Research in Jewish Education in the UK

2010 Conference Proceedings

Edited by Dr Helena Miller
Director of Research and Evaluation
UJIA

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Foreword

There has long been a field of Research in Jewish Education, but until now, the focus has principally been in North America and Israel. It is clear from the amount of interest generated in the conference held in the UK in April 2010 and, in particular, from the high quality of the presentations offered to the conference, that the UK has much to contribute to the international research community's analysis of Jewish Education.

The papers in this publication represent a wide range of Jewish education contexts – from higher education, to schools and informal education. The presenters also represent a wide range of backgrounds and institutions, both within and outside the Jewish community. As this is what I hope will be the first of a series of efforts which focus on Jewish education research in the UK in the coming years, the papers are scholarly but not uniform – either in structure or length. Whilst the approaches and indeed the topics themselves are very varied, however, they all represent a common and serious interest in the theory and practice of Jewish Education.

The purpose of the conference was to begin a conversation – to stimulate an interest in the potential value of a research community in the UK and to find out about initiatives that are taking place. The purpose of this publication is to give opportunities for continuing the conversation around the topics in this publication and also for our authors to have a platform for wider dissemination of their ideas.

With thanks to the conference organising team: Roy Graham, Michael Shire and Tamra Wright, as well as to Ruth Etzioni for logistical and administrative organisation of the conference and this publication, and to the UJIA marketing and design department for their help.

> *"If a person learns from someone a single chapter, a single rule, a single expression or even a single letter, that person should treat the other with honour."*
> (Pirkei Avot, Chapter 6)

I look forward to the Jewish Education community in the UK continuing to learn from each other.

Dr Helena Miller
Director of Research and Evaluation, UJIA
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Historical Research in Jewish Education: A Case Study
Ludwik Finkelstein

The paper argues that historical research in Jewish education can make a contribution to educational thought and practice. It illustrates the argument by the case study of an investigation of the history of the Rabbinical School of Warsaw, carried out at Leo Baeck College London. The School was active between 1826 and 1863. The School was founded to educate rabbis with knowledge of Polish and a secular education, so that they would lead the acculturation and integration of Polish Jewry. It did not act as a rabbinical seminary, but developed into a secondary school. The School was a significant institution of nineteenth century Poland and its Jewry. Its history illustrates interesting problems that concern modern education, namely difficulties that government have in reforming communities through education.

Introduction

Jewish historiography generally considers Jewish education from the point of view of cultural and social history. The contribution that the study of the history of Jewish education can make to educational research is generally neglected. This paper illustrates the value of such historical research to educational thought and practice, by the case study of an investigation into the history of the Rabbinical School of Warsaw.

The investigation was carried out at the Leo Baeck College London as part of studies of the Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe. While the history of that Rabbinical School was mainly of relevance to the social, cultural and political history of nineteenth century Poland and its Jewry, it allowed some useful conclusions to be drawn on general educational matters.

The Rabbinical School of Warsaw

The Rabbinical School of Warsaw functioned in the Congress Kingdom of Poland from is foundation in 1826 to its dissolution in 1863.

The Kingdom of Poland was established in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, which organised Europe after the ending of the Napoleonic upheavals. The Kingdom was an autonomous part of the Russian Empire, with the Tsar as King of Poland. It consisted of some of the ethnically Polish central lands of the old Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, which had disappeared from the map of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, partitioned by Russia, Prussia and Austria. The Kingdom had, at least initially, a liberal constitution and Polish institutions. The language and culture of the land were Polish.

The Kingdom had a substantial Jewish population. It differed in language, dress, customs and occupational structure from the majority of the people of the land. The authorities of the country wished to assimilate the Jews. Their policies were a mixture of a theoretical belief in the equality of man and an ancient dislike of Jews.

They believed that the integration of the Jewish community required the education and training of rabbis, who had a command of the Polish language and an adequate secular education. It was for the purpose of educating such rabbis that they founded the Rabbinical School. They had the encouragement and cooperation of the supporters of the Jewish Enlightenment, Antoni Eisenbaum, a young Warsaw pioneer of the Enlightenment became first the Bursar and then the Principal of the institution. His work in the School determined its ethos.

The School educated boys from the age of 13 to the age of 18, the same age range as a traditional yeshivah. The curriculum was modelled on that of a Polish gymnasium, the elite secondary schools, providing a general education up to the level of university entrance. There was, in addition, education in Jewish subjects, with a reasonably comprehensive and well-organised coverage. However, it failed to give the depth of Talmudic knowledge that conventional yeshivot inculcated.

The School failed to develop into an effective rabbinical seminary. It did not, throughout its existence, provide a single rabbi of a traditional Jewish community. The communities did not seek to employ the alumni. However, the excellent secular education provided by the School gave its alumni employment opportunities, which were more attractive than the rabbinate. Alumni did not seek rabbinical posts.

The School produced over 1,000 alumni who, combining a sound secular knowledge with some Jewish learning, spearheaded Jewish integration into Polish society. A significant number distinguished themselves in professions such as law and medicine. Others made a contribution to Polish culture. Some alumni became leaders in Jewish religious and communal affairs.

The School was abolished in 1863 as part of a general reform of Polish education. The Polish authorities, disappointed that the School did not provide the acculturated rabbinate they wanted, decided to provide secondary education for Jews in general schools.

The School is often described in Jewish historiography as just a failed rabbinical seminary. It was in fact an important agent of the Jewish Enlightenment in Poland.

A full account of the investigation is provided in Finkelstein (2005) which contains a discussion of sources and an extensive bibliography. The programme of the investigation continues.

The investigation of the history of the Rabbinical School as an educational research case study

The paper highlights some of the aspects of the more general historical investigation, which may be said to constitute a contribution to educational research.

Much of the study was educational research in the idiographic tradition. It examined the curriculum of the School, its delivery and the teachers of the School. It compared the School with the rabbinical training institutions in Vilna and Zhitomir, as well as with the Breslau seminary. The methodology of the investigation was largely that of historical research, but it was informed by the perspectives of educational research. The sources of data were published curricula and syllabuses, official reports on the School and published memoirs of alumni as well as press reports. The analysis was largely qualitative. The concept of *Verstehen* played an important role in the analysis.

Much of the history of the School was dictated by the particular circumstances of Tsarist Poland in the middle of the nineteenth century. However, general lessons about Jewish education, relevant to present day can be drawn from it. They are set out below.

Leadership and the hidden curriculum

The School was strictly controlled by the state authorities. They determined the curriculum and undertook the various reforms of the educational programme that took place during the life of the School. They established a system of supervision of the institution by the orthodox Warsaw rabbinate.

However, it was the Jewish staff of the School who created the ethos of the School and determined the "hidden curriculum". They also projected the image of the School to the Jewish community.

The School was shaped by Antoni Eisenbaum. Originally appointed Bursar, charged with the economy of the School, he rose to be its Principal. He was an enthusiastic believer in the School, dynamic and charismatic. He had a good secular secondary education, but his Jewish learning was scant and shallow; this in a country in which Jews expected deep Talmudic learning from its leaders. He was religiously indifferent and frequently accused of neglecting, or transgressing, religious laws and customs. He aimed to impart general culture to his students and did so with devotion. He did not really work towards the creation of a rabbinical seminary. His personality ensured that the School was known as Eisenbaum's School.

The other leading personality among the Jewish teachers was Abraham Buchner. He was man of greater Jewish learning than Eisenbaum, though not a deep scholar in either the traditional or modern sense. He was a *maskil* of radical religious views. He taught Scripture. Outrage in the Jewish community was caused by his publication of a book entitled "The Worthlessness of the Talmud"; this in a land where orthodoxy prevailed and was officially recognised. Although the writings of Buchner were more moderate than this title implied, it was this title that was widely considered to characterise the School.

There were other Jewish teachers in the School, whose Jewish learning and religious commitment were impeccable. Notably there was Mojżesz-Aron Cylkow, a highly competent teacher of Talmud.

However, notwithstanding the conservative intentions of the authorities, the spirit of the School was determined by the radicals.

Integration of Jewish Studies into the general curriculum
A significant deficiency of the School was the lack of proper conceptual framework for the integration of traditional rabbinical studies and the secular studies. This applied both to content of the curriculum and its delivery.

As already mentioned, the curriculum of the School was essentially that of a Polish gymnasium. It was laid down in detail by the state authorities and delivered by teachers who were mainly Christians.

Jewish Studies constituted the component of the curriculum that most directly bore on the preparation of rabbis. The curriculum was reasonably comprehensive. It was systematic and was influenced by the ideas of the Jewish Enlightenment. It was taught in Polish, by Jews.

Hebrew was taught systematically, with grammar. This was unlike the traditional yeshivah, which taught in Yiddish and developed Hebrew knowledge by induction. There was a comprehensive curriculum of Scripture. It included the teaching of all parts of Scripture and not only those parts involved with the liturgy.

The core of a rabbinical education in Poland was study of the Talmud. Talmudic studies were part of the curriculum of the School. They were taught by religiously observant Jews and the methods of study resembled that of a traditional yeshivah. Students who did not reach the required level were allowed to be promoted to the next level of studies and continue Talmudic studies at a lower level. They were allowed to graduate without completing the Talmudic course. This diminished the status of the discipline in the School.

There was no coherent theological, or ideological, view in the School concerning Jewish Studies or their integration into the general curriculum. The authorities intended the School to be orthodox, but disliked Judaism and were largely ignorant about it. They desired Jewish religious reform, but did not foster the freedom necessary for the development of new ideas.

The *maskilim* who determined the ethos of the School, were critical of much Jewish belief and practice, but did not develop any coherent or deep ideas. They were not scholars, but activists.

There were, in the initial formative years of the School, no foreign examples to follow. While, the School gave its students a good secular education and a foundation in Jewish Studies, the two were not integrated. This was a failure of the School. A conclusion that can be drawn is, that any curriculum in Jewish Studies must be based on a coherent and comprehensive ideology and sound scholarship.

