressure on us as a family unit to provide time to make sure that he was given the more specific knowledge that I believe is required.' [B5]

The wife of family B11 was aware of the necessity of a greater and deeper parental stress on Jewish life.

'We would probably have to answer a lot more questions. We would have had more input ourselves. We would have had to have been more religious to show that, especially with the Chaggim, I mean on Pesach that they can see me changing things around. With all the other Festivals like Simchat Torah we would have had to have done a little bit more and actually read a bit more about it. And they would have to go to cheder lessons.' [B11]

Her husband commented that he was also aware of the implication of the increased number of non-Jewish friends their child would have and the corresponding need for the family to invite some Jewish friends in order to ensure a contact in that respect.

Group 2: Families who felt that there would have been no noticeable change in their level of religious observance.

Family B7 had retained the same level of religious observance from the time of their marriage and did not consider that there would have been any change to this if their children did not attend a Jewish day school.

'I don't think so.....before we got married we discussed what Jewish life we wanted, and we have never ever deviated from it. There is a certain base line you get to and we have not really deviated much from that, we really haven't.' [B7]

Family B12 felt that there would be no real change to their current level of religious observance.

'I think that possibly we might have stayed the same but the circle of friends wouldn't have grown. We physically wanted to know that the kids could have a great ball growing up like we had.... I had a great time. It was a close knit community.' [B12]

According to the husband of family B4:

'I honestly don't think that it would be that much different...we would have had a dilemma as to how to give them a Jewish education. I couldn't say how we would have solved it.' [B4]

Section 3: A comparison of the comments by parents regarding their anticipated future level of religious observance.

Many families felt that there would be no real change in the future to their current level of religious observance. The response, however, of both husband and wife of family B4 when asked this question is worthy of a more detailed analysis. There are so many deep seated reasons given by this family regarding their anticipated future level of religious observance, that it is well to analyse them section by section. As both husband and wife appeared to be at one with each other, the responses are given for the family and not designated husband or wife.

1. I can't see us or myself being that observant.
2. I enjoy going to shul
3. our friends are very similar to us.
4. we haven't moved that far forward that I think that we will move back again.
5. We will probably stay at the same level.
6. I would have said the same thing.
7. I think that I'd probably go to shul a little less than I do now
8. because I go more for the children now.
9. There was a time when I would have liked to become more religious
10. but you can't do everything.
11. My husband feels that it's too much sometimes if we are going to be that religious.
12. We live in a sort of compromise.
13. Every so often I get a feeling that I would like to be more religious
14. but on the whole I think that we each sort of compromise.
15. It's a big jump to do this when you've been doing what we're doing now and then to become Shomrei Shabbat ,
16. for me it's like a chasm, I can't really cope with that.
17. I know that E considered it very seriously.
18. But now I realise that it's not practical because I haven't got family like with friends who are interested enough to do this
19. and they have a family or circle of friends who are interested enough and they all get together and they are socialising.
20. You have to do that on a Yom Tov or you would go out of your mind with boredom.
21. Unless you have been to shul that's it. It's a very long day if it's only you and the children and you can't do anything else.
22. I think that we are comfortable the way we are therefore unless we changed but I couldn't see any reason to change. [B4]

An analysis of the above comments of family B4.

There was a clear indication that the family had no intention of being fully observant in an orthodox manner. The two main reasons given were firstly that , regardless of any religious activities undertaken for the sake of their children, they did not feel that they had really moved that far forward in a religious sense. Secondly, their own friends were similar to them, therefore their social life was unlikely to change. Once their children were older they would probably not go to the synagogue quite as frequently. Neither felt that religious life would disappear but that there would have to be a compromise. Once their children were much older and were no longer dependent on their parents to the degree they experienced in earlier years, the parents admitted that they saw little reason to continue leading such a religiously observant life.

Similarly, another family [B1] admitted that there was every likelihood that their current level of religious observance would decrease once their children were older.

<p>W: 'I can't see us or myself being that observant. I enjoy going to shul and our friends are very similar to us. You know, we haven't moved that far forward that I think that we will move back again. We will probably stay at the same level.'</p> <p>H: 'I would have said the same thing. I think that I'd probably go to shul a little less than I do now because I go more for the children now. [B1]</p>

A point to be considered and discussed in the conclusions to his chapter, is whether or not these comments made by families B1 and B4 are typical or untypical of the majority of families interviewed.

There were, however, other families, who in a similar fashion to family B4 above, stated that their current level of religious observance would generally remain at the same level even when their children were much older and may have left home. A selection of their comments are to be found on the following page.

'Probably at the same sort of level...I see some sort of initial fluctuation. We might turn on the television on Shabbos or have less religious friends round or visit them. But we would stay generally with the same way of life.' [B2]

'I can't see us changing.' [B9]

'It's kind of routine now...it is so much a part of our lives that I couldn't ever envisage myself not doing it. So I can't see that we will become any less. Because this is what we do. It's not a problem what we do because it's what we've always done.' [B11]

'I think that where we are now, we will carry on doing it...we will still go to shul on Rosh Hashanah and Pesach. But I don't know if I'd go on Sukkos or Shavuot. I couldn't see...I don't know, it depends on as you say it's a 'what if' situation. If in ten years time we got involved with the shul we could end up going even more. You know, you just don't know.' [R7]

'I think so, yes. Our established pattern suits us. We're comfortable with it... And this is the lifestyle that we feel comfortable with.' [R8]

'I think that if it was just me and the wife at the end of the day, our observance within these four walls would probably increase whilst our observance outside of these four walls would probably decrease. But who knows?' [B5]

Discussion and conclusions of the data in this section relating to parents' anticipated future level of religious observance.

Three areas have been examined in this chapter:

- Response of parents if their children want them to increase their level of religious observance.
- What might have been the level of the religious observance of the parents if their children had not attended a Jewish primary school ?
- Comments by parents regarding their own anticipated future level of religious observance.

It is important to acknowledge the fact that accurate research data is dependent upon what has taken place or is taking place at the moment of observation or interview. This cannot be the case in respect of what might take place in the future. It is speculative. I feel, however, that in this specific area of research, such data still has much to offer. It can be seen as a clear indication which reflects the feelings of the parents relating to their attitude towards religious observance. It can also reflect the extent to which parents had increased their level of religious observance for the sake of their children or because they personally had become more observant for its own sake.

Although the majority of families appeared to be prepared to increase their own level of religious observance at the request of their children, each family emphasised that such an increase would be dependent on what was asked of them. There was a limit as to how far each of them was prepared to go. In some cases it was clear that there was a difference of attitudes between husband and wife.

The intention of this thesis is to determine the effect on the religious observance of parents as a result of sending their children to a Jewish primary school. When parents were asked what their level of religious observance might have been had their children not attended a Jewish primary school the responses were very revealing.

Parents of eight families indicated that their own current level of religious observance would certainly have been far less had their children not attended a Jewish primary school. It appeared that there would have been no other incentive for them to lead a more religiously observant lifestyle. This is a very clear indication of the direct effect of the influence of the school on the lives of the parents. Three other families felt that it would have been very difficult for them to maintain their current level of observance without the input of the school as more effort would be needed from other sources including the home. These three families felt that there would have been no noticeable change to their current level of religious observance.

Fifteen families stated that they would consider increasing their level of religious observance if their children made this request. Seven of these families were fully prepared, without reservations, to increase their own current level of religious observance if their children made such a request.

Eight families were ambivalent about any such request although the overall emphasis of their response was more positive towards conforming than negative. There was no such uncertainty among the five families who stated that they were unwilling to increase their current level of religious observance, even at the request of their children.

Finally, with the exception of one family, the majority indicated that they anticipated no real change in the future to their current level of religious observance.

The analysis of the responses indicate that in the majority of cases any increase in the level of religious observance of the parents was undertaken mainly for the benefit of their children who had made such requests. This raises another essential question in relation to all the families who were interviewed. To what overall extent did parents increase their level of observance purely for the benefit of their children and to what extent did they do so for their own sake ? This will be examined in the next chapter.

At this point it is important to come back to the results of other prior research which has been detailed in the literature survey in Chapter 4.. (see: Bock 1976, Himmelfarb 1974, Fuchs 1978, Kelman 1978). It was clearly apparent from these previous research studies on the effects of a Jewish day school education on the pupils (not the parents), that only when the children grew up in a family where the parents were supporting the religious ethos of the school, would the children be likely to identify with Judaism in their later years. The reason for my research is to determine whether or not a Jewish primary school education could have a positive effect on increasing the religious observance of the parents which would in turn have a positive long term effect on their children.

If this is indeed the case, then the rationale and true purpose behind the parents' increase in their level of religious observance could be relatively unimportant. The essential factor must be the provision of a religious environment which the children will experience as they grow up.

In my final chapter (see page 331 below), I draw attention to the value of a future longitudinal study of some of the families who participated in this research. This would elicit clear facts regarding the true long term effect on parents. In the next chapter, however, I propose to study the statements of parents during the interviews focusing on what I have called 'sincerity of intention'. This will be an attempt to determine the reasons why some parents have increased their level of religious observance. Is it for the benefit of their children or intrinsically for themselves ?

Chapter 12

Sincerity of intention.

A deeper analysis of the reasons why parents may have increased their level of religious observance. Is it for the benefit of their children or intrinsically for themselves ?

A study of the data presented in this thesis, indicate that the majority of parents appear to have increased their level of religious observance due to the direct or indirect influence of their children. But, as the title of this chapter suggests, the question of the real motive of the parents remains: did they increase their level of religious observance for the benefit of their children or for themselves ?

Using the NUD*IST Data Analysis Program, every interview which has been previously analysed in the various sub-sections, was , for this purpose, re-divided into two additional categories.

[1] Parents who have decided that they personally wished to live in this fashion.

[2] Parents who increased their level of observance mainly for the benefit of their children who had made such requests

It should be noted that some of the interview comments made by parents may have been included in previous chapters, but are repeated here in order to **focus on the rationale behind any increase of observance.** There appears to be little doubt, from the data analysed in this chapter, that the majority fall into category 2. However, in some families, evidence from these interviews points to the fact that in **certain specific areas** of their increased religious observance, parents **who had been initially**

influenced through their children or through the school, were doing this not so much because of their children but because **they personally wished to live in this fashion**. The first section below deals with this category.

Category 1: Parents who have decided that they personally wished to live in a more religiously observant manner.

Four families had various personal and differing reasons for making a permanent change in their religious lifestyle. The specific phrases used by these parents were an indication that the increase in their level of observance, although prompted by their children, was firmly rooted in doing what they believed and were convinced was the correct manner in which to live their own lives.

'I do what I do, the children see me davening at home.. They are up early enough to see me davening, and they think that it's a perfectly natural part of the domestic environment to see Daddy standing there davening. They do not think that it's surprising at all. We are happy having moved forward. We are not complacent we're content...I think that we have put some more meaning into life.' [R3]

'It's because we've got kids and we decided to bring them up in this way which includes going to a Jewish school and doing more than what we were doing before they were born. So in a sense, the school is not the sole influence, but it is one of the influences.' [B4]

'But there is no question of us lowering our standards. There are certain levels we are at and that level will not be changed...it just won't happen.' [B7]

'I remember eleven years ago standing under the chuppa (marriage canopy) and the Rabbi was talking about your inheritance...That did make an impact on me, it really did. And that moved me on. Then when Lisa was born I was conscious that she was the next generation, and as much a part of us, and that's important. I kept on thinking of the phrase, "dor v'dor", from generation to generation, and that moved us on. ...Now I talk about Shabbat, but then it was Saturday morning...When Dad died, I was determined that I had to learn about "avelut", mourning, what had to be done, and I did my best for him and it had an effect on me...Gradually, gradually, gradually, the davening and again the companionship, I'd never been to a Seudat Shelishit meal in my life before I was a mourner. I started to enjoy it. But five years ago if I read a disproof because I wanted to be logical, and now I know that Judaism is totally rational. But I'm not preaching to anybody, it's my view. So that has moved us on and it's gone on ever since.' [B11]

The statement of the final family [B11] in this group is of particular interest as it highlights another reason for increasing one's level of religious observance. In all religions it has been found that during one's life there are several potential 'entry points' into a religious way of life. The husband of family B11 encountered several of these: the combination of the Rabbi's remarks about the importance of the inheritance or heritage of Judaism, the birth of their first child, the realisation of the passing of this inheritance 'from generation to generation' and the death of his father, all worked together with the result of moving the family on and encouraging them to continue in this way.

Families B4 and B11 mentioned above also stressed the importance of 'whole family' observance.

'Certain things are sacrosanct, one of which is Friday night...so Friday night is absolutely sacrosanct and the children know that.' [B4]

'They just take it that this is what they do because we do the same thing every Shabbos.' [B11]

Two of the families interviewed gave a clear indication that the increase in their level of observance of the dietary laws was self-imposed and not purely for the sake of their children. But the following key phrases are indicative of the rationale of the parents and are clear, purposeful statements of intent.

'We've moved ourselves on, for the last two years all our bread is now kosher.' [B8]

'But now he knows that he doesn't go to places like that because they are not kosher. Yes maybe there was a time when we would have gone but we definitely do not go now and there are no two ways about it.' [R1]

These parents have clearly indicated their own personal decision to live in a religiously observant manner and are quite different to the statements of other parents who have increased their level of observance purely for the sake of their children and may well return to a less observant lifestyle when their children are not with them.

Family B7 had designed their own family seder in order to ‘basically just reaffirm everything they do at school’ and felt that ‘there can’t be a better way of doing it’.

‘I decided very early on that the seder would be dictated from what they knew from school... We basically just reaffirm everything they do at school at our seder... We have set questions to discuss with them around everything they do at school. There can’t be a better way of doing it.’ [B7]

The comments made by families B8 and R3 stressed the deeper and beneficial effect of the Sabbath atmosphere bringing with it a sense of personal contentment.

‘It’s like being natural.... Oh yes that Shabbat peace, solitude relaxed, reading the Jewish papers, having a Shabbat meal, it’s just our own. Nobody else can bother it. It’s just our own intimate Shabbos.’ [B8]

‘You live life as a Jew, you get educated in a Jewish school your social group is Jewish, our social group is Jewish, it’s an entirely holistic thing. Not going to shul on Shabbos is not in our minds now, it’s what we do.... From the family point of view we all know that Friday night and Shabbos is the only time during the week when we sit down together as a family..... I can say to others that it is a wonderful liberating thing, It’s a life style changed for the better. I dash off to shul and come back a completely different person, serene, calm., good Shabbos, wonderful and it sets you up wonderfully until Sunday evening. So yes, the benefits of Shabbos can’t be stated highly enough.’ [R3]

There had been an increase in the level of religious observance of family N7 but not directly due to the influence of the school.

H: ‘I think that if we have increased our level of observance it’s probably for his benefit but not because he went to a Jewish school. It’s not because the school says that you mustn’t drive on Shabbat and that you must eat kosher. We would do that anyway. The fact that he goes to a Jewish school I don’t think wouldn’t persuade us either way. I don’t think that there has been any custom that we have adopted because the school thinks it is a good idea. Or that he says this is what they tell me at school.’ [N7]

Category 2: Parents who increased their level of observance mainly for the benefit of their children who had made such requests.

General Comments.

This category is divided into two sections:

[a] Parents who stated that they were willing 'unreservedly' to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children.

[b] Parents who stated that they were willing 'with limitations' to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children.

Section [a] Parents who stated that they were 'unreservedly' willing to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children.

Family B5 is a good example although they were concerned about the possible effect on their social life. The problem of social isolation is examined further below with family B1 in the section relating to festivals. (see page 289)

'We would go as far as he wanted really....But our contemporaries, our friends are really not that religious at all....But we probably would take that step further if it meant that he could observe more what he wanted to observe more.'[B5]

Each of the following families R1,R2, R4 and R5 felt that they were offering full support and encouragement to their children in every way and would be prepared to continue doing so. The specific phrases used by these parents indicate the main reasons for the increase in their level of religious observance. It is also important to note the ultimate effect that this had on the parents' personal feelings related to religious observance.

'I feel that I want to do a little bit more especially for him whereas I might have felt that I don't want to do as much or really anything at all So yes he has drawn me in a lot more.' [R1]

'It seemed to be a level of religion we felt comfortable with. It was above our "then" level of religion and we felt comfortable supporting that...The impetus had to come from somewhere...I think that we tried not just to give the boys a sense of "Well this is how we do things and this is how you do things", but we took cognisance of what they said and what they wanted... A two way thing because I enjoy going on Shabbat'[R2]

'We didn't want to put them into that position where they are learning one thing at school and they come home and we say, "Forget what you learned at school "So what the school is teaching them, we want them to come home and have the same values....If I can help to make them feel happy about what they are learning and what they are doing, I will.' [R4]

'There is no doubt in my mind that we must help our children by showing them that what they learn about Judaism at school, they also see here at home.... Almost everything that we do, we started doing because we wanted the children to feel comfortable about what they had learned I know that our children benefit even more from school lessons because they experience the same things at home. And we are always ready to learn and to do more things if the children feel that it is important or if we feel it is important... We wanted to do things for our children...We wanted our children to see that we were happy to live in a religious way. To begin with it was really only for the children, but after a while it became important for us too.' [R5]

The husband of family R2 stated that he also sensed the importance of his religious roots:

'As one gets older anyway you tend to reflect more on your roots... we are not doing it just to please anyone, we are doing it because we're doing it and if our friends see it, well it's what we're doing, you know we are not doing exactly what they want us to do.' [R2]

In the majority of all the above families, it was evident that even if the husband and wife had differing levels of religious observance, they gave the impression of being united when encouraging or setting an example for their children.

There was, however, an additional problem with family B9. The first comment of the wife was very clear. The problem was connected with her husband who was relatively unobservant and did not hide this from his family. This problem was being faced in a realistic manner by the wife who was determined to support and encourage her daughter's religious observance. It was clear that she anticipated a future change in her husband's level of observance due to the pressure of the children.

'I think that what we've done is to encourage her to do what she wants to do....anything that she wanted to do we'd never disagree...I'm waiting for her to point out that her father eats certain things out that we don't at home and say to him, "you shouldn't be eating that". She probably will but she's not done it yet....I think that he'd expect it. I think that he's just waiting for that to happen...Before we had children we already decided that they were going to be brought up how I wanted from the religious point of view...I think that if it wasn't for my input it wouldn't happen...I suppose that there is a lot more that we could and should be doing....At the moment it's only me doing it and eventually he'll come because the children are driving him mad. I can see that will happen. But it probably won't happen until she gets to an age when she can manage to go. He's going to have to go one day when she is BatMitzvah.' [B9]

Section [b] Parents who stated that they were willing to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children, but “with limitations”.

Family B3 for whom ‘being Jewish is very important’ would be willing to increase their level of observance although it was clear that any such change was unlikely to be a major one. Note the phrase, ‘its not such a big deal’.

‘Maybe if he says that he wants to have kosher plates then we will do it, it’s not such a big deal...And if it goes on, I don’t think that it will be so difficult....If he’s wanted to light candles or do something more, then we’d do it wouldn’t we?’ [B3]

Family B3 also focused on the need to transmit to their children a sense of pride in their religion

‘We can never hide from being Jewish...we will stand up to be counted with the rest So they might as well know and enjoy who they are.’ [B3]

Although the wife of family B6 had a very clear reason for her religious observance, there was a clearly defined limit regarding their level of observance.

‘She watches me light the candles on a Friday night...I’m doing it for her. I’m trying to recreate the upbringing that I had, probably because I was happy with it. I never questioned it. I loved it and I am trying to do for Miriam what my mum did for me.... I believe that Miriam has to see some connection between what she is learning at school and between what she sees at home...I want her to have the right start and to make up her mind...I’m not directing her beliefs, I’m directing her knowledge... I’m not encouraging her to believe in G-d the school’s doing that for me...She knows that Mummy doesn’t believe that there is a G-d, but that some people do and she’s learning about it... But she’s learning that we’re taking our own little segments of what she sees at school and then see them happen at home in a different way I’ve tried very very hard to let her understand bits of what I believe. ...So we’re kind of interpreting it in a different way... I will still maintain my beliefs but I will accommodate the children to the best of my ability. So if they decide not to watch TV on Shabbat then I’ll do my best to make sure that doesn’t happen’. [B6]

This is a woman with her own very strong personal attitude towards Judaism and particularly her lack of belief in G-d. This was a very strange situation. On the one hand the mother was doing her best, so that her child can 'see some connection between what she is learning at school and between what she sees at home'. Although this mother had stated 'I'm not directing her beliefs, I'm directing her knowledge', she also added that her child 'knows that Mummy doesn't believe that there is a G-d'.

It is interesting to note the mother's comments when asked what her level of religious observance might have been if their child had not attended a Jewish school.

'It would have been different. I think I would have either played more of a part in the religion to give her that start or not doing it at all, and forget it. You know, we're just not religious at all. Had we have not lived here, that that would have happened to us I think, not being a part of the Jewish community.' [B6]

In many ways there is a clear similarity between the following two families R6 and R7 where in spite of any self imposed limitations, both families had increased their level of religious observance due entirely to the influence of their children.

Family R6 were pleased that their children were receiving a Jewish education from the school. The family were prepared to support their children but only up to a limit. 'We enforced it as much as we can and we want to...but in our home we will do as we see fit.'

'I don't understand. I don't read Hebrew. So I was happy that they were getting it from somewhere. If I couldn't give it to them and John didn't have the time, it was very important for them to know their heritage and their history, and to speak the language We enforced it as much as we can and we want to. We travel on weekends but we do the basic things...it's the children pushing us to shul on the holidays. They're the ones who want to be there and they make us go to shul... We don't impose. Yes we have a kosher home, but driving - we drive. But it's conflicting and I haven't the exact answer to it. I know it doesn't make sense, we are sending them to a Jewish school... We try to give them both views and eventually they will make up their minds. So I don't want to...yes we are imposing already by having a kosher home. We wouldn't do anything to offend anybody. But in our home we will do as we see fit...I went to shul because of the children, none of that would have happened if it wasn't for the children.' [R6]

Family R7 were not strictly observant when they first married. The had no doubt that the increase in their level of observance was due to their children. The husband stated that he had no wish to increase his own level of observance any further but felt that his wife could become more observant. His wife however stated quite firmly that she also had her limits stating, 'I wouldn't change my home. I wouldn't change our home lives just to do something to suit them.'

'When we got married we kept a kosher home, but that's basically all that we did. And I honestly believe that subconsciously we both probably felt that we should do a bit more...And the kids have come as a good excuse for us actually to do more. They've made us do more. They've pushed us. Which neither of us have actually said no we don't want to do more. We've just done it because we felt that we wanted to do it...It gives you a reason for doing it...I'm quite comfortable with what we do now. I don't particularly want to go any further...I'm quite comfortable as we are now... Jill would probably want to go further than I would though. I think that Jane would like to become slightly more religious than we are at the moment.' [R7]

Specific areas of increased observance.

The following comments of parents during interviews relate to Section [b] relating to increased observance by parents for the benefit of their children, but with limitations. The following specific areas of increased observance are included:

- Observance of the dietary laws
- Observance of the Sabbath.
- Synagogue attendance
- Observance of the Festivals

Observance of the Dietary Laws

Eleven families admitted that any increase in their level of observance of the dietary laws was done solely for the sake of their children. The responses from these families can be sub-divided into three groups:

1. Six families whose observance of the dietary laws is greater when with their children
2. Four families whose observance of the dietary laws is at a low level even in front of their children, but who would be willing to increase this should the children request it.
3. One family who do not observe any aspect of the dietary laws.

A summary of the comments of these families is given on the following page. When examining the comparison between the three groups it is important to note the fact that no family in any group is totally observant of the Jewish dietary laws. However, it is also important to note that of the 11 families listed below, eight are from Brook school and three from Ruben. The high number from Brook may well be due to the fact that there are very few kosher restaurants in that area as compared to the numerous kosher restaurants in North-West London.

Only one parent from Brook (see B8 page 270), was determined to keep fully kosher at all times: If there was any doubt that food provided at someone's birthday party would not be kosher, these parents [B8] insisted that they would send their own kosher food with their child. As the husband had stated: 'we've moved ourselves on'.

Summary of the statements of families in Group 1. (Dietary laws)

- If the children aren't there with me I tend to choose what I want. But if they are with us I don't. [B1]
- We do lapse when it comes to going out occasionally, but we are more strict if the children are out with us [B5]
- If the children are not with us we are a bit more ambivalent [B10]
- I mean we do things so that we set the example for Judy.[B12]
- I think it's a case of my wife's arm being twisted far enough so that she now does with less complaining than she used to buying what our son is happy with...it has changed how we eat outside as well.. I don't think he is going to change us in that way [R2]
- Why do things to upset them if it can be done and it's feasible and it makes them happy. Absolutely. I can't think that we've said no to anything they wanted. I would always let them do it... So I've done the best that I can do. They haven't asked for more than that. [R6]

Summary of the statements of families in Group 2.(Dietary laws)

- This year (on Pesach) for Miriam, we changed everything over - for her. I don't want her to feel excluded and different. So as she gets older we will do more. [B6]
- **M:** Would you like your husband to stop eating non kosher food ?
W: Yes, but I just think that she (the daughter) will accept it. I do think that on holiday when we are going away for three weeks that during that time she is going to say something., I don't think that she questions it at the moment. At the moment it's, "Can I have that ?" and she is used to asking and me saying, "no, you can't have that". [B9]
- **H:** We'd probably explain to her why we do what we do, which is keeping a kosher home but why we eat out in restaurants because ...that's not in our home .because that's what we feel comfortable doing...but I don't know...it's interesting. I guess we would try and ascertain how strongly she felt about it. If she felt particularly strongly about it then maybe we would go with what she wanted.
W: I don't know. I don't agree. I think that we'd stick to what we'd normally do. [R7]
- We are not consistent. We eat out but we don't eat meat. [B2]

Summary of the statement of family in Group 3.(Dietary laws)

'I'm terribly comfortable with what I do. I don't need to think about have I bought the right ingredients for the right meal. I don't have to feel guilty about that. There are other things to feel guilty about. I think that probably I should encourage them otherwise they will feel, I don't know, perhaps they will lose it or...I don't know, I don't think that I got anything from Jewish education that made me keep a kosher home and an observant home.' [B3]

Observance of the Sabbath.

Ten families admitted that any increase in their level of Sabbath observance was done solely for the sake of their children. The responses from these families can be sub-divided into two groups.

1: Six families had increased their level of Sabbath observance purely for the sake of their children but with a minimal effect on themselves with regard to personal observance.

2: Four families had initially increased their level of Sabbath observance for the sake of their children, but admitted that it had created a higher level of personal observance.

Comments relating to the statements of families in Group 1.

[The transcripts of the statements are on the following pages.]

There was no doubt that all the above families had increased their level of Sabbath observance. The comments of the first group of families gave emphasis to their feelings about the importance of doing something for the sake of their children.

Family B1 occasionally took their children to synagogue. but refrained from shopping on the Sabbath in the afternoon. Family B9 who took the children to the synagogue on most weeks would be prepared to go into town in the afternoons. They did not keep the full Shabbat because they

did not feel that their daughter had yet realised the implications: 'If she came home from shul and said that she wanted to go to shul every Shabbos then we would try to tolerate that'.

Family B3 would recite the Friday night kiddush if the children were still awake. Family B6 used the occasion for a family meal 'but that's about as far as it goes'. Family B12 experienced a Sabbath atmosphere at the school Shabbaton and felt that they would like to be more involved.

The longer excerpt of the comments from family R6 on page 278, is of particular interest because of the differing backgrounds of the husband and wife, described in fuller detail earlier (see pages.124 and 130) These parents attended the synagogue on Shabbat and Festivals due entirely to the demands of their children. The wife, who came from a totally non-observant American family, was concerned that the children would not feel out of place when they returned to school and were asked questions about it by their teachers. 'I did it because they wanted to do it. It was something that I was able to do for them. And for them not to feel out of place. And because they actually wanted to be there.'

The main factor that all these families have in common is the wish to give their children some input into Sabbath observance, whether it be synagogue attendance or merely a Friday night Sabbath atmosphere. The initial cause that prompted the parents to undertake or refrain from certain Sabbath activities appeared to be the enthusiasm of their children due to the school. However, with regard to the above families, it had a minimal effect on their own personal commitment of religious observance.

Statements of families in Group 1 relating to the Sabbath.

Families who had increased their level of Sabbath observance purely for the sake of their children but with a minimal effect on themselves with regard to personal observance.

‘Yes, it’s always difficult. I mean some Saturdays we do take the children to shul and then it’s always the question of how far do we go. I’m happy for the children to have friends to play to make that a day that’s different...I don’t like to go shopping on a Saturday, I’m just happy to have a lazy day. My parents like to come round and if the children stay here they can have friends here to play. So that’s different, whereas I suppose that before we had children we would go anywhere. We went shopping.’ [B1]

‘We have started to do more. If they are not too tired we have started to do kiddush on a Friday night and he understands it and he likes it. (We take the children to the synagogue) on the yomtov but very rarely on a Shabbat.’ [B3]

‘But I think Friday’s the one night that we try to eat as a family...Friday night we really try to do something together, with my mum as well. She was recently widowed and we try to be all together. And we try to do it here if it’s with my mum, because it’s easier if we do it together because I have to put them to bed. There is something in the home, we try to make it a family evening on a Friday night. But that’s about as far as it goes. Throughout the year she can see little bits and pieces.’ [B6]

‘My husband makes kiddush...he’s always done that. When our daughter was younger she used to go to bed earlier but now we keep her up. (*We go to synagogue on Shabbat morning*)...in the afternoon sometimes we go into town...really it’s a very wavy line this one. We don’t keep the full Shabbat, but I don’t think that for her any of that has come through yet... (*When asked for parental response if child wanted to do more*) I’m more likely to say that if you want to do it, then you do it. It depends what it is. It depends how much she is going to change. If she came home from shul and said that she wanted to go to shul every Shabbos then we would try to tolerate that. If there are other things that she came home with and said that she wanted to do, well it really depends what they are.’ [B9]

‘We went to the (*school*) Shabbaton... We went as a family... as a group, a family with all our friends. It was lovely to see the children in action and participating and it made me realise that I want to get involved.’ [B12]

Comments of family R6

'We started to go to shul. That I never would have gone to. Because the children wanted to go. I think that they've always wanted to go to shul for any of the (Jewish) holidays because coming back to school the next day the teachers said, "and which one of you was in the service, or what did you do?" They asked children do they want to be part of everyone else, they don't want to be the odd one out. And even though we have tried to teach the kids that it's OK to be different, you don't have to have what everybody else has, when it came to that in school they all wanted to go. So the next day they could all raise their hands and say on Simchas Torah we were there. .Because since they were young we would take them to shul.... I don't think I would have felt guilty... I did it because they wanted to do it. It was something that I was able to do for them. And for them not to feel out of place. And because they actually wanted to be there...When I go to shul... I'm a fish out of water. I can't read, I can't follow. So my main purpose for going is for the kids to be there... I have a nice feeling to be part of it. But if it wasn't for the children...To me the Shabbos ...it's a nice night to have the family together. Not as a religious thing but it's a nice time for the five of us for that reason to sit down and have dinner. So that would be something as they get older that we would still keep. Just some kind of continuity.'

[R6]

Families of Group 2 who increased their level of Sabbath observance for the sake of their children, but admitted that it had created a higher level of personal observance.

Comments relating to the statements below from families in Group 2.
[The transcripts of the statements are on the following page.]

With the first three of the following four families it was apparent that all had been affected by the 'knock-on effect of the children becoming more observant'. Family R2 would previously have gone out in their car on a Saturday night during the summer even though it was still the Sabbath. But due to the influence of their children they decided to refrain from this. They did not view it as a 'major sacrifice'. Although the husband of family R4 'found it harder than I thought' the family having made the decision to increase their observance, simply got on with it. Family R5 also faced a complete change to their previous way of life, enjoy it and admitted: 'Now we couldn't live any other way'.