The culture of the Jewish community

The School was intended to contribute to the reshaping of the Jewish community in Poland in accordance with the aims of the government. The government had all the power to manage the School and the theoretical power to impose a rabbinate of its choice on the community. It failed.

Much more than the wishes of the government, it was the culture of the community and the social, economic and political conditions of Poland that determined much of the nature of the School and its operation.

The culture of the community determined the recruitment of students, their intentions and ambitions. It determined the failure of the alumni to enter the rabbinate.

As a contribution to educational research, the investigation of the history of the Rabbinical School demonstrates the problems of reforming communities through government intervention.

Conclusions

The study of the history of the Rabbinical School of Warsaw illustrates the contribution that such historical studies of educational institutions may make to educational research. The contribution is limited, but the results are useful. Historical research into Jewish education deserves more attention than it is currently receiving.

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Jewish Confirmation
Michael Hilton

Confirmation began as an alternative to bar mitzvah, first introduced into the German Free School movement in 1807. It was promoted by Israel Jacobson, the founding father of Reform Judaism, as an annual group ceremony held normally at Shavuot. Although a Christianised form, many saw the ceremony has having distinctive Jewish roots. The first ceremony for girls was in 1817, and so the early records provide an important background to the question of the origin of bat mitzvah. As part of the history of Jewish education, confirmation raises issues on the extent to which Jewish education should promote citizenship and participation in the wider society.

What is Jewish confirmation? It began in the early nineteenth century in Germany as a coming of age ceremony which differed from *bar mitzvah* in that it contained a declaration of faith by the child and did not necessarily include a reading from the Torah, or being called to the reading of the Torah. Confirmation emphasises adulthood within a civic or a faith context rather than the ritual *mitzvot*. By the 1820s it was invariably a group ceremony, held annually at the age of 13, for boys or for girls. In the twentieth century, the age of confirmation rose from 13 to 15 or even 16, in parallel with the extension of secular education. Confirmation is still very popular in Reform congregations in the USA. In the UK, it was popular in Liberal and some Reform synagogues until the 1970s. The ceremony is still found in all UK Liberal Synagogues, but is now known by the Hebrew name of *Kabbalat Torah.*

Jewish confirmation has never had any set form. An undated pamphlet from the early twentieth century made the following suggestions:[1]

As a ritual for confirmation I would, therefore, suggest something like the following:

1. *Opening hymn by the class.*
2. *Opening prayer.*
3. *Music by choir.*
4. *Floral prayer, according to the suggestion made by Dr Wise in his hymn-book, that the children deposit their flowers on the pulpit; a very graceful act symbolical of the season of the year and the flower-like lives of the confirmants.*
5. *Recital of the Ten Commandments from the Torah, with appropriate prayers before and after.*
6. *Music by choir.*
7. *A few words by one of the confirmants telling of the significance of the day.*
8. *Music.*
9. *Sermon by rabbi to congregation, to close with admonitory address to children.*
10. *Music.*
11. *Short examination, to conclude with declaration of faith.*
12. *Blessing of children by rabbi.*
13. *Closing hymn, sung by class.*

14. *Concluding prayer.*
15. *Dismissal of children to parents.*
16. *Music.*

From the start, confirmation was frequently celebrated at the festival of Shavuot and the association with the festival continues to this day. This explains the recital of the Ten Commandments and the reference to the "season of the year." Shavuot was thought to be an appropriate occasion for a declaration of faith. In medieval Europe, ceremonies to initiate young children into formal Hebrew learning were held at Shavuot, but such ceremonies had long since died out.[2]

For today's education conference, the relevance of confirmation is as follows:

(i) Confirmation grew out of a Jewish day school movement in Germany and began as a school graduation ceremony.
(ii) Confirmation was seen as an entry point to participation in the wider society. This has a bearing on the discussion of the purposes of Jewish education today.

Writing in the *Jewish Chronicle* on 1st April 2010, David Conway traced today's national curriculum back to the ideas of Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), the famous Headmaster of Rugby School. Arnold had worked as a school inspector and Conway suggests he had been influenced by his visits to JFS (Jews' Free School) and the ideas of its pioneering headmaster Moses Angel (1819-1898). The modern curriculum for JFS was introduced by Moses Angel after he was appointed headmaster in 1842.[3] JFS, originally the Talmud Torah of the Great Synagogue, had been renamed "The Free School of German Jews" in 1814. The idea of offering secular and religious education in a single day school curriculum was in turn taken from the German Jewish "free school" movement.

The first Jewish Free School was founded in Berlin in 1778 to give opportunities for children from modest backgrounds to have an education broad enough to enable them to obtain office work among the new German middle class. The school was guided by principles laid down by Moses Mendelssohn (1829-1876), the "mediator between two cultures", who promoted the idea that Jews could learn secular subjects and Judaism side by side. Such a form of education, which seems completely obvious to us, was totally new at the time, when German Jews were only beginning to be admitted to the wider society.

The Jewish Free School movement soon spread to Breslau, Dessau, Seesen and other towns, and gives us an important part of the background to the origins of Progressive Judaism. The new ceremony of confirmation was originally a graduation ceremony for boys from the Free Schools. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), who was to become a well known academic and founder of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, was one of the first, having his confirmation instead of *bar mitzvah* at the Free School at Wolfenbüttel in 1807:

“On Sunday noon, the 5th of June in the year 1803 I arrived with my uncle in the school courtyard… The study of the Talmud now began straightaway from the very next day… There were no school rules, no protocol, to a certain extent no pedagogy… I think Inspector Ehrenberg turned up at the end of 1806 or January 1807… In one day we literally moved over from a medieval age into a modern one, at the same stepping out of Jewish helotism into bourgeois freedom. Just think, all that I had been deprived of until then, parents, love, instruction, and educational materials, was given to me … The first confirmation that Inspector Ehrenberg performed was my own, Sabbath 22 August 1807.”[4]

There can be no more eloquent testimony to the success of the new curriculum, to which Zunz responded in such an emotional way.

The success of the new ceremony of confirmation was entirely due to the work of Israel Jacobson (1768 - 1828). He became a millionaire banker by the age of 19. In spite of his success, he found himself ignored and sometimes insulted as a Jew, and was determined to improve matters. On his business travels he met many of the Jewish intellectuals of his day and came to believe that Jews would be better accepted if they had the opportunity for secular education and a more modern style of worship. His own native language was Yiddish and his accent in German was obvious to all. He decided to devote his life to Jewish education and synagogues.

Jacobson was responsible for the founding of the Jewish school in Seesen (a town in Lower Saxony) in 1801. Six years later, that part of Germany fell to Napoleon's army, and Seesen became incorporated into the "Kingdom of Westphalia", a French vassal state ruled by Napoleon's brother Jerome Bonaparte. Jacobson moved to Kassel, the capital of the Kingdom of Westphalia, and became a leading financier for the new government. In return, King Jerome put him in official charge of organising the Jewish community. Jacobson convened an official *consistoire,* or Council, of the leading Jews of the nation in order to "bring a number of customs which have crept into Judaism, more into line with changed circumstances."[5] In January 1808, King Jerome officially granted the 16,000 Jews of Westphalia equal rights. "Modernization of the Jew was now a matter of state legislation."[6] In March 1809, the Council published "The Duties of the Rabbis" for the Kingdom. This laid down that:[7]

“(10) The rabbi must supervise the schools and charitable institutions of the Jews so that the good intentions of the state may be realised. (11) He must prepare the young for confirmation and himself perform the act of confirming them.”

From 1810 we have the first description of a synagogue confirmation:[8]

“The confirmation of the boys and girls (because also the daughters will be instructed in religion) will be done in a very festive way in the synagogues, in the presence of the rabbi. Recently the first confirmation of this kind was done here [Kassel, 1810]. After a speech on the purpose of confirmation, that was made by

the Consistory's council Heinemann on Sabbath in the school's synagogue, when the reading of the bible quotations was over, the boy talked about the basic truth of religion that he learned by means of God's legislation and he promised – but without a vow or handshake – to follow the religious moral laws and to always truly fulfil the federal laws. Then the venerable rabbi, Consistory's council Lob Berlin, gave him his blessing with most sincere emotions in presence of an important congregational gathering, using his own words."

Confirmation was from the start a rabbi-led ceremony and in Westphalia the Rabbis were under the control of Jacobson's *consistoire.* But that did not mean that Jacobson always got his own way. Jacobson opened the so-called "Seesen Temple", now considered to be the world's first Reform Synagogue, in July 1810, and the first confirmation there was held at Shavuot 1811. Part of the ritual used on that occasion was written by a Protestant Pastor and a rebuke for this followed from the *consistoire.*[9]

Was confirmation an innovation borrowed from Christianity? As the name and form of the ceremonies indicate, the Christian influence cannot be doubted. Jacobson wanted forms of Jewish worship more acceptable and understandable to Christian visitors, in the hope of improving access for Jews to wider society and improving their standard of living. But the introduction of choirs, the wearing of robes and clerical collars and moves towards more formal, more decorous worship were common in mainstream communities across Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. The boundaries between what was acceptable and was not cannot be judged by today's cultural norms.

With the French retreat, the Kingdom of Westphalia came to an end and Jacobson moved to Berlin, where he began again by starting a synagogue in his own home. It was so successful that in 1817 services moved to the nearby palatial residence of Amalie and Jacob Herz Beer, and it was here that the first confirmation ceremony for girls was held that same year:[10]

"Dr Kley confirmed two daughters of Jewish parents (Demoiselle Bernsdorf and Demoiselle Bevern) in the splendid Beerschen Temple here in an extremely ceremonial manner. A gathering of 400 people, as many as the temple could accommodate, dissolved – so to speak – into tears. All of those present were uplifted by the excellent sermon of this good speaker and by this solemn confirmation. The lighted lamps, the two girls, the first in Israel who have been confirmed, having passed their examination with the greatest praise: in short, everything made this one of the most festive and most beautiful celebrations."