Reference was made on page 277 above, to family B9 where the wife was actively encouraging the children but her husband was not prepared to do this to the same extent. In a similar way this reflects family R7 where the wife said that she 'would be happy to become Shomer Shabbat' whereas her husband had decided that although he would support his wife in this way, he personally did not wish to increase his existing level of religious observance. The important difference between the two families is seen in the extent of support given by the husbands. With family R7 the husband admitted that although he would get very little personal benefit from going to the synagogue on Shabbat, he was happy that he had taken his children and saw that as 'a sense of achievement'. His wife was satisfied that 'we've sort of found our middle of the road that both of us are happy with'.

'I can't think of specific areas where it's had an effect on us- but probably becoming more observant during Shabbat, not breaking Shabbat...there must be a knock-on effect of the children becoming more observant and saying, we don't want to do this on Shabbat, and we shouldn't be doing this. He has stopped us from going out...I think that it's something that we don't feel uncomfortable doing. In other words to my mind it is not a major sacrifice not going out for a few months in the summer and I'm kind of torn between it...But we might be able to tolerate it. We try not to be confrontational or defensive without reason. It's not easy.' [R2]

'Also we stopped using the phone on Shabbat. I have actually found it harder than I thought I would. It was a very drastic change for me. We made a decision and we just did it. But it was the children who were saying that you shouldn't press buttons on Shabbos.' [R4]

'I may not actually go to shul if they don't go but I will stay at home and not be seen to break the Shabbat. They have encouraged us to sing Zemirot at the Shabbat table and to bench at the end of the meal. They love teaching us all the songs they learn at school...we became more involved with the shul. I knew that at school they were learning about Shabbat and going to shul and I felt that it would be sensible if I took them there for the children's service, but after a while I got used to going and I enjoyed being there myself... when we moved, we wanted to live near the synagogue for the sake of the children and ourselves...We now go regularly...we have stopped having the TV on Shabbat and have made a proper Shabbat atmosphere for them because it seems that it is the way they enjoy and now so do we. Now we couldn't live any other way. We weren't like that when we were first married. We lived in a non-religious way, we didn't know any better. But now we do and we want to continue.' [R5]

W: 'Well I would say that they (*the children*) played a huge part in it... Certainly now Shabbos is Shabbos on a Friday night. I light the candles, the children light candles, we make kiddush, we have a nice dinner. But when there was just the two of us, I don't think there was any difference to any other night of the week... now I do take them to shul. I would like to become even more religious. I would be quite happy to but we've sort of found our middle of the road that both of us are happy with. But I would be happy to become Shomer Shabbat. It wouldn't be...you know I've gone probably more the other way than Peter. And I think that's from school...Just trying to back up what they do at school. Just so, in the way that we, in how far we are prepared to go, is showing them the right way. And what we feel is the right way... I'm not prepared to change all our ways. I know, you see, even the Friday night is our part of being more observant to the way that we used to be. Definitely.'

ML: 'What have you personally done that has made a change for you personally?'

H: 'Friday night. Obviously Friday night. Lighting the candles, doing the kiddush. I don't know if I go to shul any more than I used to. I probably still go on High Holidays. No more than that.'

ML: 'What about you? Would you get anything out of it?'

H: 'Honestly...I would doubt it. Although having said that, I'd feel happy that I'd taken my children. I would feel very comfortable in the fact that I've taken my children and that to me would be a sense of achievement. That I've actually taken my children and I've gone on a Shabbat.' [R7]

Synagogue Attendance

[The transcripts of the statements relating to Synagogue Attendance are on the following page.]

A total of seven families stated that their attendance at a synagogue had increased for the benefit of the children. Parents of two families felt that they also were enjoying and receiving personal benefit from the attendance.

‘Definitely, it’s all for the children. I mean I go to shul every week and I take all four of them. It’s not that I make them sit in shul with me all the time until they go to the children’s service. I want the children to enjoy and want to go to shul, want it to be a comfortable experience for them.’ [R4]

‘Now, I go (*to the synagogue*) because I want to and enjoy it, but to begin with it was certainly because of the children. I wanted them to experience the Shabbat at shul that they were learning about in school.’ [R5]

However, the parents of the five families below admitted that they had increased their attendance at the synagogue purely for the sake of their children and not because they had experienced any personal desire to attend. For family B1 the knowledge of their daughter’s BatMitzvah would result in the need for future synagogue attendance. Family B6 who did not observe the Sabbath in a religious manner, had no interest at all in going to the synagogue and left it to the children’s grandparents to take them. The wife of family B9 felt that as her young daughter was now learning about it, her husband ‘doesn’t mind going’. The husband of family B12 clearly did not enjoy going to the synagogue: ‘I’ve only been a few times, dare I say under sufferance’, although he admitted that as his daughter gets older he would be prepared to take her if she requests it. He then added, ‘The more I think about it, the more I want to be involved with it’, realising the need to support the studies of his children.

The final comment in the statements below is from the husband of family R1 whose synagogue attendance was entirely due to his son: ‘it’s given me more of a reason to do it’. The factor in common with all these parents

was the feeling that they should take their children to the synagogue (or in the case of family B6 to let them be taken).

W: 'Now is a crucial time since our daughter is coming up to Bat Mitzvah so there will be a renewed emphasis when she sees another girl having her bat mitzvah this week. That will be another big influence on her and will make sure that we go more often... Being a part-time teacher I have been fortunate that there has always been one day when I can have off and I take the children to shul then. I am very fortunate that on the other days either my parents-in-law or my friends will take the children to shul... I have to say that it's not because the children say I want to go to shul... No it isn't because they are saying that. But they are off for Yom Tov and they are at a Jewish school and it hasn't created a problem. '

H: 'No-one more than me feels more strongly that the children should be encouraged to go off to shul. She will do her best to make sure, whereas I am more neutral.' [B1]

W: 'Never. Never in a million years would he do it, (*take the children to the synagogue*) But he would arrange for someone else to do it. He's lost in a service. He feels lost there. He would say, "you go to shul and I'll clean the car." But I don't like to go either. The last time I sat through a service in shul was my own wedding. I couldn't do it. My in-laws go and they like it and they take the children.' [B6]

'I think that this is the one thing that's changed because of the school. Because she's learning about it. My husband doesn't mind going.' [B9]

H: I've only been a few times, dare I say under sufferance. But I can see that's sort of changing. Judy is very curious and all her friends do.

W: She's been a few times.

M: Would you go if Judy asked to go because her friends were going ?

W: Yes, if we are pushed like that because I want to be more involved. The more I think about it, the more I want to be involved with it...I feel it's a community task...I mean I see my daughter go to a Jewish school and when she comes home she recites prayers and whatever and which I know that when she is going to study for her Bat Chayil and our son for his Bar Mitzvah, I don't want to be behind them, I want to be ahead of them so that I know what they are doing. [B12]

H: I will take him to shul, whereas before I probably wouldn't have gone...It's something that I suppose I've always wanted to do but I've always drawn back from doing and as he wants to, its given me more of a reason to do it... I'm more into traditional as far as family tradition is concerned but not so much in going to shul, but for him yes.

W: Yes, I think that as our son gets older my husband will go more and get used to it. You see, he never had a father who took him to shul. [R1]

Observance of the Festivals

The transcripts of the following statements relating to observance of the Festivals are on pages 293-294 below. The data has clearly indicated that greater observance of the festivals is a major area of parental increase in religious observance. All the following eleven families had increased their level of observance of the festivals due to the influence of their children.

Family B9 had not only increased their synagogue attendance due to their daughter but admitted that 'we will try and accommodate more and more what she thinks is right'.

Family B10 felt that they were 'sucked into all the activities'. The happiness of their children had affected the parents in a positive and practical manner. 'How can you not reinforce it at the home and make an exciting thing because of your child's face? You've just seen it and it's glowing and you want to do something to reinforce the happiness, so it's a nice happy childhood for them.' The influence of the children was especially impressed on the husband who, 'never had proper seders. He never knew how to participate fully. But now we take it very seriously because the kids take it very seriously in school'.

According to family R2, the biggest change in their observance was greater attendance at the synagogue which they attributed to the influence of their children. The husband observed, 'I always sense that it is being orchestrated at school in a deliberate way with the teachers making a play of that and for the culmination of something that was initiated at school and ends in the festival'.

For family R5, their greatly improved and enjoyable seder was due, 'to what the children have learned at school'. They admitted with a sense of

pride, 'all thanks to the school. It has really changed our lives'. They felt that they wanted to impress on their children, 'that we too are a family who live in the way that the school is teaching'.

Family R6 were generally ambivalent regarding their overall level of religious observance. The wife spoke of her increased knowledge of the festivals due to the children and made mention of one particular Passover. 'That was the one time in my life where I actually remember all of them making a stand there'. The children insisted on a full and thorough festival preparation in the home and the parents agreed 'because it was at an acceptable level we did it. It's only when it goes to another level that it's not acceptable'.

The wife of family R7 felt that she was being educated by her children: 'because they learn so much about it at school and they teach me. That's the other thing, because I didn't go to a Jewish school and I only went to cheder which was useless, absolutely useless. I didn't have the same understanding as them. So when they tell you things, obviously you understand more'. Although she admitted that there was a limit to the extent of their level of religious observance, they made far greater effort to observe the festivals properly: 'My ethos is that I try and back up what they are learning at school as best as I can with what I can physically do rather than doing nothing at all.'

In a similar manner, the wife of family R8 felt that their level of Passover observance had increased due to their son who 'had a tremendous influence at Pesach time as that was all very important to him. How did I respond? I did it because that was what he wanted'. Her husband, whose childhood had not been observant, stated that his knowledge and ultimate involvement in all the festivals was due to the children. 'The children

would talk about the Festivals when they came home from school. So you'd be, I would be made aware of what was coming.'

Fuller transcripts of the comments of B9, B10, R2, R5, R6, R7, R8 relating to the observance of the Festivals.

'We will try and accommodate more and more what she thinks is right... The only thing that I think that the school did do was to increase their awareness and that if they really wanted to do something that they have learned that we do not do, then it will probably be accommodated. We already have changed in that we try to go to shul on Festivals, all the additional Festivals that we didn't keep at all. The whole time we were married until the last couple of years we had not kept them at all. I mean I knew they were occurring but it didn't have any impact on my life at all... Because she is learning about it at school and in that sort of environment, she should be aware of what she is supposed to do.' [B9]

'I think that probably the greatest area that's had an effect has been on me going to shul on certain holidays where I or we might not have gone. Say Sukkot or not the major holidays but the other holidays....., that's prompted us again when they say that there has been some build-up at school, and I always sense that it is being orchestrated at school in a deliberate way with the teachers making a play of that and for the culmination of something that was initiated at school and ends in the festival. That's probably the biggest effect it's had on us.' [R2]

'Thanks to what the children have learned at school, we have a really lovely seder. We say some in Hebrew and some in English but always we stop to explain and of course to listen to our children who have always something to tell us about a part of the seder or to teach us a new song. It is all so lovely and so different and all thanks to the school. It has really changed our lives. It's a real feeling of pride. I feel that I want to show them that we too are a family who live in the way that the school is teaching.' [R5]

'Going through the yearly cycle, we do get sucked into all the activities... you see their faces at half past three, beaming from ear to ear. How can you not reinforce it at the home and make an exciting thing because of your child's face? You've just seen it and it's glowing and you want to do something to reinforce the happiness, so it's a nice happy childhood for them. Pesach is the highlight of the Jewish academic year at school. It's beautifully done with a lot of seders and the children know all the songs so well. Because they know the songs so well it seems a shame not to give them the opportunity to repeat it... My husband never had proper seders He never knew how to participate fully. But now we take it very seriously because the kids take it very seriously in school.' [B10]

'Passover. I've never done a Passover in the house, we've always been away. But we did one Passover and they were insistent. They wanted the closets cleaned out. They wanted the chametz out of the house. They wanted new dishes and knives and forks... Are we cleaning the rooms thoroughly, did you sell the chametz? I've never sold chametz in my life. That was the one time in my life where I actually remember all of them they were making a stand there... Because it was at an acceptable level we did it. It's only when it goes to another level that it's not acceptable... I've always kept Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and Pesach. So those are the three. The other holidays. I'm embarrassed to say as I was growing up, I didn't know much about them. The kids went to a Jewish school and all of a sudden there is Tisha B'Av, there's Lag B'Omer, that I never even knew existed. So because I wasn't brought up with it, once the kids go it wouldn't stick with me.' [R6]

'But because they learn so much about it at school and they teach me. That's the other thing, because I didn't go to a Jewish school and I only went to cheder which was useless, absolutely useless. I didn't have the same understanding as them. So when they tell you things, obviously you understand more... We make more effort. I think the point is that we will make more effort when it comes to whatever Festival it is. And we will make sure that we do it properly. My ethos is that I try and back up what they are learning at school as best as I can with what I can physically do rather than doing nothing at all... But I will only go so far... We've certainly made a lot more effort which is part of us now... when we first got married we bought a box of matzahs and that was it. And now it's everything... Which is part of us... and going to shul on the Festivals is now part of us, whereas before we would never have gone.' [R7]

'Sam had a tremendous influence at Pesach time as that was all very important to him. How did I respond? I did it because that was what he wanted... Now when I grew up, Purim wasn't observed at all at my parents' house. But our children would dress up every year and it would make me conscious of the fact that it was happening, that it was a pleasant festival. So suddenly I'm interested in that, and in our own way we were beginning to take some part in observing it. There would be events that I would take the children to, like for instance, Simchas Torah which once again was something again that I didn't do when I was growing up. But I did do once we had children. The children would talk about the Festivals when they came home from school. So you'd be, I would be made aware of what was coming. I must say that I don't always look at the diary, it would just happen upon me, but I would know from the children what's coming.' [R8]

It is clear that the experiences of the above families were very positive ones. However, this was not the case with families B1 and B5. The wife of family B1 had normally been at work on Festival days, but one year the Easter holidays coincided with Passover. Although her husband was at work she decided to take her children to the synagogue. The results were not what she had anticipated.

'I must say that I had an awful time because my particular circle of friends are often at work. I had some of the kids back here to play. The children were OK but I was bored out of my mind. I couldn't stand it, I couldn't do my normal thing after going to shul and coming home... I felt so isolated. I'm not from a religious circle. It's great if you are... I thought I can't do this because there isn't a big enough family. It is very lonely if you are on your own. I think that after that, that was when I stopped pushing to become more religious. I thought this isn't going to be very practical. It's rather sad really actually, you know, after having looked forward to it so much, and then I thought I'm not happy... But now I realise that it's not practical because I haven't got family like with friends who are interested enough to do this and they have a family or circle of friends who are interested enough and they all get together and they are socialising. You have to do that on a Yom Tov or you would go out of your mind with boredom. Unless you have been to shul that's it. It's a very long day if it's only you and the children and you can't do anything else.' {B1}

Her husband felt that the potential change in their lifestyle would be an impossible burden:

'It's a big jump to do this when you've been doing what we're doing now and then to become shomrei shabbat , for me it's like a chasm, I can't really cope with that. I know that my wife considered it very seriously.' [B1]

The absence of like-minded friends is a crucial factor. It is, without doubt, a great bonus for any family who wish to increase their level of religious observance, if their family and friends are like-minded. In the above case there seemed to be no other social or family group with whom to share the experience. This is the reason why any increase in the religious life of family B1 appeared to be like "a chasm" that could not be crossed.

This point of view was also reflected in the comments of family N2.

M: Do you feel that the home should support the religious ethos of the school ?
W: Yes, it should be backed up at home then it is a double edged sword. It must give the child if he says mummy says so and teacher says so, so it must be so. Rather than when I sometimes say, Well I don't think so, then it causes confusion. Mummy says one thing and the teacher says another so which one is right ? So to back it up at home must give them more, it simply must.
M: Do you feel that you support the religious ethos of the school purely for the sake of the children or for your own sake?
W: Well, we do get something out of it.
H: I mean it's an indivisible package. It's partly for them but we get joy out of it. Seeing them benefit and we get joy out of making it happen for ourselves too. You can't split the two really. [N2]

In another case, the wife of family B5 admitted that she experienced a religious dilemma regarding the festival of Passover. Her own level of observance and belief was very low although she felt that she wanted her child to be aware of what was required.