Those familiar with Reform and Progressive services today will be able to imagine the kind of ceremony which took place on that occasion: what is difficult for us today is to envisage the emotional impact here described. This impact seems to have come from the freshness of the ceremony. *Bar mitzvah* had often become a ritual devoid of content, with Hebrew learned by rote. Elias Birkenstein complained in 1817 that the boys undertook it:[11]

> *"without any acknowledgement of belief or duty, but instead only the Torah portion, and they bleat like sheep in the Hebrew language without understanding a single word of what they must prepare for the occasion with great accuracy."*

Such criticisms of *bar mitzvah* help to explain the popularity of the new ceremony and also help us understand why girls were offered confirmation rather than a ceremony parallel to the boy's traditional call to the Torah. The ceremonies for girls form an important historical background to today's *bat mitzvah*, a twentieth century innovation.

From the 1820s onwards, confirmation spread rapidly across Europe and became popular both in Reform and Orthodox communities. Here is a report of the earliest known ceremony for girls in Italy, led by Rabbi Joseph Cameo in Verona at Passover 1844:[12]

> *"Naturally, before being received at the temple the young girls must have studied Hebrew, and have a knowledge of history and sacred catechism, so that not everything is reduced to a single happy and moving day of celebration. For the record – the white dresses and white veils symbolising the purity of those souls still unaware of life, the temple festively lit and decorated with flowers, the passing of the crowds, their reception and accompaniment by the priests – all this is inextricably linked for the girls to their memory of the knowledge they have learned, and of the new and serious ideas, which their minds must hold. And since their imagination and their hearts are so profoundly touched, it is so much more difficult for those ideas and knowledge to be lost. And not even time, which erases so many things, can wipe from their young minds the sweet impressions they experienced."*

In France, boys and girls shared the ceremony (Paris, 1852):[13]

> *"The ceremony of confirmation which is called* initiation religieuse*, takes place in the synagogue every year after the Shavuot festival. Even though confirmation has been in existence for only a few years, it has already made a place for itself in the life of the French Jews and has brought them many blessings. Between 60 and 80 children appear at the ceremony. Whether they are poor or rich, they are nicely dressed, and in the holy place confirm their entrance into the synagogue at the end of a meticulous examination. In this manner children of both sexes from families of the most diverse backgrounds obtain a thorough knowledge and love of their faith. By rearranging and reordering an old form, a need has been satisfied which our times demanded. Such reform is beneficial and after some time it will be firmly rooted in the congregation and among the people."*

In England, Jewish confirmation was introduced to West London Synagogue in the 1840s. In the 1850s, confirmation was introduced to the Orthodox community in Birmingham by Rabbi Abraham Pereira Mendes and to the Orthodox community in Manchester by Rabbi Solomon Schiller-Szinessy. He argued passionately that the

ceremony was "a genuine Jewish institution", citing examples from Joshua onwards. He continued:[14]

> *"the Bar-Mitzwah ceremony, observed with respect to the male child, has dwindled to an empty form; and on the other hand, the female part of the Jewish community have demanded their full share in the employment of life, and have gained it. Now, with regard to the female part especially… how are they to be interested in the Jewish religion, and inspired with love for it, if not by a thorough religious instruction, at the close of which stands confirmation?"*

After the annual ceremony in Manchester in 1854, the local paper, *The Hebrew Observer,* reported:[15]

> *"The children appeared to feel what they were undertaking, and what was said to them, very much, several of them could not refrain from tears. The proceeding was something more than a mere ceremony: to them it was a wholesome reality; and to others who witnessed it, not connected with the Jewish community, it afforded a sure evidence of the efficacy and faithfulness of that religious instruction which is provided by our Hebrew fellow-citizens for the children under their care."*

In 1857, Schiller-Szinessy left the Orthodox congregation and became the founder-rabbi of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews (now Manchester Reform Synagogue). Confirmation was part of his published manifesto.[16]

It is not possible in this short article to survey the whole history of Jewish confirmation up to the present time. The sources quoted clearly illustrate its origin and early development. Jewish confirmation was not just, as commonly supposed, a ceremony only practised in Liberal Synagogues, but was common in Reform and Orthodox synagogues in Germany and neighbouring countries including Hungary, Italy, France and Poland. It declined in Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth1century, but was by then popular in the UK and USA. It was seen as a preparation for citizenship in the wider society, whereas *bar mitzvah* was viewed as a preparation for participation in synagogue worship.

Such ceremonies today in the UK are no longer called "confirmation," which is seen as a Christianised term. But graduation and similar ceremonies for 15 and 16 year-olds are still popular and provide a means of celebration of students' achievement. This research helps educators understand the historical background and development. The dilemma about whether Jewish education should be a preparation for purely Jewish ritual or for participation in the wider society is still an issue today.

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Using Havruta Effectively: Promoting Critical Thinking

Dina Brawer

The present study investigates peer collaboration in critical thinking in the context of Talmud studied in Havruta, a unique combination of peer collaboration and argumentation, both seen as pivotal to the development of critical thinking (Johnson & Johnson, 1994).

Because Havruta is well established among Yeshiva students and is subject specific, it provides a naturalistic setting in which dyadic interaction in a collaborative situation can be explored. Furthermore, in Talmud study there is a marked focus on the quality of discussion rather than on a specific outcome. Thus the setting provides the opportunity to observe peer interaction unconstrained by the necessity to deliver a 'concrete result'. Today, Havruta is widely used in the context of Jewish Studies, however, is it used effectively?

Introduction

My research, carried out between 2001-2002 as part of a Masters' degree at the Institute of Education and partially funded by a UJIA grant, examined the interaction among dyads and the possible effects of paired collaboration on critical thinking performance in the context of Talmud studied in Havruta.

Although a limited literature on Havruta was then available, it did not reflect the traditional Havruta method as used in the present study. Methods described in the literature either adapted the traditional approach to the demands of mainstream classrooms (Hertz-Lazarowitz and Fuchs, 1987), or simply sought to convey to novice adults a flavour of the 'Yeshiva atmosphere' (Zohar-Swaab, 2000). In neither cases were stable collaborative pairs, or texts that promote conflict, essential.

The Havruta study of Talmud is unique in that it combines peer collaboration and argumentation, which are seen as elements pivotal to the development of critical thinking (Johnson & Johnson, 1994). Because Havruta is a well established practice among Yeshiva students and subject specific, it provides a naturalistic setting in which the dyadic interaction in a collaborative situation can be explored. Furthermore, in Talmud study there is a marked focus on the quality of discussion rather than on a specific outcome. Thus the setting provides the opportunity to observe peer interaction unconstrained by the necessity to deliver a concrete result.

Today, Havruta is widely used in the context of Jewish Studies. However, is this method as effective when used outside the talmud context? Does it transfer well to other settings and other subjects? What is the teacher's intention when setting aside 'Havruta time'? Is Havruta used effectively?

In this paper I want to focus on understanding the relationship between peer interaction and critical thinking, define peer collaboration, explore the educational advantages of peer-based learning *versus* teacher instruction, discuss the psycho/social advantages of peer collaboration, consider whether it benefits all students equally and what are its disadvantages, and finally, see what sustains collaboration.

Can peer interaction affect critical thinking?

Based on a combination of Piaget and Vigotsky's theories, social context is understood to provide individuals with the opportunity to express their thought and, more importantly, for ideas to be questioned, challenged or opposed. This exchange can lead to a re-engagement in the same idea, or elements of it, on a deeper level or from different angles. The ideas will be re-analysed, subjected to questions asked by others in the group, which in turn may lead to further questions. This social process is believed to result in the development of critical thinking processes such as clarification, explanation, evaluation and justification of ideas, arguments, reasons, inferences and conclusions (Damon, 1990). Social communication may not necessarily lead to a clear understanding or correct solution, nonetheless it engenders key processes in the development of critical thinking (Azmitia, 1998).

What is peer collaboration?

Peer collaboration is defined as a setting in which students work together on a joint task. Research has established that 'two heads are better than one', in the sense that children make significantly more progress when paired and that successive individual work improved. The literature on peer collaboration identifies (a) conflict, (b) interdependence and (c) shared responsibility or interest in the task outcome as the key elements of collaboration, together with (d) face to face interaction and (e) positive group dynamics. We will review each of these elements and see how they relate to Talmud studied in Havruta.

(a) Socio-cognitive conflict

The task must present socio-cognitive conflict in order to achieve the social exchange that according to Piaget "generates the power for cognitive work" (Piaget, 1976, p226 in Perret-Clermont, 1980). That is to say that, individuals must face some problem or disagreement in order to interact with each other on a cognitive level. The clash of ideas is likened by Perret-Clermont to the catalyst in a chemical reaction, in that it renders cognitive elaboration necessary. Conflict can be a product of differing abilities or viewpoints, but the task itself should be problematic or challenging. A task which does not present difficulties will not engage individuals, because it does not require a deeper comprehension. For example, two students can read an easy text without interacting. If the text is ambiguous, or presents words that are not understood, the students will engage each other in a joint search for clarification and meaning. The consequent comprehension reached is referred to as a 'co-construction of knowledge' (Azmitia, 1998).

Talmud does provide conflict in many ways. The storyline in the Talmud is that of conflict among sages in their attempt to determine the law. The text of the Talmud presents a challenge in simply achieving accurate reading and understanding. The collection of statements presented in the text must be unravelled to form a coherent exchange among sages, determine what each is proposing and how their argument is supported. There is room for interpretation and inference within the text and in fact the commentaries often propose conflicting exposition of the object of debate and the arguments posited by the various parties. Thus, the Talmud presents conflict on many levels and draws students into argument. Thus as teachers it is essential that we consider the nature of the text we assign to our students for Havruta study - will it engender conflict?