‘We had Pesach with the family at my mother-in-law’s and my sister-in-law’s houses so that she can enjoy what she is learning at school and then put it into practice...Just because I think that it’s all rubbish, it doesn’t mean that I want her to know that just at the moment...it is important for her...There’s no point in me sending her to a school when we’re pretending it doesn’t exist when she comes home... it does and people believe it...At Pesach there are things that I refuse to do. I refuse to buy Pesach washing up liquid and ketchup, and tea bags as a whole. I’ll open a new box though. I will show her that I am doing something different... We do things in our own little way.’ [B5]

This is certainly a difficult situation and a problem that the child will experience as the years pass. There are two interesting factors in the above example that are worthy of examination. Firstly, that the child had been sent to a Jewish school in order to learn about the Jewish way of life. Secondly, the feeling of the parents that they were prepared to join in the seder at the home of other members of the family, not merely because it was a social event and a family get-together, but “so that she can enjoy what she is learning at school and then put it into practice.”

Discussion and conclusions of the data presented in this chapter.

In this chapter I have attempted, through an in-depth examination of all the families who have been influenced by or through their children, to determine the true effects of any increase in religious observance. To what extent have parents of the children actively embraced a religious life-style **for its own sake**, and conversely, to what extent have parents overtly increased their level of religious observance purely and mainly **for the benefit of their children** or when their children are with them ?

Based on the data, it is clear that, to a greater or lesser extent, all families increased their level of religious observance due to the influence of their children. It is likely that any such increase may also have been due to the wish of parents to support the religious teaching of the school in order to ensure maximum benefit for their children.

At the commencement of this thesis I referred to previous research particularly in the USA which showed that 'regardless of having attended a Jewish day school, there appears to be only a minimal adult identification with Jewish religious life in later years'. (see p.13)

I stated that 'evidence has shown that only when the parents and the home life have supported the religious ethos and teaching in the school, have the pupils continued to identify in later years with Jewish religious life'.

I added that, 'if in fact it can be shown that primary schools do have such an influence, it might suggest that their children would be more likely to continue to identify in later adult years in a Jewish religious manner'

The first part of this chapter focused on parents who decided that they personally wished to live in a more observant fashion. It is revealing to note that there are two areas in the comments of these parents that do not appear in the comments of parents who increased their level of observance mainly for the benefit of their children who had made such requests.

A number of interesting facts emerge when comparing the comments made by those parents who stated that they were 'unreservedly' willing to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children, with the comments of the parents who stated that they were willing to increase their own level of religious observance for the benefit of their children 'but only up to a point'.

The parents, who personally wished to live in a more observant manner, gave the impression that there would be no limit to the possible future increase in their religious observance. For example, family B5 who stated quite clearly: 'We would go as far as he wanted really' However, with only one exception it was evident from a closer examination of their statements that certain specific limitations or problems might indeed occur.

For example, family B5 used the word 'but' twice in as many sentences. Could they and would they increase their level of observance in social isolation ? The first 'but' referred to their contemporaries and friends who 'are really not that religious at all'. This may well be an important problem for them. The second use of the word 'but' was used with reference to their future observance which was 'probable' but not certain as they might have wanted me to believe.

Family R1 were prepared to do 'a little bit more' which does not suggest an unlimited increase. Whereas the level of observance of family R2 had reached what they considered was: 'a level of religion we felt comfortable with'. They admitted that this had been an increase compared to previous years 'and we felt comfortable supporting that', but they did not give me the impression that there would be an unlimited increase in the future

Family R4 also used the qualifying word 'if', when considering how important it was to support, in a practical manner, the religious teaching of the school. 'If I can help to make them feel happy about what they are learning and what they are doing I will.' This implies that there could be future occasions when the parent will consider the request and decide that she could not.

The wife of family B9 gave every indication that she wished to support and encourage their children in every way: 'anything that she wanted to do we'd never disagree'. However, with the added problem of a relatively non-observant husband it was little wonder that she added later: 'I suppose that there is a lot more that we could and should be doing'.

The above five parents, although initially giving a clear impression that they would unreservedly increase their own level of religious observance, clearly had already decided that there would still be certain restrictions and limitations. With only one family [R5] was there a clear indication that they would indeed do everything in their power to support the requests of their children. What had started as a way of doing something for their children had ended with total family commitment: 'We wanted our children to see that we were happy to live in a religious way. To begin with it was really only for the children, but after a while it became important for us too'.

The results of the analysis of the data in this chapter reveals that only four of the families, R3, B4, B8, and B11 truly fall into the first grouping of parents, who due to the influence of their children, have decided that they personally wished to live in a more observant fashion.

Data from the families interviewed has shown that the main reason for an increase in the parents' level of religious observance was for the benefit of their children who had made such requests. Although the majority of families who were interviewed had increased their level of religious observance, it was clearly more for the benefit of their children and focused primarily on the practical aspects of observance rather than the personal spiritual benefit they themselves received. There was usually a limit to such observance. In some cases it was shown that any such increase may also have been due to the wish of parents to support the religious teaching of the school in order to ensure maximum benefit for their children.

Amongst the noticeably smaller percentage of parents who had increased their observance more for their own sake, the majority stated that they were prepared and willing, without limit, to increase even more their own level of religious observance should their children make this request of them.

I have attempted in this chapter, to examine the deeper motives behind the decisions of parents to increase their level of religious observance. In the next chapter, I will attempt to compare the examples of the changes in parental behaviour, to which reference is made in this research. with established behavioural paradigms of social psychology.

Chapter 13

An examination of the various factors which have caused changes in parental behaviour as identified in this research, with a comparison of established behavioural paradigms in social psychology.

This chapter contains five sections:

1. Rationale and purpose of the correlation study.
2. The role of 'attitudes'.
3. The role of 'behaviour'.
4. The role of 'conformity'.
5. Discussion and conclusions.

Section 1: Rationale and purpose of the correlation study.

The data of this research has been firmly grounded in evidence relating to practical examples of changes in behaviour. The purpose of this chapter is to determine whether within the data of this research study there is any correlation with previous research in the field of social psychology in respect of the causes and effects of social conformity and deviation. Three specific areas will be examined here: **attitudes, behaviour and conformity.**

During the course of my investigations into the correlation between the various factors connecting this research with established behavioural paradigms in social psychology, I have referred to the work of twelve eminent behavioural psychologists whose work covers the period from 1958 to 1994. Nine of these studies have taken place over the past thirty years.

Social Psychology has been defined as ‘the scientific study of the way in which people’s thoughts, feelings and behaviours are influenced by the real or imagined presence of other people’. (Allport 1985:1)

According to Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, (1994:5) ‘Social psychology is about what goes on in the hearts and minds of human beings. Although examples differ widely, they have one thing in common, the phenomenon called social influence. In one way or another, people’s thoughts, feelings or behaviours were influenced by other people’.

These two definitions of social psychology are both accurate and pertinent and contain the very essence of the contents of this research study. I feel that it is important not only to examine the changes in behaviour relating to parental religious observance, but also to determine whether or not such behaviour and the reasons for any change in behaviour are typical or atypical of established behavioural paradigms. Evidence of such correlation will add strength and plausibility to the data both from the questionnaire responses and from the interviews. By employing the social psychological framework, it is intended to subject the data from this study to a richer analysis and lead to an extended understanding of the underlying reasons for changes in the religious behaviour of the parents of pupils attending Jewish day schools.

Before focusing on the relevant data itself, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between ‘**attitudes**’ and areas of ‘**faith and belief**’. In an earlier chapter, I explained why this research does not include areas of faith and belief, both of which play a major role in all areas of Judaism and Jewish life. I explained that although both belief and practice are fundamental to Judaism, as they are to all religions, it is without doubt that the practice of Judaism is considered to be of the greater importance.

The emphasis in Jewish teaching is not so much on what a Jew believes but how he or she behaves in the observance of Jewish laws, traditions and customs. It is more difficult to measure, in an accurate and reliable way, any changes in a person's level of religious belief. It is far easier to measure a quantifiable change in religious practice.

In this particular chapter, I will be examining the 'attitudes towards religious behaviour' which in turn might lead to a change in that level of behaviour due to the wish for an attainment of some appropriate level of conformity. Perhaps it is worth reiterating that with regard to this research, attitudes towards a specific type of religious behaviour do not necessarily constitute religious belief.

Section 2: The role of 'attitudes'.

Fishbein & Ajzen (1975) refer to this concept as a 'Theory of Reasoned Action' and suggest that the root cause of behaviour is one's intention to engage in the behaviour. They view behaviour as being influenced by the formation of an intention which becomes the psychological route between the attitude and the behaviour itself. To understand this concept in relation to the current research, it is necessary to determine the causes or reasons which form the intention of parents to live in a more religiously observant manner. Evidence from the data of both questionnaire responses and the in-depth interviews, as detailed in the previous chapters, indicates that the main reason which forms the intention to engage in the behaviour is the influence brought about by the children.

Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, (1994:286) understand 'intention, as a psychological construct distinct from attitude, and represents the person's motivation in the sense of his or her conscious plan to exert extra effort to carry out a behaviour'. They also point out that any change in a person's attitudes could be the result of a 'perceived moral obligation, which

represents people's personal beliefs about right and wrong'. In the context of this research, such perceived moral obligations have been identified in three ways:

- (i) the feeling of parents of their moral obligation to support, in some manner, the religious teaching of the school.
- (ii) the feeling of parents of their moral obligation to support, in some manner, the religious requests of their children.
- (iii) the feeling of parents of their moral obligation to support, in some manner the continued traditions of the Jewish people.

Aronson, Wilson, and Akert (1994:288) view this as an important concept as it 'reflects internalised moral rules - not perceptions of others' ideas about what one should do'. Such internalised moral views would therefore point quite clearly to the way a parent conceives the right and proper way to conduct himself or herself in a religiously acceptable manner, and is not bound by what others think should be done.

Breckler and Wiggins (1989:407) on defining attitude and attitude theory, state that an 'Affectively Based Attitude is an attitude based more on people's feelings and values (e.g. religious and moral beliefs) than from their rational thoughts about the merits of the attitude object and beliefs about the nature of the attitude object'. Katz (1960:163) sees attitudes as being linked to people's values, so that trying to change them challenges these values. A typical example of this can be seen in the following excerpt from the interview with family R6.

'I don't want to be religious, it doesn't suit me. I want to drive, I want to watch my TV. But I'm really a good Jew and Zionist but I'm not religious. Now where do I stand? Where is the line? I don't know. But I don't want the children tomorrow to impose on me, that's the way of life which I didn't choose...I know it doesn't make sense, we are sending them to a Jewish school'

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) draw attention to the need for specificity of intentions in order to affect attitudes towards behaviours. 'They are evaluations of the respondent engaging in a single behaviour or set of behaviours' and include four specific areas which impinge on behavioural attitudes: action, target, context and time. Evidence in numerous cases from the data of questionnaires and interviews has demonstrated the accuracy of this concept. Parents have not made an overall blanket decision 'to become more religious'. What has taken place is an increase of religious observance in certain specific areas of Judaism. These areas are generally associated with what parents feel can be done without too great a change to their lives.

Eagly and Chaiken give a number of interesting examples of these four areas which are relevant and appropriate to my own research. I have included in brackets areas that are specific to Judaism.

- **Action:** attending church (or synagogue) services, donating money at services, encouraging others to attend
- **Target:** attending mass (or communal prayer at synagogue), choir practices, lectures, discussion groups, picnics, retreats
- **Context:** attitude toward attending synagogue services with one's friends or family
- **Time:** a particular time or occasion on which the behaviour (or class of behaviours) might occur.

Section 3: The role of 'behaviour'.

A relevant and pertinent observation was made by Sheppard, Hartwick & Warshaw (1988) who stated that 'people are concerned about how others that they care about will view the behaviour in question.' This brief observation is, I believe, at the very root and basis of all the behaviour patterns within this specific research study. On reflection, it is quite significant that an intelligent, mature adult would be prepared to change a way of living due to the desire to accommodate the wishes of a child or children. Yet evidence suggests that this has happened on numerous occasions. It is suggested that such a change in a person's behaviour could be due to the fact that they want the people they care about, i.e. their children, to view their behaviour in a favourable light.

Moscovici (1976) in his important work 'Social Influence and Social Change' (p.109), describes five behavioural styles:

(a) investment (b) autonomy (c) consistency (d) rigidity (e) fairness.

Two of them, 'investment' and 'consistency' are particularly relevant to this research study: According to Moscovici, with regard to investment, there are five specific areas that affect an individual who has been influenced to change his/her mode of behaviour:

- great confidence in the option they have chosen.
- great capacity for self-reinforcement.
- strongly committed by free choice.
- the goal pursued is highly valued.
- personal sacrifices are readily made.

Throughout the data presented in my research, these are qualities that have been present in numerous responses from parents during interviews. The interview data in all the previous chapters and sections of this thesis illustrate many examples of three of the above five areas of behaviour. Firstly, there is no doubt from the comments made by parents during

interviews that the goal or aim of their anticipated religious observance is one that is highly valued and chosen with great confidence for its success. It has been evident from the majority of interviews that families have been prepared to make many personal sacrifices in order to lead a more religiously observant lifestyle.

There are, however, two of the above areas that I feel are 'questionable' in relation to this research: free choice and self reinforcement. These are parents who did indeed have a free choice to decide on the lifestyle that they wished to lead but this was, however, biased in favour of a specific set of behaviours due to the influence and 'pressure' of their own children. In a similar way the idea of parents having a great capacity for self-reinforcement is true, but only up to a point. Evidence from interview data suggests that each of the families do possess a 'certain' capacity for self-reinforcement of religious behaviour, but once again, only up to a point. There is a limit beyond which most families were not prepared to venture, suggesting that it is more of a 'partial' capacity for self reinforcement.

Moscovici (1976:49) also writes of what he terms 'behavioural consistency' which he states 'is perceived as a sign of certainty, affirming a decision to adhere unswervingly to a given point of view, and reflecting commitment to a coherent uncompromising choice.' As far as this research study is concerned, evidence has shown that such behavioural consistency is true only of those families who have decided to make a commitment and to live in a totally observant manner. This is certainly not the case in the majority of families I have interviewed who have stated that they have no firm long-term commitment in spite of their current increase in levels of religious observance.

Section 4: The role of 'conformity'.

In relation to the material in section 4 of this chapter dealing with 'conformity and deviation', I have found the work of Bass (1961) of particular importance. Even though his work took place over forty years ago, it appears to be highly relevant. To a great extent he focused on group conformity or deviation and in this respect, I have found nothing amongst the other more recent studies which I have referred to in this chapter which appear to contradict his conclusions.

Bass (1961:241) refers to two distinct types of conformity: public and private. A considerable amount of data from my research supports this idea in respect of parents who behave one way when in the presence of their children and another when their children are not present. In a similar way, families may need to conform in public to gain acceptance by others with whom they and the children need to socialise.

According to Moscovici (1976:67) the minority group, which in the context of my own research, is represented by the non or less observant parents, 'has always had a certain hold on the majority, and can induce it to modify its behaviour or attitude so that it becomes more tolerant towards what was previously excluded or forbidden.' This implies that the parents could be encouraged to behave publicly in a more observant manner than previously. Moscovici (1976:67) thus observed that 'the minority, which represents the repressed or rejected opinion or behaviour, boldly reveals in public what has been the case in private'.

According to Bass (p.177), 'A member may be unable rather than unwilling to conform to the norms of his group because of his very great lack of ability in comparison to the abilities of others in his group'.

Data from this research supports this theory with the many examples of parents who do not have the knowledge and skills to support their children

in a more observant fashion. This has led to parents admitting that their children have become the teachers, for example:

'I think that it gives young children quite a thrill when they can teach their parents something. There's almost no expression on a child's face like one he has when he or she teaches his or her parents something that they didn't know.'
[R2]

Parents have frequently commented on their own joy and pleasure when seeing the satisfaction and happiness of their children when involved in various aspects of religious life. This pattern was noted by Bass (pp.99, 155): 'Conformity will depend upon how much consideration members receive for conforming'.