(b) Positive goal interdependence

A further element required to instigate productive interaction is positive interdependence. Only when individuals are mutually dependent, will an interaction of minds take place. Interdependence is linked to the degree of challenge and difficulty the task itself presents which makes individuals dependent on each other's skills to complete it. Thus they have to pool their resources, factual knowledge and strategies, rather than simply take turns carrying out elements of the task.

The terse and argumentative nature of the Talmudic text provides difficulty and students need a partner with whom to re-enact the arguments of the Talmud. Interdependence is also expressed as concern for other member's performance (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). The stability of partners within Havruta fosters an element of friendship and genuine concern. Friendship in turn, has been found to motivate achievement (Zajac & Hartup, 1997; Johnson &Johnson, 1994). On a practical note, teachers need to consider the classroom dynamics and ensure that students see their peers as allies rather than competitors and aim to share their successes

(c) Individual accountability

Finally, the motivating factor is the shared responsibility or interest in the task outcome. In school settings, responsibility is usually implemented in the form of individual tests and score. This extrinsic form of motivation is arguably a less effective motivator than intrinsic motivation (Damon & Phelps, 1989). Conflict and controversy, however, which abound in the Talmud, have been found to engage and motivate students on a personal level by awakening students' curiosity and generating interest, which act as intrinsic motivation.

(d) Face-to-face interaction

Havruta is characterised by face-to-face interaction. Oral rehearsal has been found to be necessary for the storage of information to memory and to promote long-term retention of information (Johnson & Johnson, 1985 p116). The concept that oral study facilitates both understanding and concentration is highly emphasised in Jewish sources (see also Copeland, 1984). Rabbi Shalom Dovber Schneerson, a late 19th century leader of the Habad Hasidic movement, founded a Yeshiva with two dozen branches across Russia. The following is an excerpt from his weekly discourses addressed to the students:

> *“Through language in particular, one experiences new insights and depth of understanding not present in the original thought. In other words, when entertaining an idea or thought prior to talking about it, one does not perceive nor understand the depth that is revealed only through speech,”* (Schneerson, 1984, p4).

Rabbi Schneerson believed that the full intellectual potential could be unlocked only through linguistic expression. Talking about an idea would lead to awareness of new depth and perspectives. The importance of oral expression in study is perceived as independent of the presence of peers. This is in line with the Vigotskyan theory of thought as internalised dialogue. Back to the classroom, Havruta will be most effective as an oral exercise, in ad hoc Havruta study situations, students often misinterpret Havruta and read side by side silently. As a result they will miss out on the oral process that fosters the development of thought.

(e) Positive group dynamics

Social skills are regarded by Johnson & Johnson (1994) as a prerequisite to successful collaboration, however, it can be argued that collaboration itself fosters these skills. Talmud exposes students to the idea that sages and scholars can disagree intellectually, however they maintain great social relationships, an important lesson in collaboration. Every Talmud student is familiar with the radical difference of opinion held by the Talmudic academies of Hillel and of Shammai, but although their rulings were diametrically opposed, the social relationship between these two scholars was never affected.

What are the educational advantages of peer-based learning versus teacher instruction?

Bruner (1961) advocated instructional modes that encourage a desire to discover. He advocated a ‘hypothetical’ instructional method where teacher and student collaborate. Critical of the ‘expository’ instructional method, Bruner argued that it is limited in that it develops in students an attitude of ‘right’ answers, however they do not develop the analytical ability. Conversely, the ‘hypothetical’ mode encourages students to take part in the formulation of ideas, develops awareness of alternatives, and thus fosters intrinsic motivation and desire to discover. Among the benefits of discoveries Bruner lists are increased intellectual potency, learning the heuristics of discovery, and better retrieval information. Discovery is ‘yours’.

In Talmud study there is a marked focus on deliberate discussion rather than a specific outcome as indicated by the ending of a *sugya* with the word *teyku*, meaning ‘the problem remains unresolved’ in over 300 instances. Furthermore, the combination of Talmud and Havruta results in a subject that is self-studied rather than taught. In working collaboratively with a peer, students enjoy a high degree of autonomy. They are able to regulate learning to their own pace, and also to pursue a deeper understanding of issues that are of particular interest to them. Thus it appears that students take responsibility for their own progress. As teachers can we implement Havruta so that students take responsibility for their own progress?

The psycho/social advantages of peer collaboration
In 1989, Johnson & Johnson compared 550 experimental and 100 correlational studies (in 95 year) exploring the effects of cooperative, competitive and individualistic learning on academic achievement. The many benefits attributed to peer collaboration and co-operation extend beyond the cognitive and are categorised as follows:

- Greater effort to achieve (made possible by greater retention, higher level reasoning and transfer, and both intrinsic and achievement motivation),
- Improved peer relations, and improved self-perception. While these are social and psychological benefits, they are nonetheless relevant to educational practice in that they motivate and reinforce the effort to achieve.
- Students are more likely to encounter success, peer support and positive peer feedback in cooperative groups, as well as gain confidence by practicing teaching skills.
- These positive experiences in turn increase self-esteem, a factor found highly correlated to academic performance.

Furthermore, peer based-learning provides students with repeated opportunities to recognise the difference in their thinking *vis a vis* that of their peers and take another's perspective, an exercise crucial to the development of empathy (Aronson, 1988; Aronson *et al., 1978a*/b). Empathy fosters friendships that in turn have been found to facilitate academic achievement (Zajac & Hartup, 1997; Schmuck 1963, 1966, 1971 all cited in Schmuck, 1978; Lewis & St. John, 1974 in Schmuck, 1978). Some researchers, among which Shlomo Sharan, have successfully implemented learning groups in heterogeneous Israeli Junior-High-School classrooms and found significant effect in bridging inter-ethnic and inter-cultural differences among students. Our schools tend to be pretty homogenous, but we might consider how teacher can actively structure learning so that students will respect their peers no matter what their differences in the practice of Judaism.

Does peer collaboration benefit all students?
Peer collaboration has to be distinguished from peer tutoring. In peer tutoring, a more knowledgeable student teaches other students (Kutnick, 1994). In contrast, collaborating students are seen as a resource for each other. Despite the fact that collaborating students are not exactly at the same level, both the more and the less able student gain from the interaction. While it is clear that a less able student can acquire knowledge and skills from a more advanced student, the benefits gained by the more able student are not as obvious.

Amaria *et al.* (1969) explain that brighter students tend to arrive to solutions somewhat intuitively, but interacting with a less able student requires them to provide explanations for their solution and in the process they refine their thought, learn to communicate it, and gain an explicit understanding (see also Azmitia, 1998). In other words, it is the opportunity to step into the role of 'teacher' (Kagan, 1985) which enables individuals to

generate a refined understanding. Teachers might consider the criteria used to match students for Havruta as it would be beneficial to give students the opportunity to experience both being slightly more/less able than one's Havruta.

Small group methods: disadvantages
The number of people in the group is equivalent to that of potential views, ideas and contributions, and so in one respect a greater number of students could yield greater creativity. Having a number of students within the group creates an audience for the individual, which serves both a social and a cognitive function. Socially, the presence of an audience fuels the argument in the attempt to gain support. Cognitively, the audience has an evaluative function. Whether explicit or implicit the audience provides clues by which individuals can evaluate the persuasiveness of their own argument. It must be pointed out, however, that the presence of an audience can also produce warped arguments. It can have an inhibiting effect where risky or adventurous arguments are suppressed and it can also motivate a sort of 'exhibitionism', where superficial or sensational arguments are created for effect. Thus, the presence of an audience can induce a social bias, similar to that described by Solomon Asch (Asch, 1952).

Other negative phenomena that can occur in large groups, but are less likely in dyads and Havruta include: 'free riders', students that are swept along without contributing towards the joint outcome, or the opposite, able students who limit their input in order to avoid being the 'sucker' who does all the work (Salomon & Globerson, 1989), 'ganging up' for an easy solution (Bennet & Dunne, 1990; Salomon & Globerson, 1989), 'isolates', students that are not included in group activities, and the adoption of habitual roles e.g. attention seeking, 'clown' or fixed pro/con position on everything (Cowie & Rudduck, 1988a). Likewise, gender polarisation, polarisation of views and task avoidance, are more likely in larger groups (Cowie & Rudduck, 1988a).

How can collaboration be sustained?
Although conflict and collaboration are essentially contradictory terms, and the argumentation created in the redaction of the Talmud may be perceived as negative, conflict is vital in achieving cooperation and collaboration.

Conflict can be presented as controversy or debate. Controversy motivates students to explore the different ideas and resolve the disagreement. In contrast, debate is characterised by the high emphasis on 'winning'. In a debate, individuals argue only one side of the argument and do not take their opponent's perspective.

There probably is no text as replete with controversy as the Talmud. Talmud students are faced with inconsistencies and disagreement among the Sages and their task is to resolve them. In structuring their arguments they will have to identify, analyse, critically evaluate and rebut the relevant information, make use of inductive and deductive reasoning, and take various perspectives in order to formulate factual and judgemental conclusions. The controversy offered by the Talmud can be generally seen to motivate the search for additional information or alternative perspectives.

Students engaged in controversy were found to display greater repetition and elaboration of information, more epistemic curiosity, flexibility in individual positions, reflection of the opposing line of argument, and greater complexity in the final position. Furthermore, students participating in controversy reported greater perception of success, peer-support and increased academic self-esteem than their peers in debate and individual study conditions.

Although instigating controversy would appear incompatible with the goal of improving interpersonal relationships, Johnson and Johnson hypothesised that conflict can be an opportunity to learn how to manage disagreements, focus criticism on ideas rather than people, and separate one's self-worth from criticism of one's ideas.

Current educational practice

Both the importance of teaching children 'how to think' and the strategic role social context plays in developing thinking skills have been well established (e.g. Johnson & Johnson, 1994, 1987; Damon, 1991). However, is this goal being satisfactorily achieved? Studies (Galton *et al.,* 1999) report that group work is used between 13% and 16% of the instructional time, for various subjects but remains the least used instructional method. Classrooms are often arranged so that students sit in groups, but these are physical arrangements, not learning groups.

It is true that Havruta has become in recent years somewhat "fashionable" and is implemented more and more in the context of adult education and in Midrashot, however, its potential benefits are not always maximised. With the results of this study in mind we need to ask ourselves whether using Havruta 'ad hoc' for various subjects will achieve the desired effect? How can we adapt Havruta to other subjects, still ensuring that the topic or text provides the cognitive challenge required for both members of the dyad to engage?

Jewish education has a long tradition of questioning and argumentation. The benefits of this educational approach are too great for it to be left as the exclusive domain of the Talmud study in the Yeshiva. Shouldn't primary and secondary schools make use of this learning tool?

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Valued People: Emotionally Literate Leadership and the Establishment of an Emotional Literate Climate in Primary Schools

Marc Shoffren

The development of emotional literacy is an increasingly important aspect of contemporary schooling and researchers have begun to investigate the link between school leadership and the creation of an emotionally literate climate in schools. This article explores the understanding that educational leaders have of their own emotional literacy, the role that this plays in their leadership of others, the impact that this leadership has on the development of an emotionally literate climate within their schools, and indicates some of the ways in which the professional development of leaders may be improved in this area.

Understanding emotional literacy

It is argued that educational leaders, working to develop a climate of emotional literacy in their schools, need to focus on a number of issues. These include finding links to the ethos and values of their school, listening and acknowledging others, supporting staff to develop professionally and personally, both taking and making time to explore and develop emotional literacy, understanding the relationships between the personal, the public and the private aspects of the lives of individuals in schools, and the importance of leading emotional literacy through personal example. The development of emotional literacy is a key element of successful schooling, as Nemec stresses, 'In a school community everyone is influenced by the extent of emotional literacy operating.' (2006: 1). It is increasingly a concern for schools in their work with young people in the UK (DfES 2005b), America (Elias et al 2003), Australia (Beatty 2006b) and much of Europe, because of the recognition that 'it is important for schools to foster children's social-emotional development…' (Zins et al, 2004: 3). Emotional literacy is the learnable practice of thinking individually and collectively about how emotions shape our actions, and using emotional understanding to enrich our thinking. Antidote, the campaign for emotional literacy, defines emotional literacy as:

> *"...a way of managing your interactions with others so that you can build an understanding of your own emotions and those of others, then find a way of allowing this understanding to inform your actions." (2003: 18).*

The term emotional intelligence refers to an innate ability to recognise emotions, in contrast to the notion of emotional literacy, which emphasises the learnable regulation and adaptation of emotionally related behaviour. Although practitioners using both terms have included understanding, actions and skills in their work, in general emotional intelligence is seen as a skill, while emotional literacy is a process of development. Emotional literacy can thus be defined as the process of developing skills and competencies which enable us to understand ourselves and other people and, in particular, to be aware of and to use information about the emotional states of ourselves and others with competence. It includes the ability to understand, express and manage

our own emotions, and respond to the emotions of others, in ways that are helpful to others, and ourselves and is a lifelong process of development and reflection.

Emotional literacy and learning

Emotional intelligence is a term credited to Mayer and Salovey in 1990, which gained prominence through the work of Goleman and others (Weare 2004: 4). Mayer and Salovey's model of emotional intelligence (1995) includes four areas: the ability to perceive emotions, to use emotions, to understand emotions and to manage emotions. Goleman's investigation into scientific research linked to emotion suggests that emotional intelligence is a wide array of competencies and skills. Goleman's model (1996) outlines four main constructs of emotional intelligence:

1. Self-awareness - the ability to read one's emotions and recognise their impact while using gut feelings to guide decisions.
2. Self-management - involves controlling one's emotions and impulses and adapting to changing circumstances.
3. Social awareness - the ability to sense, understand and react to others' emotions while comprehending social networks.
4. Relationship management - the ability to inspire, influence and develop others while managing conflict.

Since Goleman's publication of 'Emotional Intelligence', a number of thinkers have continued to develop or adapt these ideas. The major approaches to understanding this area are summarised in Appendix A. Based on a synthesis of the ideas put forward by the different thinkers, it is possible to identify three 'domains' of emotional literacy: awareness, action and adaptation. Each domain operates in two distinct dimensions, the personal or self, and the public or social dimension.

Dimensions of emotional literacy	**Domains of emotional literacy**		
	(i) Awareness-Recognition	*(ii) Action-Regulation*	*(iii) Adaptation-Response*
Personal/self	Self Understanding, *e.g. understanding my anger*	Self management, *e.g. controlling my temper when angry*	Motivation *e.g. learning to react to situation in a way which prevents my anger for building.*
Public/social	Empathy, understanding others.	Managing relationships with others	Expression and toleration

Table 1: Domains of emotional literacy

The first domain, awareness or recognition, is concerned with the understanding that the individual has of themselves, their own feelings and reactions and their understanding of the emotional reactions of others. The action domain is concerned with regulation of behaviour and activity in the present. The third domain, adaptation, relates to deeper reflection and response to the first two spheres. This is the most complex level and is

concerned with ideas such as personal motivation, self expression, tolerance and appreciation of others. In some senses these three domains are comparable to West-Burnham's analysis of shallow, deep and profound learning (2004b). This synthesis is significant as it makes clear that a major aspect of emotional literacy is that of the ongoing adaptation and development of the individual's emotional skills over time. Weare, Bar-On and others emphasise that emotional literacy and competences are 'fundamentally developmental over time' in that: "Children start by becoming capable of only a basic performance of some competences and become capable of more complex levels of attainment, as they get older." (2004: 21).

Leadership of emotional literacy

Researchers and thinkers such as Lee (2006), Weare (2003) and Elias et al (2003) have explored the role that educational leadership plays in the development of an 'emotionally literate climate' within a school, arguing that educational leaders play a leading part is establishing and developing an atmosphere that fosters emotional literacy. Teachers are seen as an integral part of the process, as Weare argues:

> *"…the behaviour and attitudes of their teachers and carers… are one of the means by which emotional and social competences are transmitted, through direct teaching, through the quality of the relationships set up, and through the way the school is managed and run. Teachers and carers are key role models in this area."* (2003: 74)

Yet even more influential in this area than the individual teachers and other staff who deal with children on an 'hour to hour' basis, are the school leaders who set the tone and create the 'quality of the relationships' which Weare refers to. As Cowell and Hammersley-Fletcher summarise:

> *"…research suggests that it is the headteacher in a school who is crucial in the creation of an emotionally intelligent climate."* (2004: 11).

This is because it is the headteacher, along with others in the school leadership team, who provide the models for the teachers, and who can facilitate their emotional development. However, there is a significant concern here, because as Weare found, whilst the 'visions, values and the belief of heads' are the engine driving work on emotional and social competence and wellbeing, it is often the case that:

> *"…heads can feel beleaguered and lonely and question the lack of focus on their own emotional health. They reported that a key factor for them in working in this area is to feel that they are working for institutions that are in themselves emotionally and socially competent."* (2003: 74).

This notion is, in many ways, the rationale for my own research, undertaken and discussed below, since it is this key aspect of emotional literacy and educational

leadership which will be investigated in order to develop a clearer understanding of the way in which this interaction occurs and the impact on the school.

Emotionally literate leadership

Researchers such as Beatty (2004, 2006) and O'Connor (2004) explore the personal dimension of emotional literacy in school leadership, interviewing educational leaders in order to better understand this aspect of educational leadership, where:

> *"What is missing from the knowledge base for the emotions of leadership are the voices of leaders themselves."* (Beatty, 2000b: 332).

Beatty, Weare, Sharp, West-Burnham and others all argue for the need for educational leaders to be emotionally literate in the way they work with their own staff, pupils, parents and communities. In this sense, research and thinking on educational leadership corroborates arguments put forward by Goleman (2002), Bar-On (2005), Wolff, et al (2002), and others with regard to the need for emotionally literate leadership in organisations and groups.

Within much of the literature on emotional literacy and leadership there is a view that leadership with schools should be a collective responsibility which is shared or distributed between a leadership team (Antidote 2003: 87 etc), for as Lee notes 'an emotionally literate school is about… distributed leadership' (2006: 16). While a vision or impetus for change may come for a single individual, leadership in emotional literacy is seldom seen as the sole prerogative of the headteacher, or principal (Weare and Gray 2003). John West-Burnham is one of many educational thinkers to note the complexity of discussing leadership. Importantly, West-Burnham suggests that 'the importance of the emotional climate is often overlooked' and he argues that emotional intelligence is vital in educational leadership in four ways: firstly, leaders act as exemplars, modelling the values of the school through their own morally consistent behaviour, providing a 'translation of principle into practice'. Secondly, leaders promote a practical culture of effective collaboration, understood as 'the way we do things round here'. Thirdly, leaders establish a positive climate, since 'Effective brain functioning is dependant on a positive emotional environment' and therefore negative emotions prevent effective learning. Finally, leaders need to employ emotional intelligence to the vast number of interpersonal transactions they have each day (2002: 4-6). The views of West-Burnham and the ideas expressed by Sharp are supported in a study of primary schools by Colwell and Hammersley-Fletcher (2004: 5). They argue that there are four main areas in which emotional literacy is essential in educational leadership:

i) Emotional literacy is one of the qualities of an effective leader.
ii) Emotional literacy is important in encouraging and supporting leadership in all of its forms.
iii) Emotional literacy is important in overcoming problems.
iv) An emotionally literate climate facilitates innovation and development.