'You see their faces at half past three, beaming from ear to ear. How can you not reinforce it at the home and make an exciting thing because of your child's face. You've just seen it and it's glowing and you want to do something to reinforce the happiness.' [B10]

Several examples have been proposed by Bass (p.342) when examining the circumstances in which conformity toward others will be enhanced:

- geographically proximate rather than distant groups
- connected and communicative groups
- intimate, familiar, mutually esteemed, attractive groups
- homogenous in abilities rather than heterogeneous
- establishing formal organisations
- increasing the educational level
- increasing the degree of understanding of the members
- promoting feelings of homogeneity
- increasing mutual esteem

The above list is particularly interesting as it corresponds closely to the social pattern of the Jewish communities in the areas examined by my own research.

In a similar manner, Latane (1981:343) developed an interesting theory which he termed 'Social Impact Theory' that also bears a strong correlation to the situation relating to Jewish families. According to this theory, the likelihood that a person will respond to social influence from other people depends on three things: strength, referring to how important the group is to you; immediacy, referring to how close the group is to you in space and time during the influence attempt; and number, referring to how many people there are in the group.

There are two further areas noted by Bass (1961) which have a strong correlation to the data in my own research. Firstly:

- 'Conformity earns or maintains social approval at the expense of true task accomplishment and avoids the risk of ostracism or the possible rejection by the group for disagreeing with them'. (p.68)

Social approval, from the data presented in this research, implies that there are two such groups from whom approval is needed by those wishing to conform to a more religiously observant way of life:

- (a) parents want this from their children
- (b) parents want this from the more observant social group.

Secondly, another interesting and relevant similarity can be seen in an examination of the reasons given by parents who have increased their level of religious observance and those who find it difficult.

- 'Conformity to others will be maximum in a new situation the more the new situation resembles an earlier one in which conformity occurred in the same way for the same reasons'. (Bass p.75)

Many of the families who increased their level of religious observance have observed that any real change depended on how much change or difference there was from their previous way of life.

Some families, or specific members of families, have resisted responding to the influence of their children or of the school. There have been several instances, for example, when the husband of a family is not prepared to change his level of observance. These are parents who do not see the need to conform for social or religious reasons and have no desire to change their own mode of living.

According to Bass (p.79) 'Conformity was least among those subjects with the least need for affiliation...Subjects who do not feel rejected by others and presumably are less concerned about what others think of them, conform less than those that do feel such concern when the possibility of being rejected exists.' It appears from the evidence of the interview data presented, that such parents are seemingly unworried about the consequences of the message that is being imparted to their children.

Hollander (1958:117) suggests that providing that there is partial conformity for some of the time, there exists the opportunity to deviate from this conformity without serious consequences; for example, when their children are not with them. 'The very act of conforming to normative influence most of the time earns you the right to deviate occasionally without serious consequences. Conforming to a group over time earns you idiosyncrasy credits, much like putting money in the bank. Thus your past conformity allows you to deviate from the group (or act idiosyncratically) at some point in the future without getting into too much trouble'.

But is this truly the case of the parent who remains relatively unobservant in contrast to other members of the family? Moscovici (1976:166) observes that 'remaining isolated or ignored seems too high a price to pay, once the certainty of being right has been lost and initial confidence in personal views cannot be recovered'. Even this extreme situation can be

redeemed however, if there are other members of the family or social group who are in the same situation. Such a person might not feel isolated if there are other groups or individuals who accept the views of the non-conforming group.

With regard to this phenomenon, McGinnies (1970:19) noted that 'in instances of deviance it is probable that another group is providing the reinforcements for the individuals. Deviation thus becomes in part a matter of conformity to the norms prevailing in a different group.' In practical terms which relate to this current research it implies that another group (i.e. friends or wider family) is providing support for the less observant so there is no need for them to conform to orthodox standards purely for social reasons.

As seen in several interviews with parents, there was evidence which pointed out the eventual and ultimate conformity of any deviant parent, should there have been any hint or suggestion of increased disharmony amongst the family. Moscovici explains this reaction in the following manner: 'Should any misunderstanding occur or the hitherto maintained balance be upset, the individual is ready to shift his opinions and change his behaviour in order to restore the level of social approval reached up to then, as well as the existing means of social comparison.' (p.199)

What however might be the result if the remainder of the family are willing to live in a religiously observant manner but the husband is unwilling to comply? There are several examples of this in the interview data. According to Moscovici (p.199), 'if the minority individual or subgroup, has no possibility of finding any alternative normative or cognitive support within the group...he has no way of procuring moral reward from the group for his behaviour. If he cannot survive socially he has no choice but to submit or to leave the group altogether.' Theoretically, this could

create a real problem for the family, as there may be no realistic alternative for the non-conforming husband.

What is the overall reaction of parents who admit to having been influenced by their children? In relation to this, Moscovici (p.199) poses an important and relevant question: 'What attitudes do those who have been subjected to their influence adopt towards them?' In practical terms in the context of this research study, this question relates to the characteristics and qualities of these inter-personal relations which allow and encourage parental conformity. It is perhaps because of this close family bond which was apparent among the Jewish families who were interviewed that individual non-conforming parents were still able to encourage a strong family stability in spite of the individual deviance from the religious standards and behaviour of other members of their family.

According to Moscovici (p.218), this can be explained in the following manner: 'It appears that in order to play a reassuring and beneficial role and make the subject's self-understanding easier, they must be on similar or at least on familiar grounds with him... Therefore it is only between persons who are close to one another, belonging to the same group, sharing a common background and a similar view of reality, that interpersonal bonds happen to be shaped.' A practical example of this can be seen in the comments of family B1 (see page 293 above) who could not persevere in a religiously social vacuum.

Section 5: Discussion and conclusions relating to the correlation of this research with established paradigms of social psychology.

In this chapter I have referred to the work of twelve major social psychologists and have found a strong correlation between their conclusions and the behaviour patterns and expectations of families in my own research study. I have found seventeen examples of areas of correlation in my own research relating to changes in attitude and behaviour due to the influence of the children on the parents.

1. Parents' perceived moral obligation.
2. The need to support the religious teaching of the school
3. The need to support the requests of their children.
4. The need to support the continued traditions of the Jewish people.
5. An increase in specific (not blanket) areas of religious behaviour.
6. The wish to be viewed in a favourable light by others
7. A great confidence in the option they have chosen
8. The goal pursued is highly valued
9. Personal sacrifices are readily made.
10. Parents' admission that their children have become the teachers.
11. Parents who do not have the knowledge and skills to support their children in a more observant fashion.
12. Parents' joy and pleasure at the satisfaction and happiness of their children when involved in various aspects of religious life
13. Social approval from others
14. A close family bond among the Jewish families encourages a strong family stability in spite of the individual deviance from the religious standards and behaviour of other members of their family.
15. Two distinct types of conformity: 'public and private' i.e. parents who behave in one way when in the presence of their children and in another way when their children are not present.

16. The reluctance of some parents who do not see the need to conform for social or religious reasons.

17. Parents are seemingly unworried about the consequences of the message that is being imparted to their children.

These seventeen areas can be divided into the following four main groups, relating to changes in attitude and behaviour due to the influence of the children on the parents:

1. **The influence of the children and the school**
2. **Benefit of family and group unity**
3. **Social and public approval**
4. **Social and public approval**

There are also three examples below of a 'Negative impact'.

The influence of the children and the school

- need to support the religious teaching of the school
- need to support the requests of their children.
- influence of the children on the parents.
- increase in specific (not blanket) areas of religious behaviour.
- parents admission that their children have become the teachers.

Benefit of family and group unity

- close family bond among the Jewish families encourages a strong family stability in spite of the individual deviance from the religious standards and behaviour of other members of their family.
- parents' perceived moral obligation
- need to support the continued traditions of the Jewish people.

Social and public approval

- wish to be viewed in a favourable light by others
- two distinct types of conformity: 'public and private' i.e. parents who behave in one way when in the presence of their children and in another way when their children are not present.
- social approval from others

Value, confidence and satisfaction in behaviour

- the goal pursued is highly valued
- great confidence in the option they have chosen
- parents' joy and pleasure at the satisfaction and happiness of their children when involved in various aspects of religious life
- personal sacrifices are readily made.

Areas of Negative impact

- reluctance of some parents who do not see the need to conform for social or religious reasons and have no desire to change their own mode of living.
- parents are seemingly unworried about the consequences of the message that is being imparted to their children.
- examples of parents who do not have the knowledge and skills to support their children in a more observant fashion.

It is possible to view these in a further pattern by re-grouping the five groups into three other relevant combinations:

1. Changes in behaviour and attitude due to a personal self-fulfilling desire
 2. Changes in behaviour and attitude due to the need for social and public approval of family friends and society.
 3. Changes in behaviour and attitude due to a combination of groups 1 & 2.
- These are elaborated in greater detail below.

Changes in behaviour and attitude due to a personal self-fulfilling desire

- increase in specific (not blanket) areas of religious behaviour.
- parents' admission that their children have become the teachers.
- parents' perceived moral obligation
- the goal pursued is highly valued
- great confidence in the option they have chosen
- parents' joy and pleasure at the satisfaction and happiness of their children when involved in various aspects of religious life
- personal sacrifices are readily made.
- reluctance of some parents who do not see the need to conform for social or religious reasons and have no desire to change their own mode of living.
- parents are seemingly unworried about the consequences of the message that is being imparted to their children.
- examples of parents who do not have the knowledge and skills to support their children in a more observant fashion.

- **Changes in behaviour and attitude due to the need for social and public approval of family friends and society.**
- need to support the religious teaching of the school
- need to support the requests of their children.
- wish to be viewed in a favourable light by others
- social approval from others

- **Changes in behaviour and attitude due to a combination of groups 1 and 2.**
- the influence of the children on the parents.
- close family bond among the Jewish families encourages a strong family stability in spite of the individual deviance from the religious standards and behaviour of other members of their family.
- need to support the continuing traditions of the Jewish people.
- two distinct types of conformity: ‘public and private’ i.e. parents who behave in one way when in the presence of their children and in another way when their children are not present.

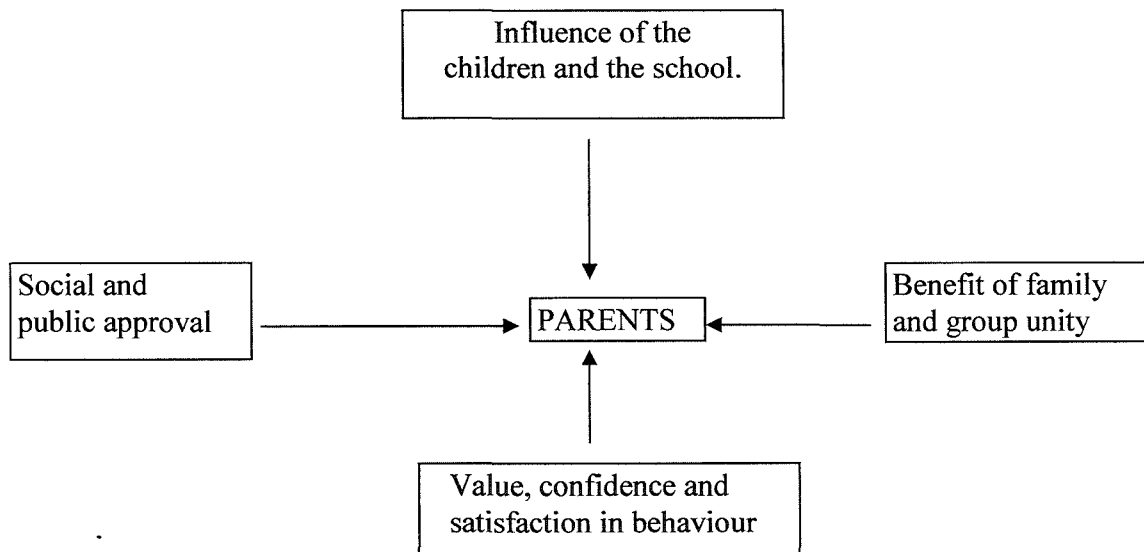
A clarification of the significance of the above groupings and re-groupings by using Models I, II & III on the following pages.

The three models below may help to clarify the significance of each of the above groupings and re-groupings. Model I gives a clear indication of the four forces (see p.315 above) acting on parents which result in an increase in their levels of religious observance. The sole influence of only one of these forces would not have been as effective in instigating any change in levels of religious observance without the other three forces acting together on the parents. In a similar fashion, Model II indicates three main forces acting on the parents. (see p.316 above) All three are essential and must act together in order to promote maximum influence on parents to effect an increase in religious observance.

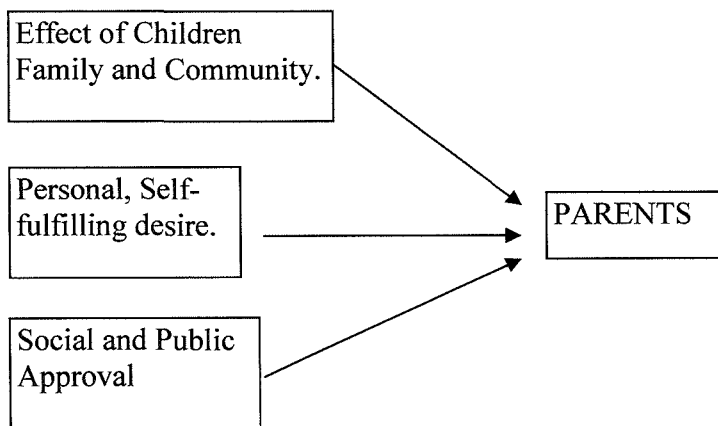
Finally, Model III focuses on the negative forces restricting any increase in parental religious observance (see p.317 above). Regardless of the religious education received by their children, such parents are adamant that their own existing level of religious observance will not change. Many in this group have stated that they want their children to develop a Jewish identity, but as the chart shows, they appear to do little to support this at home.

CHART 34: Three models of forces acting on parents.

Model I Factors of influence causing a positive response from parents.

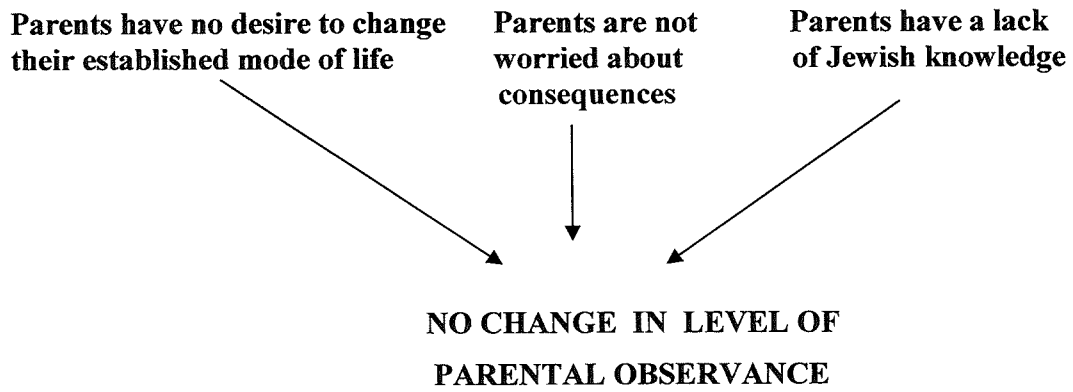


Model II Factors of influence causing a positive response from parents.



Model III Factors of influence causing a negative response from parents.

Reasons why non-observant parents do not change their level of observance



A brief discussion on the conclusions reached this chapter.

As stated at the commencement of this chapter, its purpose was to determine whether within the data of this research study there is any correlation with previous research in the field of social psychology in respect of the causes and effects of social conformity and deviation. The purpose of this social psychological exploration of the data has been to focus on the effects of crucial inter-connection between parents, children and the school on the life decisions, values and commitment of those involved.

I referred earlier to Allport (1985:1) who defined Social Psychology as 'the scientific study of the way in which people's thoughts, feelings and behaviours are influenced by the real or imagined presence of other people'. In this chapter I have attempted to show that the process of education is a social phenomenon and not purely something which is solely and inherently individual. From a sociological perception, the life decisions, values and commitments which emerge from the educational milieu will impact on and interact with others.

Part 5: Final Conclusions.

Chapter 14

The final conclusions derived from the data relevant to the main aim of this research.

There are three sections in this final chapter.

Section 1: The role and significance of home-school relations

Section 2: The final conclusion of the thesis.

Section 3: What might be the contribution of this research to the current Jewish community agenda in the United Kingdom ?

Section 1: The role and significance of home-school relations

The very essence of this thesis rests on the foundation of home-school relations, either directly between parents and school or indirectly via the children. My earlier MA dissertation in 1994 with the Open University was on the theme of home-school communication and focused on the effectiveness of a school in transmitting information to parents relating to curriculum content and pupil progress. As with this current study, the data was obtained through questionnaires and interviews, although the MA requirements allowed me to focus on one school only.

The resulting data of the MA study brought to light not only relevant comments of parents regarding effective home-school communication but also touched on other areas including the effect and influence of the children and the school in their religious life. Subsequently I decided to investigate this latter phenomenon to discover the extent that pupils attending Jewish primary schools could in fact influence their parents.

Docking (1990:17) writes: 'An effective home-school relations policy should not only encourage parents to think more constructively about their role in schooling, but also prompt teachers to think more clearly about their own educational beliefs and strategies and the justification for them.'

The prospectus of many schools contains a statement such as: 'parents are expected to support the aims of the school.' In practice this may tend to be a somewhat vague and ambiguous phrase. Bastiani (1993:5) is of the opinion that 'pupil progress can be dramatic and long-lasting when parents understand what the school is trying to do.' This surely is the purpose of efficient and effective home-school communication. Many parents in my MA research study viewed themselves as partners with the school in the education of their children.

Bastiani had in mind the benefit of such a relationship on the educational progress of the pupil. But there is another aspect which can also be considered, which is the effect and benefit to the parent. It is hoped that the results of this thesis will indeed prompt schools to consider the 'knock-on effect' of the education of the pupils.

I drew attention earlier to the evidence of previous research indicating not only a decline in the number of identified Jews in the UK but also a lessening of Jewish religious identification and practice. There has also been a major increase in the number of cases of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews. Sacks (1994) saw the problem of what he termed a 'Crisis of Continuity' faced by Anglo-Jewry. In an earlier chapter, I endeavoured to demonstrate that a major cause of this on-going problem is the changing role not only of the Jewish family but also of the role and influence on their children of most families throughout the western world.

This overall change in family values and perception has created a serious problem for Anglo-Jewry. The initial and powerful role and influence of the traditional nuclear family has continued to deteriorate and has brought with it the increasing failure of transmission of traditional religious values. Increasing opportunities for participation in higher education and financial success in the broader secular sense has been mirrored by a relative lack of

interest in acquiring a deeper understanding and practice of Judaism.

At the same time, paradoxically, there has been a growth in the number of Jewish day schools in the UK, both primary and secondary, brought about by a demand for such places from young Jewish parents.

Bearing in mind all the problems faced by Anglo-Jewry, it is important to consider the reasons for the recent growth of Jewish day schools in the UK. These schools, particularly in London, are frequently oversubscribed. My own research has thrown some light on this apparent paradox of a gradual reduction of the Jewish population in the UK who are currently seeking to establish more schools.

The comments made during interviews by all families are evidence of a desire of parents to re-establish for themselves some positive form of what may be termed 'a Jewish life'. Evidence from the data clearly indicates the positive effect that Jewish schools are having on the religious observance of the parents themselves. Furthermore, many parents who have themselves been initially influenced by their children have ultimately assumed the more traditional role of setting the example for their own children. I believe that in this way one can see the resurgence of the Jewish family as being a more powerful and effective example and role model for their children; and it is questionable whether this resurgence of a traditional, more religious Jewish family life could have come about without the presence of Jewish day schools in the UK.

During the early planning stages for this thesis I did consider the possibility of comparing the effects on parents of children attending a Jewish day school with parents whose children attend a non-Jewish day school and part-time 'cheder'. I did not do this for two reasons: firstly because I wished to focus purely on the day school effect and secondly because such a 'control group' would not, in my opinion, be comparing 'like with like'. Nevertheless, such a study could be undertaken in the future on a smaller scale.

Section 2: The final conclusion of the thesis.

The evidence from an analysis of the data of both questionnaires and interviews gives a very clear indication that there has been a noticeable and positive change in the level of religious observance and practice of the majority of less or non-observant parents which directly or indirectly can be attributed to the influence of the children and the school. In this respect, the data yielded similar results in all three of the schools which participated in my research. This is particularly interesting given that the three were initially selected because of marked differences in the communities they serve, their geographical locations and their specific ethos. I also found no noticeable evidence when looking for any pattern in the increase of levels of observance, to suggest that countries of origin of parents and grandparents of the children might have been a contributory positive or negative factor.

It was clear from the data presented that the areas relating to the greatest increases of religious observance were in respect of the Jewish dietary laws, synagogue attendance on Sabbath and Festivals, coupled with an increase in the observance of specific commandments and customs relating to the Sabbath and Festivals.

The overriding reasons given by parents to send their children to a Jewish day school highlight a desire regardless of their own level of religious observance, to ensure that their children will retain and maintain a sense of 'Jewish identity'. The choice of a Jewish school was also important to those parents who did not want their children to experience the problem of being a minority group in a larger school.

Parents also expressed their fear of future intermarriage. An assumption might be drawn that in opting to send their children to a Jewish school the parents have already made the decision for their children to receive a good

foundation of Jewish knowledge and Jewish identity which parents hope will sustain them in later years. At no time did parents comment that they expected changes in religious observance in their own lives due to their children attending a Jewish day school. It was clear that the great majority of parents were delighted with the form of education their children were receiving, which in frequent cases they saw as providing a substitute for their own inadequate Jewish knowledge

In the literature survey I drew attention to several examples of previous studies in the USA which stress the important role of parental support for the religious ethos of the school. This was viewed as a major factor in ensuring their children's future adult identification with Judaism. The main body of evidence in my own research has clearly indicated, however, that by contrast the majority of families who have increased their level of religious observance have been influenced directly or indirectly by their children. It was clear that for these families, their children had become the communicators of Jewish identity and practice.

It is my contention that the conclusion from this research study has brought with it a further crucial implication. The parents who have participated in my own study have indeed shown support for the religious ethos of the school, and thereby increasing their own level of religious observance. Such changes in parental religious observance may well increase the likelihood of the adult identification of their children with Judaism.

This study has shown that a majority of parents stressed the importance of a strong Jewish identity for the future of their children; and 'the importance of the transmission of religious values to the next generation'. What had started as a way of doing something for their children has ended with a resurgence of greater family commitment to Jewish identification.

Principally as a result of the existence of Jewish day schools, it appears that the family is once more becoming a traditional teacher of the next generation.

Section 3: What might be the contribution of this research to the current Jewish community agenda in the United Kingdom ?

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research together with the Board of Deputies of British Jewry are both currently engaged in a thorough and comprehensive survey of the Jewish community in the United Kingdom. The results of that survey will give community leaders some indication of current trends in communal needs and demography. The IJPR has also recently published 'The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom' (Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg 2001) which documents the growth and potential of existing and new Jewish schools. London and Manchester remain as the main centres of growth and stability whereas other provincial Jewish communities appear to be shrinking in number because of the younger generation moving away to join the larger Jewish communities in other areas.

During the last ten years there has been a rapid expansion of Jewish day schools in London, both primary and secondary; there are fifteen primary schools and four secondary schools catering for pupils both from the Central Orthodox and the Progressive communities. This does not include the many schools of the more right-wing ultra-orthodox communities. The great majority of parents in my own research study, regardless of their own current level of religious observance, have stressed that they wish to support the values and ethos of the Jewish day school attended by their children. The old established JFS (Jews' Free School) has moved to purpose built premises in North West London. With a proposed ten form entry it will remain the largest Jewish secondary school in Europe. At the

time of writing it remains heavily over-subscribed. Previous reference has already been made (see page 146 above) regarding plans for another Jewish secondary school in Hertfordshire.

Within this communal agenda, my research is able to offer clear evidence of the extent to which parents have been affected and influenced directly and indirectly by the school and their children as pupils of the school. In the light of this evidence, schools may wish to consider the results of this research study and its implications for Jewish identification of pupils currently attending Jewish schools. In order to maximise the effects and influence of Jewish day schools, the schools might be interested in taking note of the following four areas highlighted by my own research:

[1] The results and conclusions of this research study which have shown that parents of pupils at Jewish primary schools in England can be influenced directly by their children and indirectly by the school, resulting in an increase in their own level of religious observance.

[2] The results and conclusions of my research study which have indicated the main expectations of parents who chose a Jewish day school. These expectations can best be divided into six groups which are set out below:

- ensuring that their children will retain and maintain a sense of 'Jewish identity'. As a minority group in a multicultural society, Jews are no different to other groups who strive to determine their own individual and group identity. This is certainly an area for future research.
- developing a love and pride of being Jewish
- providing a sound Jewish education either as a substitute for the parents' inadequate Jewish knowledge or to reflect the earlier Jewish education of the parents.

- providing a warm and happy Jewish family atmosphere and environment.
- benefiting from the communal aspects of the school which act as a catalyst and focal point for increased parental and family contact with other Jewish families in the community.
- benefiting from the combination of secular/Jewish education during the school day.

Schools should take note of the expectations of families if maximum benefit is to be gained by both pupils and parents of those who attend Jewish day schools. This study would therefore suggest that if parents are satisfied with the education and ethos of the school and are aware that their children are happy and benefiting from the education provided, there will be the opportunity for parents to be more receptive to the religious activities and influence of the children. There will be a need for schools to address each of these parental expectations, thus providing the opportunity for parents to be more receptive to the Jewish studies curriculum provided for the pupils.

[3] The following agenda for Jewish primary schools which can be deduced from my research study:

- the impact of vibrant Jewish education on home activities.
- the role and importance of parental education.
- the coherence of Jewish parents' understandings and commitments in line with those adopted by Jewish day schools.

[4] The mapping of the findings of longitudinal research carried out in the USA which has shown that only when parents have supported the religious ethos of the Jewish school will the pupils continue to identify with Judaism in later years. There is no reason to assume that this will not also be the case in UK Jewish schools.

In short, this research has highlighted the main factor which has been a major influence on the religious attitude and practice of the parents and which has influenced them to increase their own level of religious observance, namely the religious activities of the children and comments made by the children at home.

In a practical manner this implies that Governors, Headteachers and Heads of Jewish Studies of Jewish primary schools should give attention to those areas of the Jewish education curriculum which the pupils can bring back to their own homes. I have not undertaken any research into the effect of the part-time cheder system in the UK but have referred to other research studies of this nature in the USA. Such part-time centres are more likely to focus on the acquisition of facts and knowledge rather than the more creative and practical aspects of Jewish observance which can be imbibed by pupils far more easily in the natural setting of a day school experience. Evidence from the USA studies has shown that that the pupils who attend these centres will be less likely to identify with Judaism in later years. It is possible that the same findings will emerge in any study of this nature carried out within the UK.

Evidence from this study has shown that children bring home the enthusiasm and excitement of demonstrating their skills at singing songs of religious significance such as the Grace after meals, introducing songs and stories into the Passover seder service and involving the family with the joyous festivities of Purim and Chanukah. When the children encourage their parents to take them to the synagogue on Sabbath or Festivals it is often the result of the interest of the children caused through similar events simulated at school. Evidence has also been found to indicate the willingness of parents to want to learn more themselves because of the example brought by their children, coupled with their

feelings of inadequacy arising from their own poor and more limited religious education.

It follows then that Jewish schools must therefore continuously strive to excite and encourage their pupils in such a way that they will want to introduce the experience to their own families. When children grow up within a family that supports the religious ethos of the school, and who have become familiar with some or all of the Jewish rituals and customs, there is a far greater chance that they will continue to identify as Jews in adult years.

In conclusion, Jewish day schools should seek to ensure a happy and healthy link between their aims and the Jewish studies curriculum and the aspirations of parents. This thesis has presented complex baseline data about the background and current levels of Jewish identification of 234 families and their attitudes to their children's schooling. As this research has shown that levels of observance have changed positively among the majority of these parents, we need to know whether such changes will have any long term impact on the future Jewish religious identification of their children when they become adult. This enquiry could be the subject of future research.

Another distinct and valuable area of research would be a longitudinal study over a period of perhaps 7 to 10 years of the families who participated in my own current research. Such a study of some of the pupils and their parents within this survey would provide useful data of the real long term effects of the influence of children and their schools on the parents and further evidence about the impact of full time Jewish schooling on their future identification.

A final statement

In his assessment of the current situation regarding Jewish identity, Chief Rabbi Dr. Jonathan Sacks paints a potentially gloomy picture for the future: 'Will we have Jewish grandchildren?' (Sacks 1994). Research in the USA has emphasised the importance of the role of the parents more than the schools to ensure 'Jewish continuity'. I hope that the conclusions I have reached in this research study will give a positive message of hope and encouragement to those planning and building and maintaining Jewish day schools in the UK.

Earlier on, I referred to the work of a fellow researcher in the USA, Rosenblatt (1999:12) who stated that: 'we might be witnessing a reversal in the direction of transmission' where the children have become the teachers of their parents. The evidence of my own research study appears to support this concept, which has also been recorded in the words of the biblical Prophet Malachi some 2,500 years ago:

**' And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children,
and the heart of the children to their fathers.'**

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AISH -HATORAH - A Jewish youth educational organisation.

ASHKENAZ/Ashkenazi/Ashkenazim refers in modern-day terminology to Jews whose families lived (or still live) in Central and Eastern Europe.

AVELUT - Period of mourning

BARMITZVAH - Confirmation Ceremony when a Jewish boy reaches the age of 13.

BATMITZVAH/BATCHAYIL - Confirmation ceremony when a Jewish girl reaches the age of 12.

BENCH/BENCHING - Reciting Grace after Meals. (Yiddish name)

BETH DIN - The Jewish Court of Law.

BIRKAT HAMOAZON - Grace after Meals (Hebrew name)

BNEI AKIVA - The Name of a Jewish Youth Club.

BRACHA - BRACHOT - Blessing - Blessings.

BRIT MILAH - Circumcision. (see also Mohel)

CHAG/CHAGGIM - Jewish Festivals (also called YOM TOV)

CHALLAH/CHALLOT(pl) Plaited loaves of bread used on Shabbat.

CHAMETZ - Food containing forbidden ingredients during Passover.

CHANUKAH/HANUKAH - The Festival of Lights commemorating the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem during the time of the Maccabees. 2nd Cent BCE.

CHEDER - Part time religion classes. i.e. Sunday School. (See also Talmud Torah)

CHUMASH - A book containing the Five Books of Moses.

CHUTZPA - Cheek/rudeness

DAVEN/DAVENING - Praying

EREV YOM TOV - The day before a Festival

FRUM - Very observant orthodox Jews.

GLATT KOSHER - Food which is checked to an even higher degree than normal to ensure that it is 100% kosher.

HAFTORAH - Section of the Prophets read in the Synagogue.

HAGGADAH - Book used for the Passover Seder Service.

HALACHAH - Jewish Law.

HAMOTZIE - The blessing over bread said before a meal.

HAVDALAH - Ceremony/Ritual to mark the end of the Sabbath.

HEIMISHEH - A traditionally Jewish atmosphere.

IVRIT - The modern Hebrew language.

KADDISH - A prayer recited by a mourner.

KAPPORET - A ritual of atonement before Yom Kippur using a live chicken or money that will be sent to charity.

KIPPA (singular) KIPPOT (plural) Skull Cap (s)

KASHRUT - Jewish Dietary Laws

KIDDUSH - Prayer recited over wine on the Sabbath and Festivals.

KITTEL - A white robe worn in the synagogue on the High Holydays.

KOSHER - Permitted Food

KVELL - Take pleasure in something. (e.g. children)

LAG B'OMER - 33rd Day of the Omer - a day of rejoicing due to the end of a plague in Israel, during which thousands of Jews had died during the 2nd century CE.

LUBAVITCH - A Chassidic Group of Orthodox Jews.

MACHER - Someone who likes to get involved in organising things.

MAFTIR- Final section of the weekly portion of the Reading of the 5 Books of Moses

MA NISHTANA - The four questions at the Passover seder asked by the youngest person present.

MASSORTI - An orthodox synagogue run on Modern rather than Traditional lines.