Findings from cases studies in emotionally literate leadership in primary schools
Based on data collected in case studies conducted in two state primary schools, four central ideas have been developed. These are: (a) understanding the process of emotional literacy; (b) developing emotional literacy through work with individuals; (c) support for the personal and professional development of emotional literacy; and (d) leading emotional literacy through personal example.

The first area of reflection relates to the process of emotional literacy. In reviewing the literature, it was suggested that the research would need to explore the role that emotional literacy plays in the leadership of the school. Findings from this research suggest that the development of emotional literacy needs to be approached as a long term process. Leaders need to understand the concepts involved in this work. They will also need to find appropriate models for the development of emotional literacy and to explore the ethos and values of the school in light of this work. The second area of reflection drawn from the research relates to the way in which leaders develop a climate of emotional literacy in schools through work with individuals. This is explored in terms of the personal and the professional, and of listening, acknowledging and involving others. The third area of reflection drawn from the research is that of support for the personal and professional development of emotional literacy. In this area, data from school leaders indicated the importance of the concepts of taking and making time, and understanding the personal, the private and the public. The final area for reflection drawn from the research is that of leading through personal example. In exploring the literature it was concluded that the research would need to explore the role that the emotional literacy of leaders plays in school. The findings from this research suggest that a leader's personal example is essential. This is explored in terms of 'walking the talk', and leaders as exemplars of emotional literacy.

The centrality of emotional literacy
Emotional literacy is challenging and complex, but essential both in ensuring that children can gain the most from their school experiences and to support children in growing into confident, balanced and effectively functioning members of society, as Elias et al have argued: "Schools will be most successful in their educational mission when they integrate efforts to promote children's academic, social and emotional learning." (1997: 5). In order for schools to create and maintain an emotionally literate climate, which is necessary for children to develop their emotional literacy, they need teachers and leaders who are emotionally literate, for as John West-Burnham has stated:

> *"To learn effectively the individual has to be emotionally intelligent, this means they have to live and work in an emotionally intelligent environment, this in turn means that there has to be emotionally intelligent leadership in depth."* (2002: 7).

To achieve this, leaders need to understand the importance of their own emotional literacy and to see the effect of their emotionally literate treatment on others, for ultimately, as Beatty notes, 'it is not what you say or do that people will remember, but the way you make them feel.' (2000c: 35).

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The Significance of Teaching Towards Cultural Capital in the Development of Identity and Spirituality in Children

Melanie Kelly

This paper examines the role cultural capital can have in acting as a portal to assessing areas of identity and spiritual development in children. It is based upon a research project carried out at a Jewish rimary school that aimed to teach Torah study and analysis to small groups of children aged 9–11 years. The paper defines the key terms of identity, spirituality and cultural capital, whilst exploring if there are any specific understandings that are particularly relevant to Jewish educators. Finally, it analyses the impact found in the key areas as a result of the project and offers suggestions for how this work could be further developed.

Introduction

I teach Jewish Studies at Clore Shalom School in Shenley where I have written and produced a Torah study programme for Years 5 and 6. This paper explains how this programme is run and why we introduced it. It also reviews my evaluation and the role Source Texts can have in the development of a child's religious identity, personal sense of spirituality as well as how cultural capital plays a role in accessing both.

The project

The project is divided into two parts:

1. Year 5 children work in pairs taking turns to produce a Devar Torah delivered at a Parasha Assembly for Years 1, 2 and 3 on a Thursday, repeated for the whole school at a Kabbalat Shabbat Assembly on Friday.

   The children are given an information sheet that first explains an outline of the Torah portion for that week and includes a list of ideas and questions that they may wish to use to develop their Devar Torah. They are encouraged to write a Devar Torah that has some personal relevance or connection for them, or that they feel can teach or illustrate something to the school community. Each child has two opportunities to prepare and deliver a Devar Torah during Year 5.

2. In Year 6 they move on from reviewing the whole Parasha to focusing on key Pasoukim; we call this part of the programme the "Pasouk to Ponder". The children work again in small groups of 3-4, taking turns to lead the Parasha Assembly for years 4-6 and learning to read key pasoukim from the Parasha in both Hebrew and English from the school Sefer Torah. Each group of children work with a staff member for a week learning their Hebrew reading and developing questions about the text. The individual children are encouraged to think of a question and then, facilitated by staff, discuss it with the group to find answers. They select the most relevant answer (the pondering process) which is shared at the assembly. During our discussions the

group is introduced to Rashi's question and answer on the Pasouk in question. This introduces the children to the idea of the Torah having multiple commentators.

At the assembly, the children sit in mixed age groups and each group discusses the question developing their own answers which are shared with the entire assembly followed by the "Pasouk to Ponderers" sharing their insights. The Year 5 and 6 groups leading the assembly are seen by the school as the experts on that weeks Parasha.

At the end of Kabbalat Shabbat Assembly, both the Year 5 Devar Torah writers and the Year 6 Pasouk to Ponder group are awarded with certificates and their parents invited into school for the Friday assembly.

Clore Shalom has a Jewish Studies curriculum that is taught in topic units - age appropriate from Nursery to Year 6. We celebrate and learn about the Chaggim, often using a series of off-curricular days. Despite this, we wanted to introduce a more focused examination of Torah for our older children and wanted to make our Parasha Assemblies more interactive and experiential. We hoped to equip our children with a sense of ownership and connection to Torah so it is not seen as an abstract scroll that sits in the school Aron Kodesh, occasionally read by teachers or Rabbis. It has to be something they can connect to and that holds personal relevance. Holtz (Holtz, 1984) describes Torah study as an inverted pyramid: the tip of the pyramid is the Torah; the layers above it are the commentaries and commentators that have contributed to our understanding of Torah. We wanted our students to consider themselves to be the next layer in the pyramid.

The evaluation

My evaluation of the project was undertaken as the focus of my Masters Dissertation. I undertook a qualitative research project using the two schemes as a case study. It was ethnographic in nature, monitoring groups of children and their school to try to compare three stages of children; those who had not yet experienced the projects (other than as observers), those involved in it, and those older children who had some distance from it to be able to reflect upon the process. The research was conducted via a series of interviews, art work (produced as part of the interviews) analysed, a diary of observational anecdotes about the children recorded and an evaluation of the work produced by the children in their Divrei Torah or Pondered Pasoukim.

My research focused on three areas: identity, spirituality and cultural capital. I will, provide an overview of each of these areas, examining universal and particularistic (or Jewish) understandings. I will review the evidence found as a result of my research and conclude with some suggestions for further work in this area.

Let's begin with identity:

Identity defines how a person sees themselves or is perceived by others and how they fit into society; where families trace their antecedents. It may be defined by gender, skin colour, body shape, or socio-economic grouping.

Culture describes groups that individuals affiliate to voluntarily, by inheritance or circumstance - identity describes how people see themselves within each group.

> *"Identity means being able to 'fix' or 'figure out' who we are as people."* (Kidd, 2002)

It is something chosen in modern society and since people often belong to multiple groups, they choose to have multiple identities.

In modern Britain, tensions are caused by living in a multi-cultural society that struggles between total integration and focus on self (the melting pot) and the affirmation of difference and development of cultural and religious boundaries (the cage).

Surrounding this tension is the theory of hybrid identities (Hall, 1994) allowing interaction with multiple groups, whilst retaining an individual's core identity. A Jew could choose to construct a Jewish identity within a multicultural society, but they need to have experience of being Jewish with Jewish people. This might be described as the particularity of having a defining faith, ethnicity or culture, whilst swimming – strongly – in the universalist 'melting pot'.

Where does identity originate?

Using research undertaken by Sarup (1996), it appears that identity is connected in some way to a sense of home, described as a generator of a sense of love or contemplative memory. He describes a process of multiple experiences leading to contemplative memories, generating a sense of love, akin to a sense of home, which becomes defined as a tradition or root and leads to identity. This process can be as simple or as mundane as eating ice-cream on a Tuesday evening with your friends – your identity is part of the Tuesday ice-cream eating group. Or something more substantial, for example, always spending Friday night at home with family celebrating Shabbat – your identity becomes particularistic around your Judaism. The key issue here is the connection to a sense of home. As Jews we have been nomadic in nature, so where do we get a sense of home from when home can be such a temporary dwelling place? Our tradition retains an idealised image of a return to Israel, and whilst critical, it has not until recently been practical. In its absence, Torah and our texts have provided a sense of home:

> *"In the absence of nationhood the text... became our homeland."* (Holtz, 1984, p. 17)

This model is dangerous however, since it focuses entirely on love and identity built around the particular. Can this lead to a lack of awareness of the universal and ultimately to fundamentalism?

The challenge of creating identity formation opportunities that support universal integration, whilst retaining the particular, is one of our challenges as Jewish educators.

Hartman (1999) suggests overcoming this there are two ways of looking and teaching about G-d. Firstly there is the G-d of creation, a universal entity or force to whom everyone (regardless of background) can relate and secondly the G-d of history, who is specific to each individual's inheritance. We can identify simultaneously with both without negating the other. We can share an identity with all people, under the umbrella of our universal appreciation and acknowledgement of creation, whilst still holding on to our particular understanding of Jewish revelation and practice as revealed to us through our G-d of history.

Another way of seeing this is through the Jewish understanding of the word 'love' - examined in detail by Alexander (1999). He highlights that there appears to be a contradiction contained in the Biblical commandment to love G-d.

> *"You shall love the L-rd your G-d with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might."* (Deuteronomy 6: 4-5)

Love should be something that is felt, that is natural and spontaneous, not commanded and legislated. However, he explains that love can be something that is a reciprocal reaction to being loved. Alexander sees God's love for his people in the gift of *Torah* and therefore the response of receiving this gift is to love God in return. This love is not a placid acceptance of the texts but involves a dynamic relationship with *Torah* illustrated by engaging in the text: love moves from being an adjective to a very active verb.

How does this relate to the educator? Teaching about any faith involves two aspects (acknowledged by the National Curriculum); learning about and from a subject. Judaism needs to be taught not just as a way of managing observance, but as a way of leading to the exploration of ultimate personal significance. These in turn can form the foundation blocks of identity. Shulman describes our role as:

> *"At the heart of our work is the claim that learning to profess requires that the student develop along three dimensions – habits of mind, habits of practice and habits of the heart – that must be learned and coordinated."* (Shulman, 2008, p 8)

The role here of Jewish educators as vital contributors to the formation of Jewish identity in our students is stressed. Educators from Hartman, to Heschel, to Holtz, all agree that for a Jewish identity choice to be made it is vital that learning links our students to their history, culture and ritual which all in turn lead to identification. Hartman says:

> *“Judaism is unique in that rather than beginning with a leap of faith, it demands a leap of identification with a people and its history.”* (Hartman, 1999, p xxviii)

The Torah suggests that when the Children of Israel were gathered at Mount Sinai, their response to the 10 Commandments was:

> *“Everything that G-d has said, we will do and we will obey.”*

Their emphasis was on practice and identification leading to belief and understanding. By instilling our students with the tools to practice and identify as Jews, Jewish belief and identity will be chosen.

Next, let us consider spirituality:

In the same way as identity, it is possible to understand spirituality from differing perspectives. I will explore it from intellectual and affective definitions additionally examining how spirituality within children can be viewed in a specific way. I will also suggest that Judaism can offer a combined understanding that straddles both the intellectual and the affective, whilst giving space to the child.

Intellectual spirituality is best defined by using phrases such as “I believe in G-d”, “I have a religion”, or “There is a G-d”. Affective spirituality on the other hand is more concerned with general universal concepts such as truth, loyalty, good, connection or confidence. It can be argued that intellectual spirituality is static, has set propositions and is particularistic, whereas affective spirituality involving feelings is more dynamic, concerned with peoples’ personal attitudes and is universal.

Judaism can offer a way of balancing these. The balancing act is through an emphasis on the active and participatory nature of being Jewish in order to achieve the spiritual. Shire (2006) sees it through teaching towards *Torah, Avodah* and *Gemillut Hasadim*. Alexander (1999) sees it achieved through the study of Jewish texts that leads the learner to live the best possible life - not just for their own sake, but for the sake of the world. For Heschel (1966) it is the active engagement with Mitzvot, meeting the inner needs of the individual, acting as a source of spiritual wealth.

How do we encourage and develop this dual aspect of spirituality within children? Is spirituality the same for all, or do children experience it and develop it differently?

Fowler (1981) in his work on the Stages of Faith Development suggests that faith develops in set age related stages. He was one of the first to argue that faith could be divided between the affective and intellectual, allowing faith or spiritual education in secular schools to be general and not specific to any one religion. He also felt that it is something inherent in all children and a fundamental feature of being human.

Hay and Nye (1998) also support the concept of the specific nature of spirituality in children and agree that it is inherent. Nye identifies it as relational consciousness and does not consider it to be age related but describes it as a degree of awareness in a child that allows them to appreciate the wonder of his or her own mental ability. She defines 'relational' as not just a narrow awareness of those nearest, but in a much broader context that allows the child to consider their relationship to all sections of their life experience, including their personal relationship to the world and G-d.

Our role as educators should allow expression to a child's innate spirituality whilst balancing the needs to promote both the affective and the intellectual.

Finally, let me examine cultural capital:

Cultural capital is based upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) who suggested that that there are three types of capital: Economic, Social and Cultural. All have an intrinsic value and can be acquired and traded. Economic capital is defined as financial wealth. Social capital is defined as the social spheres in which an individual has influence. Cultural capital is a product of knowledge and education and allows the owner access to different identifying groups.

In a cultural group, acquiring the knowledge to participate can be crucial in ensuring acceptance. I suggested previously that being Jewish requires deeds of action as well as thought. It could be argued that if a person is unable to participate in these actions, then disenfranchisement and alienation can result.

The main influences of cultural capital traditionally originated in the home, however with increased rates of assimilation and secularisation in society, transmission methods are diluting and the role of educators is becoming increasingly valuable.

As Jewish educators we are tasked with teaching towards two aspects of cultural capital, 'values and norms' and 'knowledge and skills'. By teaching towards cultural capital we can transmit Jewish 'values and norms' to aid expression of innate spirituality whilst also teaching 'knowledge and skills' which will equip our students to make Jewish choices for their identities.

The findings

Having examined the areas of intended impact of this project let us now look at the findings. The project equips the children with a certain degree of cultural capital. My research sought to identify its effectiveness and influence on participants' sense of Jewish identity and spirituality and whether teaching towards cultural capital created any impact.

In each of these three areas, key signposts were identified and the children's conversation (in focus group interviews), artwork and project work analysed in order to

find evidence. As previously mentioned, I researched three groups of children: pre, current and post participation in the projects for comparison.

1. Identity

In every age group I found an equal measure of awareness of a sense of Jewish identity, I noted that older children could demonstrate a high degree of retention of the work undertaken for the two projects - indicative of their acquired knowledge and skills. Most of the children had a sense of reflective identity, seeing their identity as an innate part of who they are. In the older children there was a greater awareness of identity as a comparison between them and others and a greater display of hybrid and multiple identities. There was an awareness of the multiple identity choices they possessed. All age groups showed examples of Judaism being linked to love and a sense of rootedness.

I did not resort to linear and quantitative analysis, but it is worth noting that the quality of exchanges between the children and me improved in the older age groups. I can conclude that the identity choices of these children in favour of their Judaism had been achieved.

2. Spirituality

Evidence of spirituality was found in all the children and it increased, or changed in nature, in the older children. The younger children displayed mainly affective spirituality, but the older children were more likely to demonstrate either Intellectual or a combination of both the Affective and the Intellectual. Older children showed an association indicative of greater awareness or appreciation of how Judaism impacts on their spiritual lives. The involvement in the projects, which greatly emphasises process as well as product, allowed participants to reflect on spiritual areas of their life, not usually considered. The final domain for spirituality through deeds was best described as a tool or portal for the children to use in accessing their spirituality, instead of their spiritual connection or awareness.

3. Cultural capital

Cultural capital enabled children access to their spirituality and supported identity selection. All the children expressed examples of Jewish values, but the quality of values and the readiness for the children to discuss them, was more apparent in children who had participated in the study. The older children displayed a greater awareness of themselves in Torah debate and commentary which demonstrates Holtz's inverted pyramid discussed earlier.

I found that the participants in the projects had a high level of retention of knowledge, providing participants with the tools to enable further study and an analysis of the use of Hebrew language shows that children acquired language skills enabling them to effectively communicate in a Jewish study environment. This equipped them to

understand spirituality and associate with Jewish cultural groups when making identity choices. Children exposed to the project displayed increased levels of comfort, knowledge or acquired skills, demonstrated by their ability to express their spirituality which will prove invaluable as they develop their identity.

Cultural capital has been described as capital acquired through education and knowledge acquisition. I believe it provides a link enabling children to access their Jewish spirituality and identity and that the role of ritual objects is important in this process. Many children expressed a close attachment and connection through a particular object or ritual (such as Sabbath candles or *Chollah*). These provided a link to the feelings of love that are fundamental in forming identity and fit the description of relational consciousness described by Hay and Nye. Using a *Torah* scroll and core texts in this project demonstrates that cultural capital is a portal leading to the other two attributes.

What have we learnt through this research?

- Cultural capital is increasingly the responsibility of Jewish educators as Jewish society becomes more assimilated and fragmented.
- Teaching towards Cultural capital can act as a portal and provide the tools for our students to examine their sense of Jewish identity and to express their innate sense of spirituality.
- Ritual and key objects can also act as an essential tool in teaching towards cultural capital.

What further research could be undertaken in this area? We could consider the following:

1. Investigate if these findings are retained as participants progress into their teens.
2. Investigate if the findings can be replicated in another Jewish school.

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Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy and Jewish Ideologies of Social Justice

Matt Plen

What is the nature of the relationship between liberatory or critical pedagogy and any specific ideology of social justice? Can critical pedagogy be used to advance the social goals of a particular ideology? Any answer to these questions depends on the more general, theoretical issue of the nature of the relationship between ideology and education and between general (social-political) and educational ideologies and philosophies. In this article, I will discuss these questions in reference to a concrete test-case: the relationship between Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy and the socialist Zionist ideology of the religious kibbutz movement, as represented by the writings of one of its most important thinkers, Moshe Una.

Brazilian educator and seminal critical pedagogue, Paulo Freire, proposes a pedagogy of liberation which, he claims, can contribute to the creation of social justice and generate far-reaching and fundamental political, economic, social and cultural changes. In the context of the aspiration to use education to advance the cause of social justice, and in light of the fact that the term social justice points to a wide variety of different, often conflicting agendas, Freire’s claim necessitates the clarification of two issues: 1. What is the nature of the relationship between liberatory or critical pedagogy and any specific ideology of social justice? 2. Can critical pedagogy be used to advance the social goals of a particular ideology? Any answer to these questions depends on the more general, theoretical issue of the nature of the relationship between ideology and education and between general (social-political) and educational ideologies and philosophies. In this article, I will discuss these questions in reference to a concrete test-case: the relationship between Freire’s critical pedagogy and the socialist Zionist ideology of the religious kibbutz movement, as represented by the writings of one of its most important thinkers, Moshe Una. Freire is best known for his radical literacy work with illiterate peasants, beginning in the 1950s in his native Brazil and later, following his expulsion in the wake of a military coup, with a number of revolutionary regimes in Africa and Latin America. Una was an educator and politician, active in the early religious kibbutz movement in pre-State Palestine and then Israel, who sought to integrate socialism, orthodox Judaism and Zionism by developing a network of communes and influencing public policy in the nascent Jewish state.[1] Rather than describing each thinker’s system in isolation, I have focused on three areas which highlight the similarities and differences between them: their diagnosis of society’s problems, their eschatology or ultimate vision of a just world, their strategy for achieving this end, and the agents who are to carry out and benefit from the change (on this model of ideology, see Lamm, 2000: 218-226). As educational questions touch on all four areas, I have dealt with Freire’s and Una’s approach to these separately.