MEGILLAH - The story of Queen Esther of Persia told on the festival of Purim.

MENORAH - A candelabra used at Chanukah (see above)

MEZUZAH - A small case containing part of the Torah written on parchment and fixed on to the doorposts of Jewish homes.

MIKVAH - A Ritual Bath.

MINHAG - A Jewish Custom or Tradition rather than a Commandment.

MINYAN -A quorum of ten male Jews over the age of 13 required in order for communal prayer to be held.

MITZVAH/MITZVOT Commandment (s) in the Torah.

MOHEL A man who carries out the ritual of Circumcision (see also Brit Milah)

OMER - Name given to the counting of the days between Passover and Pentecost.

PARASHA/PARSHA - The portion of the Torah read each week in the Synagogue.

PESACH - Hebrew word for Festival of Passover.

PURIM - A Happy Festival when the Book of Esther is read in the Synagogue.

ROSH CHODESH - The first day of the New Month.

ROSH HASHANAH - The Jewish New Year

SEDER - Passover Festive Home Meal & Prayers.

SEDRA - The weekly portion of the 5 Books of Moses read every Sabbath.

SEED - Adult Learning Class

SEPHARD/ Sepahrdi/Sephardim refers to Jews whose families lived (or still live) in either Spain/Portugal or in any of the Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Iran, Morocco etc. The population in Modern Israel has both Ashkenaz and Sephard Jews

SEUDAT SHEISHIT - The third meal on a Sabbath.

SHABBAT or SHABBOS - Sabbath

SHABBATON - An Shabbat experience for the children, often residential.

SHALOM - Peace - Also used as a form of greeting one another.

SHAVUOT - Festival of Pentecost

SHELOSHIM - Period of 30 days of mourning for a parent.

SHIDDUCH - An arranged marriage.

SHIVA – Period of mourning for seven days.

SHOMER SHABBAT - a person who observes the Shabbat.

SHUL - Synagogue

SIDDUR - A prayer book

SIMCHAT (or SIMCHAS) TORAH A Festival to celebrate the conclusion of the weekly Shabbat reading of the 5 Books of the Torah and its recommencement.

SUKKOT - Festival of Tabernacles.

TALLIT - A shawl with fringes (tsitsit) worn by men during prayer.

TALMUD TORAH - Part-time Religion Classes/Sunday School (see also Cheder)

TEFILLAH - Prayer

TEFILLIN - Phylacteries, small leather boxes containing parts of the Torah which are fixed with straps to the head and arm of observant Jews during prayers every weekday morning but not on Sabbath or Festivals.

THE THREE WEEKS - A sad period from 17 Tammuz to 9 Av (during July/August) relating to events dealing with the destruction of the Temple. No marriages are allowed during this period.

TISHA B'AV - The Fast Day of the 9th day of the Jewish month of Av which commemorates the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

TORAH - The five books of Moses.

TREIFE - Non kosher meat.

TSITSIT - An undergarment with fringes worn by Jewish boys and men.

TU BISHVAT - The Jewish New Year for Trees.

YESHIVA - Adult Learning Academy.

YIDDISH - A language originally from Europe, spoken by orthodox Jews.

YIDDISHKEIT - A term denoting a full Jewish life.

YOM HA-ATZMAUT - The State of Israel's Independence Day

YOM KIPPUR - The Day of Atonement.

YOM TOV - Collective name for a Jewish Festival (see also Chaggim above)

APPENDICES	Page
A: Letter to the headteacher of Norton Jewish primary school.	347
B: Letter to the parents of pupils of Norton Jewish primary school.	348
C: Questionnaire sent to parents of pupils at all three schools.	349
D: Interview questions.	359
E: Basic categories of coding using QSR NUD*IST Data Analysis.	363
F: Countries of origin of parents and grandparents.	364
G: Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) Jewish Identification Scale.	370

**Mervyn Leviton B.Ed MA
6 Claire Court,
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London N12 8TD**

Tel: 0181 446 0236

12 May 1998

Headteacher,
Norton Jewish Primary School,
London.

Dear Headteacher,

I would like to thank you once again for agreeing to participate in my research study. I am enclosing a copy of the letter to parents that will accompany the questionnaire. Once you have approved the wording please telephone me with the number of families who have children at your school. I will deliver sealed envelopes addressed as follows:

**Private & Confidential
To Parents of pupils at Norton Jewish Primary School,**

Inside each sealed envelope will be the letter to parents, the questionnaire and another self sealing envelope in which to return the completed questionnaire to the school. I have asked families to complete and return the questionnaire within two weeks. I will arrange with you a suitable date for me to collect the responses.

I will of course let you and the governors have a copy of the results and analysis of the questionnaires and interviews related both to your own school as well as the overall results incorporating the other schools. It will not identify any specific families by name but will hopefully give you a clear indication of the effect of the school on parents.

If you let me have the total number of questionnaire packs you require, I will deliver them to you in about a week.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely,

Mervyn Leviton.

From Mervyn Leviton B.Ed MA

6 Claire Court,
Woodside Avenue
London N12 8TD

**Doctoral Research Study with the Institute of Education,
University of London, Bedford Way, London WC1H 0AL**

To parents of pupils at Norton Primary School.

12 May 1998

Dear Parents,

How successful are Jewish schools in promoting and encouraging what, in the most general terms, can be referred to as a "Jewish way of life"? I am writing to ask for your personal help with a doctoral research project to examine the effect of a Jewish primary school on the religious beliefs, attitudes and practice of parents whose children attend such schools. The Headteacher and Governors of your school have agreed to be included in this project which incorporates several Jewish primary schools.

I would be very grateful if you will be able to spend about half an hour in order to answer, in total confidentiality, the 15 questions on the enclosed questionnaire. Your response, together with those of other families, will help me to produce a research report which will give a clear indication of the effect of a Jewish primary school on family life. It will be a valuable guide in developing our schools in the future.

All the information you complete will be treated with the **highest degree of confidentiality and there is no way that your family will be identified**. However, it would be of immense value if you would also agree to be interviewed in an entirely private and confidential manner at a mutually convenient time and place. If you are willing to help further with a research interview please write your name and address and telephone number in the section at the end of the questionnaire. If you do not wish to be interviewed leave that section blank and you may return the completed questionnaire anonymously.

This questionnaire should be sealed in the envelope provided and returned to the school. The envelope will be opened only by myself and the specific personal information will not be divulged to any other person in a way that might identify your own family. If you are willing to help, please return the completed questionnaire to Norton Primary School **within the next two weeks**. Thank you in anticipation of your help.

Yours sincerely,

Mervyn Leviton B.Ed MA Researcher.

THE EFFECT ON A FAMILY OF A JEWISH DAY SCHOOL EDUCATION

(1) Please state the country of birth of the following people:

Husband.....

Wife.....

Husband's parents (Mother).....(Father).....

Wife's parents (Mother).....(Father).....

(2) What Jewish education did you have when you were both of school age ? (Place a tick in the appropriate column)

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
None
Cheder (part-time classes)
Jewish Nursery School
Jewish Primary School
Jewish Secondary School
Other (give details below)
.....		

(3) If either or both attended only part-time classes (Cheder) state how many times a week you each attended. Tick the appropriate sections.

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Sundays only.
Sunday and one weekday session.
Sunday and two or more weekday sessions.
No Cheder attendance

(4) What is the level of your religious observance today in each of the areas listed below ? Please give a rating from 5 to 1 and circle the appropriate number:

5 = Very observant

4 = Reasonably observant

3 = Varied

2 = Generally non-observant

1 = Totally non-observant

[a] Dietary laws at home: (e.g. Buying only kosher meat and other kosher foods and separating milk and meat dishes.)

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[b] Dietary laws away from home:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[c] Shabbat candles always lit.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[d] Friday night kiddush recited at home.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[e] Shabbat Synagogue Attendance:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[f] Making Havdalah when Shabbat goes out.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[g] During the whole Passover week, eating only food that is kosher for Pesach.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[h] Participating in a full Seder evening:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[i] Pesach/Shavuot/Sukkot Synagogue Attendance:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[j] Lighting a Menorah at Chanukah:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

(k) Did you have a Sukkah at home ? Husband: YES / NO Wife: YES / NO

(l) Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(5) When you were adult but before you were married what was your level of religious observance ? Use the same rating system as in question 4 above.

[a] Dietary laws at home:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[b] Dietary laws away from home:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[c] Shabbat candles always lit.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[d] Friday night kiddush recited at home.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[e] Shabbat Synagogue Attendance:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[f] Making Havdalah when Shabbat goes out.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[g] During the whole Passover week, eating only food that is kosher for Pesach.

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[h] Participating in a full Seder evening:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[i] Pesach/Shavuot/Sukkot Synagogue Attendance:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[j] Lighting a Menorah at Chanukah:

Husband	5	4	3	2	1
Wife	5	4	3	2	1

[k] Do you have a Sukkah at home ? YES / NO

[l] Any other comments you wish to add (optional).

(6) How religiously observant, in the majority of the above areas, were your own parents when you were children ? Circle zero if unknown.

Give a rating from 5 to 0 and circle the appropriate number for each parent.

5 = Very observant

4 = Reasonably observant

3 = Varied

2 = Generally non-observant

1 = Totally non-observant

0 = Unknown

Husband's parents: 5 4 3 2 1 0

Wife's parents: 5 4 3 2 1 0

Any other comments you wish to add (optional).

(7) If possible state how religiously observant were your grandparents. Use the same rating system as above. Circle zero if unknown.

Husband's mother's parents 5 4 3 2 1 0

Husband's father's parents 5 4 3 2 1 0

Wife's mother's parents 5 4 3 2 1 0

Wife's father's parents 5 4 3 2 1 0

Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(8) Give the sex , age and other details of each of your children and indicate with YES or NO if he/she also attended a Jewish Nursery School.

	<u>M or F</u>	<u>Age Now</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Age when joining a Jewish primary school</u>	<u>Jewish Nursery State Y or N</u>
Child 1
2
3
4
5

(9) If any of your levels in question 4 were higher than those in question 5 it means that during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school there has been a increase in the level of religious observance of either husband or wife or both. If this is so, which of the areas listed below could have played a part ?

If there has been no increase in your level of religious observance during the time you have been a parent of a child/children at a Jewish day school, leave this section blank and go on to question 10.

Give a rating from 5 to 1 and circle the appropriate number.

5 = maximum influence 4 = partial influence

3 = possible influence 2 = minor influence 1 = absolutely no influence

[a] Children's friendships	5	4	3	2	1
[b] Adult friendships made through the school	5	4	3	2	1
[c] Wishing to support ethos of school	5	4	3	2	1
[d] Children need help with Jewish Studies homework.	5	4	3	2	1
[e] Children ask to go to Children's Services at the Synagogue	5	4	3	2	1
[f] Witnessing school assemblies and events of a religious nature	5	4	3	2	1
[g] Children's religious activity at home. e.g making kiddush/ participating in seder etc.	5	4	3	2	1

[h] Comments made by children at home about Festivals, Synagogue etc.	5	4	3	2	1
[i] Greater awareness of Israel due to school activities.	5	4	3	2	1
[j] Children are learning to speak Ivrit	5	4	3	2	1
[k] Adult Education courses at school	5	4	3	2	1
[l] Any other comments you wish to add (optional)					

(10) Complete this section only if you have left the previous question blank.

There has been no increase or change in the level of our religious observance whilst our child/children has/have attended primary school for the following reasons: Tick the appropriate response(s).

- [a] We have always been an orthodox/observant family and our standards have not changed.
- [b] We have always observed some aspects of Judaism and our levels of observance have not changed.....
- [c] We are a non-observant family and we do not wish to change our lives
- [d] We do not feel that there is any connection between our child's education at school and our own level of religious observance.....
- [e] Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(11) How important were the following reasons when you chose to send your child/children to a Jewish Day School? Give a rating from 5 to 1 and circle the appropriate number for each of the reasons given below.

5 = Very important

4 = Quite important

3 = A possible but not essential reason

2 = Not a priority

1 = Totally unimportant

0 = Not applicable

[a] To give our child/children the Jewish education that we (or one of us) never received.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[b] One or both of us attended Jewish day schools and we want our child/children to benefit in the same way.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[c] We are observant and the school will help to support the ethos and style of life at home.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[d] We want our child/children to have mainly Jewish friends.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[e] We want our child/children to read Hebrew and follow a synagogue service.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[f] We want our child/children to learn to speak Ivrit.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[g] We did not wish to send our child/children to other local LEA schools for the following reasons:

(i) We were concerned that our child/children might suffer discrimination.

5 4 3 2 1 0

(ii) We did not want him/her to learn about other religions.

5 4 3 2 1 0

(iii) We did not want him/her to participate in other religions and their practices.

5 4 3 2 1 0

[h] Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(12) How important do you rate a Jewish Secondary School education for your children ? Circle around the appropriate number below:

5 = Very important

4 = Quite important

3 = Would consider but not essential

2 = Not a priority

1 = Unimportant

Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

The next three questions ask you to give your personal views and opinions about specific statements. In each case you are requested to place a tick or to circle the view or opinion which reflects your own.

(13) Parents of children of primary school age should “direct” their children’s religious beliefs by example and practice and not encourage their children to make up their own minds as to the extent of religious observance they wish to follow.

FULLY AGREE

PARTIALLY AGREE

UNDECIDED

GENERALLY DISAGREE

TOTALLY DISAGREE

Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(14) If a child is to benefit from Religious Education, it is important that the home reflects the values and ethos of the school.

FULLY AGREE

PARTIALLY AGREE

UNDECIDED

GENERALLY DISAGREE

TOTALLY DISAGREE

Any other comments you wish to add (optional)

(15) If your child wanted the family to become more religious due to what had been taught at school, tick which of the following would be your response:

(i) WE FEEL THAT WE ARE ALREADY LEADING A RELIGIOUS LIFE AND DO NOT FEEL THE NEED TO MAKE ANY CHANGE.

(ii) TOTALLY AGREE FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY TO CHANGE ITS LIFE-STYLE AND LEAD A MORE RELIGIOUSLY OBSERVANT LIFE.

(iii) WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS A COMPROMISE WITH OUR CHILD AND PERHAPS CHANGE PART OF OUR FAMILY LIFE-STYLE.

(iv) WE WOULD ALLOW OUR CHILD TO BE MORE OBSERVANT BUT NOT IF IT AFFECTS OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

(v) WE ARE NOT A RELIGIOUSLY OBSERVANT FAMILY AND WE ARE NOT WILLING TO MAKE ANY CHANGES TO OUR LIFE-STYLE.

Any other comments you wish to add (optional).

*****IMPORTANT - PLEASE READ THIS FINAL SECTION WITH CARE.**

You do not need to state your name and address on this questionnaire.

However the object of this research is to understand whether our Jewish day schools contribute to the Jewish commitment of the families of the pupils.

It would be of immense value if you would agree to be interviewed in an entirely confidential manner at a mutually convenient time and place. If you are willing to help with this important research, please write your name, address and telephone number below. Thank you for the time you have given to completing this questionnaire.

If you do not wish to be interviewed, leave this section blank.

This questionnaire should be sealed in the envelope provided and returned to your child's primary school. The sealed envelopes will be collected by the researcher.

JEWISH EDUCATION RESEARCH.

We are willing to be interviewed.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Telephone No.....

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.

Tell me about your early life as a child and teenager. In which way were you and your parents involved in any Jewish religious life? (To both Husband and Wife)

[if prompt is needed suggest Shabbat, Festivals, Kashrut, Tefillin - focus also on depth of Shabbat observance.]

What were your views about your level of religious observance when you were first married. What did you decide to do or not to do?

What were the reasons that made you decide to send your child/children to a Jewish primary school?

What other primary school options were there for you to choose from?

What were your reasons for not considering any of these options as a primary school for your child/children?

What do you feel are the positive points about a Jewish Primary school?

Do you feel there are any negative ones?

You indicated in the questionnaire that over the last few years your level of religious observance has increased. What have been the main reasons for this?

To what extent have your children/child been a key factor or influence on your religious behaviour? Can you give me some examples?

DEVELOP THIS to include the influence of the school and the children on parental religious behaviour. Develop thoroughly and give parents time to develop their thoughts and answers.)
Questions of tefillin, tsitsit, time switches, cooking on Shabbat etc. ?

Can you give any examples of occasions when your children/child want to demonstrate what has been learned at school.?

What are your thoughts and feelings when you listen to them, what effect does this have on you?

Do you feel you have to keep up with them?

In which way does your child/children actively participate on a Friday night ? e.g. Reciting the kiddush.

Has your child/children been an influence on the family in respect of other Friday night activities such as washing(al netilat yadaim), HaMotzie, Zemiroth, Benching , discussion of the sedra ?

Is it possible that there is a greater sense and feeling of a Shabbat atmosphere due to the Friday night table activities. If so to what extent is this a response and support of your child's/children's needs ?

Might this include for example No TV , cooking , having a Shabbat urn having a time switch etc. and to what extent would this be due to your children/child.

What would you say are your main reasons or your main driving force for going to shule on Shabbat ?

Do you think that you would you have attended so frequently if it were not for your child/children ?

If your child was unable to attend shule on a Shabbat morning would you still attend ?

To what extent do maintain a Shabbat atmosphere in the afternoons ? Give examples and reasons for your actions.

How difficult is it for you to take time off from work to attend the Synagogue on Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot if they fall on weekdays.

To what extent is it because of your child/children that you attend on these Festivals ? Give examples and reasons.

If your child was unable to attend synagogue on such a Festival, would you still take off time from work to attend ?

Have you ever purchased a lulav and etrog for Sukkot ? To what extent was this due to requests from your child/children ?

What would you say are the main reasons that have brought about an increase in your observance of the Jewish dietary laws ? In which way might your child/children have played a part in this decision ?

If possible give reasons and examples. e.g. What has been the effect of school packed lunch kashrut requirements on your own personal home purchases ?

So far we have spoken about the possible influence of your children in your level of religious observance. I would like to focus now on the role of the school itself. To what extent do you feel that the school has acted as a catalyst in being initially and primarily responsible for these changes in your life ?

Do you feel that your lives would have been different if your child/children had not attended a Jewish primary school ? Give some examples if possible.

How important is it for a family to support the religious and Jewish ethos of a Jewish primary school ? What were your reasons?
What do you feel is the religious ethos of the school ?

Have you been influenced by attending school assemblies and events of a religious nature ? Give some examples.

Is it possible that your children's friendships with other children may have been a factor causing a change in your own religious life-style ? Give some reasons and examples.

Is it possible that adult friendships made through the school have caused a change in your own religious life-style ? If so, give some examples.

Have there been any other influences apart from the school which have made you move to a more religiously observant life ?

Have you experienced any problems in changing your life-style ? How have your friends and wider family reacted to this ? How have you coped with the pressures of less observant friends and family who would like you to join in with them as before ?

One of the questions in the questionnaire asked your opinion about the following comment: "If a child is to benefit from religious education, it is important that the home reflects the values and ethos of the school". How true is this concept in your own life ?

Another question suggested that "parents of children of primary school age should "direct" their children's religious beliefs by example and practice and not encourage their children to make up their own minds as to the extent of religious observance they wish to follow". What are your thoughts about this idea ?

What are your feelings and thought about the future for yourselves and for your children ? How might you react if your teenage child/children rebelled and did not wish to observe Shabbat or kashrut

Looking further ahead to the future what would be your response to an adult son or daughter who wished to marry out ?

What would you do if your child wanted the family to become more religious due to what had been taught at school.

What would be your response if your child wanted to behave in a religious manner when not at school ? For example a boy who wants to wear his kippa and tsitsit when he was not at school. When at home, when out and on holiday.

Is there any conflict between the religious life of yourselves and your children ?

Is there any conflict between the religious life of yourselves, your children and the grandparents of the children ?

Do you think that the religious life of your family is being driven by both of you or is one of you the main driving force ?

What do you foresee as your own level of observance in the future as the children get older and begin to live their own lives ? Do you think you will maintain this life style ?

BASIC CATEGORIES OF CODING USING QSR NUD*IST DATA
ANALYSIS

Parent's childhood experiences.
Influence of children on parents.
Children's Jewish activities at home.
Children want parents to be more observant.
Influence of friends.
Attitude of parents towards Judaism.
Attitude of parents towards tolerance in religion.
Attitude of parents towards future observance.
Attitude of parents towards Jewish tradition
Attitude of parents towards Zionism & Israel.
Attitude of parents towards Cheder.
Attitude of parents towards supporting ethos of school.
Attitude of parents towards intermarriage.
Attitude of parents towards the children.
Conflict situations.
Current religious observance of parents.(Dietary, Sabbath, Festivals,
Synagogue).
Reasons for choosing a Jewish school.
Reasons for change of observance - self or children.

**COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF PARENTS & GRANDPARENTS OF THE PUPILS.
RUBIN PRIMARY SCHOOL**

Ref. No.	Q.1. Country of Birth		Rubin			
	Husband	Wife	Husbands Mother	Husbands Father	Wife's Mother	Wife's Father
1	Israel	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq
2	Iran	England	Iran	Iran	England	England
3	England	England			England	Australia
4	England	England	England	Austria	England	England
5	England	England	England	England	England	England
6	England	England	England	England	England	England
7	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq
8		England			England	England
9	England	England	England	England	England	England
10	Morocco	USA			USA	USA
11	England	England	England	England	England	England
12	Egypt	Spain	Israel	Egypt	Belgium	Belgium
13	England	Scotland	England	England	Scotland	Scotland
14	England	Morocco	England	England	Argentina	Morocco
15	England	England	Germany	Germany	Czechoslovakia	Austria
16	England	England	England	England	Germany	Germany
17	England	England	England	England	India	England
18	England	England	England	England	England	England
19	England	England	England	Iraq	England	England
20	England	Morocco	England	Scotland	Morocco	Morocco
21	England	England	England	England	England	England
22	England	England	England	England	India	Burma
23	England	Israel	England	England	Iraq	Iraq
24	England	England	England	England	England	England
25	England	Israel	England	England	Morocco	Morocco
26	England	S.Africa	England	England	S.Africa	S.Africa
27	England	England	England	England	England	England
28	Israel	Israel	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania
29	England	S.Africa	England	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa
30	Japan	England	Iraq	Iraq	England	England
31	England	Ireland	England	England	Ireland	Ireland
32	England	England	England	England	England	England
33	India	England	India	India	England	England
34	England	England	England	Poland	Germany	Germany
35	England	India	England	England	Iran	Iran
36	Iraq	England	Iraq	Iraq	England	England
37	S.Africa	England	S.Africa	S.Africa	England	England
38	England	Israel	England	Hungary	Israel	Iraq
39	England	England	Germany	Germany	England	England

40	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	Lithuania	S.Africa
41	Iraq	Lebanon	Iraq	Iraq	Syria	Lebanon
42	Israel	England	Poland	Israel	England	England
43	England	England	England	England	England	England
44	England	England	Germany	England	England	Germany
45	England	England	England	England	England	Germany
46	England	England	England	England	England	England
47	England	England	England	Iran	England	England
48	Morocco	England	Morocco	Israel	England	England
49	Israel	England	Syria	Israel	England	England
50	Iraq	Israel	Iraq	Iraq	Lybia	Lybia
51	Iraq	Israel	Iraq	Iraq	Morocco	Lebanon
52	England	India	Iran	Iran	India	India
53	England	England	England	England	England	England
54	Iran	France	Iran	Iran	France	France
55	England	England	England	England	England	England
56	England	England	England	England	England	England
57	England	England	England	England	England	England
58	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	Lithuania	S.Africa	S.Africa
59	England	England	England	France	England	England
60	Russia	England	Russia	Russia	England	England
61	Israel	Ireland	Turkey	Turkey	Ireland	Ireland
62	England	England	England	England	England	Israel
63	England	England	England	England	Poland	England
64	S.Africa	England	England	S.Africa	England	England
65	Turkey	Israel	Turkey	Turkey	Spain	Spain
66	Iran	Israel	Iran	Iran	Iran	Iran
67	England	England	England	England	England	England
68	Israel	England	Libya	Libya	England	England
69	England	Israel	Russia	Russia	Turkey	Iraq
70	England	England	England	England	England	England
71	England	Israel	England	Unknown	Israel	Israel
72	England	England	England	England	England	England
73	England	England	England	England	England	England
74	England	England	Scotland	England	England	Scotland
75	England	England	England	England	England	England
76	Israel	England	Poland	Germany	England	England
77	Iraq	England	Iraq	Iraq	England	England
78	England	England	England	England	England	England
79	England	Morocco	England	England	Morocco	Morocco
80	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq
81	England	England	Germany	England	England	England
82	England	England	England	England	England	England
83	England	England	England	England	England	England
84	England	S.Africa	England	England	S.Africa	Lithuania
85	England	England	England	Lithuania	England	England
86	Belgium	England	Belgium	Austria	England	England
87	England	France	England	England	Algeria	Algeria
88	England	England	England	England	England	England
89	S.Africa	England	Israel	Lithuania	England	N.Zealand

90	England	England	England	England	Austria	Germany
91	Israel	England	Morocco	Morocco	England	England
92	England	England	England	England	England	England
93	England	England	England	England	England	England
94	S.Africa	S.Africa	Russia	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa
95	England	England	England	England	England	Austria
96	England	England	England	England	England	England
97	England	England	England	England	England	Germany
98	England	Belgium	Germany	Germany	Belgium	Poland
99	England	Israel	England	England	Morocco	Morocco
100	England	England	England	England	England	England
101	England	France	England	England	Ireland	Ireland
102	Morocco	England	Spain	Spain	England	England
103	England	England	England	England	England	England
104	England	England	England	England	England	England
105	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	Germany	S.Africa
106	Scotland	England	England	Scotland	England	England
107	Scotland	Israel	Scotland	England	Egypt	Yemen
108	England	Argentina	England	England	England	Argentina
109	England	Scotland	England	Poland	Scotland	Scotland
110	England	England	England	England	England	England
111	Israel	England	Iraq	Egypt	England	England
112	Iran	Iran	Iran	Iran	Iran	Iran
113	S.Africa	Israel	S.Africa	Holland	Bulgaria	Bulgaria
114	England	England	England	England	England	Austria
115	England	England	England	England	England	England
116	Israel	England	Bulgaria	Bulgaria	England	Poland
117	Iran	Israel	Russia	Iran	Iran	Iran
118	Israel	Israel	Poland	Russia	Iraq	Iraq
119	S.Africa	England	S.Africa	S.Africa	England	England
120	England	England	England	England	Israel	England
121	S.Africa	England	S.Africa	Lithuania	Australia	Poland
122	Israel	England	Iraq	Israel	Iraq	India

**COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF PARENTS & GRANDPARENTS OF THE PUPILS.
NORTON PRIMARY SCHOOL**

Q.1. Country of Birth		Norton			
Husband	Wife	Husbands Mother	Husbands Father	Wife's Mother	Wife's Father
1. England	Israel	Germany	Italy	England	Russia
2. England	England	Austria	Germany	Poland	Poland
3. ?	?	?	?	?	?
4. England	England	England	England	England	England
5. Israel	England	Germany	Israel	Austria	Germany
6. England	England	England	England	England	England
7. Ireland	England	Ireland	England	Gibraltar	Gibraltar
8. England	N.Africa	USSR	USSR	Libya	Libya
9. England	Iraq	Austria	Austria	Iraq	Iraq
10. Israel	Mexico	Austria	Austria	USA	Germany
11. France	Uruguay	Egypt	Egypt	Poland	Uruguay
12. Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq	Iraq
13. Italy	England	England	Germany	England	England
14. England	England	England	Germany	England	England
15. England	Switzerland	Germany	England	Iraq	Iraq
16. England	England	Scotland	England	England	Austria
17. England	England	England	England	England	England
18. England	?	England	England	?	?
19. England	England	England	England	Austria	England
20. England	India	England	England	Indonesia	India
21. USA	England	USA	England	England	Germany
22. USA	England	China	Iraq	England	England
23. Israel	Israel	Iraq	Israel	England	Iraq
24. S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa	S.Africa
25. Australia	Austria	Australia	Australia	Poland	Poland
26. England	Iraq	Germany	England	Iraq	Iraq

**COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF PARENTS & GRANDPARENTS OF THE PUPILS.
BROOK PRIMARY SCHOOL**

Q.1. Country of Birth

Brook

Husband	Wife	Husbands Mother	Husbands Father	Wife's Mother	Wife's Father
1. England	England	England	Poland	England	England
2. England	England	England	England	England	England
3. England	England	Holland	Germany	England	England
4. ?	?	?	?	?	?
5. England	England	England	England	England	England
6. England	England	England	England	England	England
7. England	England	Wales ?	England	England	England
8. England	England	England	Poland	England	England
9. England	England	England	England	England	England
10. Ireland	England	England	England	Ireland	England
11. England	England	England	England	England	England
12. England	Israel	England	England	Iraq	Iraq
13. England	England	England	S.Africa	England	England
14. England	England	England	England	England	England
15. England	England	Scotland	England	Lithuania	Poland
16. England	England	England	England	England	England
17. England	England	England	England	England	England
18. England	Denmark	England	England	England	Denmark
19. England	England	England	England	England	England
20. England	England	England	England	England	England
21. England	England	England	England	England	England
22. England	England	England	England	England	England
23. England	England	England	England	England	Germany
24. England	England	?	?	?	?
25. Israel	England	Iraq	Iraq	Morocco	England
26. England	England	England	England	England	England
27. England	England	England	England	England	England
28. England	England	England	England	England	England
29. England	England	England	Poland	England	England
30. England	England	England	England	England	England
31. Scotland	Scotland	England	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
32. England	England	England	England	England	England
33. England	N.Ireland	England	England	Ireland	Lithuania
34. England	England	England	England	England	Belgium
35. England	England	England	England	England	England
36. Poland	England	Poland	Poland	England	England
37. England	England	England	England	England	England
38. England	England	England	Poland	England	England
39. England	England	England	England	England	India
40. Australia	Australia	Austria	Australia	Czech'slov	Poland

41	England	England	England	England	Greece	England
42	England	England	England	England	England	England
43	England	England	England	England	England	England
44	England	England	England	England	England	England
45	England	Israel	England	England	Israel	Hungary
46	England	England	England	England	England	England
47	?	England	?	?	England	England
48	Morocco	England	Morocco	Gibraltar	Germany	England
49	Scotland	England	Scotland	England	England	England
50	Israel	England	Israel	Israel	England	England
51	England	England	Unknown	Unknown	Scotland	England
52	England	England	England	England	England	England
53	England	England	England	England	England	England
54	England	England	England	England	England	England
55	England	England	England	England	England	England
56	England	England	England	England	England	England
57	England	England	England	England	England	England
58	England	England	England	England	England	England
59	?	?	?	?	?	?
60	England	England	England	England	England	England
61	England	England	England	England	England	England
62	?	England	?	?	England	England
63	England	England	England	England	England	England
64	England	England	England	England	England	England
65	England	England	England	England	England	England
66	England	England	England	England	England	England
67	?	England	?	?	England	England
68	England	England	England	England	England	England
69	England	England	England	England	England	England
70	England	England	England	England	England	Germany
71	England	England	England	England	England	England
72	Israel	England	Romania	Poland	England	England
73	Ireland	England	Ireland	Ireland	England	England
74	England	England	England	England	Ireland	England
75	England	England	England	England	England	England
76	England	England	England	England	England	England
77	Israel	England	Israel	Israel	England	England
78	?	?	?	?	?	?
79	England	England	England	Poland	England	England
80	England	England	England	England	England	England
81	England	England	England	England	England	England
82	?	England	?	?	England	England
83	England	England	England	England	England	England
84	England	England	England	England	England	England
85	Israel	England	Tunisia	Tunisia	England	Poland
86	England	England	England	England	England	England

DASHEFSKY AND SHAPIRO (1970) JEWISH IDENTIFICATION SCALE.

- Attachment to the local Jewish community.
- Attachment to American Jewry.
- Strong ties to the state of Israel.
- A strong attachment to Jewish life.
- A need to share in Jewish culture.
- A need to know the fundamentals of Judaism.
- Close kinship to the Jewish people throughout the world.