Diagnosis
Una and Freire are both socialists; Freire is best described as a non-orthodox democratic Marxist, Una as a religious socialist Zionist. As such, each thinker's diagnosis focuses on oppression, defined in both class and cultural terms. For Freire, society is characterised by its division into two groups, the oppressors and the oppressed, defined primarily in terms of class and colonial subjugation. Oppression manifests itself in political, economic and cultural terms (authoritarian rule, economic inequality and suppression of indigenous cultures), but in its effects is synonymous with dehumanisation – both of the oppressed and the oppressors. Dehumanisation and its opposite, humanisation or liberation, are defined in accordance with Freire's dialectic view of reality. Human beings are unique in that unlike other animals, they are not simply part of material reality, but are able to engage in praxis: the dialogical, critical interrogation of reality which enables them to re-imagine and act so as to change it. Capitalism and colonialism lead to (but also rely upon) dehumanisation, the denial of this capacity. Una's basic conception of reality is less conflictual that Freire's: while oppressors and oppressed do exist in Una's system, there is no sense that this reflects the fundamental structure of society. He also bases his ideology on a critique of capitalism, but emphasises its role in preventing individual human self-fulfilment, defined as the realisation of values (primarily values which emanate from the Torah); capitalism is harmful inasmuch as it is technocratic and value-free. In cultural terms, Una associates this malaise with *Galut* or Exile: the homelessness of the Jewish people and their concomitant spiritual and social degradation: the failure to ground their society on Jewish values or to take collective moral responsibility.

Eschatology
Freire and Una are committed to socialism and democracy and see the two as synonymous: political justice is inconceivable without economic justice and vice versa. Both seek to balance individual freedom with adherence to social norms. This attempt to negotiate between freedom and conformity is reflected in both thinkers' desire to find a middle path between individualism and the submergence of the individual in mass society. Freire and Una agree that the ideal society is based on intimate relations between human beings. For Freire, relationships are a precondition for dialogue, praxis and humanisation, none of which are possible in either an atomised or a mass society. The kibbutz or commune as an ideal, intimate community is similarly central to Una's system. Instead of dialogue-based praxis, however, Una sees the kibbutz as a communal arena for individual self-fulfilment and for the realisation of Torah values. Both Freire and Una aim to avoid inverting the hierarchy of oppression, in other word replacing the current oppressors with a new, post-revolutionary oppressive class. Finally, Freire's and Una's systems are marked by different approaches to eschatology itself. Una's eschatology is linear: he assumes the gradual realisation of Torah values in a dynamic world has the potential to reach ultimate fruition and come to an end. Freire rejects any idea of the 'end of history' and believes humanisation, ongoing praxis and permanent revolution as perpetually valid ideals.

Strategy
Freire and Una differ over the means to be employed for the implementation of socialism. Freire adopts a revolutionary position, calling on the oppressed to take power and then build a socialist society. As such, he attributes value to the parties of the Left as the manifestation of liberatory ideology, as the representative of the oppressed and as an indispensable vehicle for social change. Freire prefers to use democratic means where possible, but is prepared to countenance the use of force, as long as it advances humanisation. This is to be guaranteed by an unbending insistence on ongoing dialogue between the avant-garde revolutionary leadership and their followers; this guarantees praxis and solidarity within the revolutionary movement and serves to prevent the emergence of a new oppressive class. Una, while no less revolutionary that Freire in eschatological terms, is an evolutionary constructivist: he wants to build up socialist society through an expanding network of socialist 'islands' in the form of communes and kibbutzim, with no need for a one-off seizure of power. Una also demonstrates a principled commitment to democracy and opposes the use of violence. For him, political parties reflect pragmatic interests, not fundamental ideology, and as such are an instrumental, negotiable means to an end. His commitment to grassroots socialist construction means he does not share Freire's preoccupation with the relationship between leaders and their followers.

Pedagogy
Freire and Una are divided over the role of education in the process of social change and about the nature of the liberatory educational process itself. Freire calls the essentially educational process by which human beings begin to cast off their deterministic assumptions about the world and begin to engage in praxis 'conscientization.' In contrast, traditional liberal education which aims to impart a given body of knowledge is termed 'banking education,' in line with the idea of teachers making deposits in the empty minds of receptive students. Freire claims that this model of education dehumanises its students while legitimising and perpetuating unequal and oppressive social conditions. Banking education posits knowledge as an objective description of a static, unchanging reality; it is created by academic experts and conveyed by teachers in pre-packaged form to passive learners. As such, it inhibits creative, critical thinking and insists on habituating human beings to an oppressive reality which is synonymous with nature and to which there are therefore no alternatives. Banking education also models authoritarian power relations between teacher and students, while masking its own socially oppressive nature and presenting itself as scientific and ideologically neutral.

Freire developed a radical antidote to banking education in the course of his work with illiterate Brazilian peasants in the 1950s and 60s.[2] This model – 'problem-posing education' – which has since been applied to other curricular areas both in the developing world and in industrialised countries,[3] rests on several guiding principles. Rather than presenting learners with a static picture of a distant reality, it enables them to interpret and reflect critically on their world. Learning is presented not as the transfer of knowledge but as the creation of knowledge, as teachers and students participate together in a

process of discovery. Consequently, problem-posing education humanises learners, posits current reality as one of a range of possibilities and therefore as amenable to intervention and change, and models democratic, egalitarian social relations.

Both Freire and Una are occupied with the tension between dialogue, pluralism and subjectivity on one hand, and content-inculcation, objectivity and uniformity on the other. Freire's system, for example, is grounded in ostensibly open critical-dialogical problem-posing pedagogy, but seeks to neutralise false ideological beliefs and to expose learners to objective reality. The process of conscientization reflects a similar tension in that it enables critical thinking which nonetheless brings about one correct appreciation of reality. The coherence of Freire's position depends on the assumption that critical-dialogical thinking can lead to the objective apprehension of reality, or at least to an inter-subjective idea which all participants in the dialogue can agree to. In the absence of such an assumption, there seems to be a contradiction between the openness of the learning process and the restricted nature of its results.

If Freire argues for an open pedagogy which gives rise to a uniform worldview, Una stands this relationship on its head. Una sees education as an ultimate goal: instilling Torah values creates social change by altering people's behaviour and ultimately brings about the perfection of their souls by leading them to the recognition of truth. While his position is genuinely pluralistic, ascribing legitimacy to diverse value systems, Una proposes a hierarchical pedagogy in which the teacher or society seeks to instil values in the learners. There is an element of dialogue in the construction of the values to be imparted, but this does not characterise the relationship between teacher and students. Una advances the religious idea of *ribui mitzvot* – the multiplication of the commandments – and interprets it to mean the invention of new commandments as the result of the Torah's abstract ideals interacting with changing reality. The gap between the Torah's contents and their practical implementation needs to be filled by means of human creativity, which is characterised by dialogue between the text, the reader and reality. But in contrast to Freire's convergent dialogue, which leads to uniform conclusions, this dialogue between rabbinic authorities and the Jewish-legal texts they depend on is characterised by divergence and the possibility of reaching many different conclusions (on models of dialogue see Burbules, 1993: 110-127).

To what extent is Freire's pedagogy compatible with Una's ideological principles? Freire and Una are both democratic socialists and share a dialectical approach to the process of social change: ideas, which are independent of reality, are derived by means of interrogating reality (Freire) or through the dialogical implementation of abstract Torah values in a changing reality (Una). But while Freire wants creative dialogue to shape the teaching process itself, Una restricts it to discussions among scholars and rabbis; teaching itself is described as a unidirectional process of values inculcation. However, as Freire's convergent dialogue tends in practice to produce uniform results and on the assumption that Una has no principled objection to the practice of dialogue *per se*, perhaps Freire's methodology could be enlisted in the service of instilling Una's Jewish

values. However, Freirean dialogue serves to model democratic, egalitarian social relations. If Una's restriction of dialogue to scholars and rabbis is a point of principle in that it reflects the goal of defending rabbinic authority, it might invalidate the possibility of any dialogue, however convergent, between teachers and followers. This possibility gels with other important differences between Una and Freire. Problem-posing pedagogy is consistent with the Freirean ideal of a permanent revolution, but not with Una's progressive, utopian vision. For Freire, education's role is to prepare the ground for political action, the primary revolutionary strategy, whereas Una's constructivist approach sees education in itself as a means of personal change and thereby of social transformation. For him, the point of education is not to expose reality and encourage critical thinking but to create a new reality; this explains the emphasis on inculcation rather than dialogue.

In light of the foregoing comparison, how might it be possible to enlist Freire's pedagogy in the service of Una's social-political agenda by means of adjusting or reworking key elements of the two ideologies?

Una's goals require a shift in Freire's system: dialogue should be restricted to adults and possibly to scholars and rabbis; on the other hand, dialogue should be broadened by including in it, alongside its human participants, voices emanating from the Torah. These modifications are compatible with Freirean principles on two conditions. First, that it is possible to teach children in a non-dialogical way without impairing their ability to participate in dialogue as adults. This depends on being able to separate goals and methods in the educational process (Chazan, 1978: 69-71). If in the words of Marshall McLuhan, however, the medium is the message (and Freire clearly agrees with this position), then anti-dialogical teaching is likely to train children in hierarchical, non-critical thinking, irrespective of any explicit curricular content (McLuhan, 2001: 7-23; see also Postman and Weingartner, 1969 and Postman, 1979). The second condition is that the addition of voices derived from an authoritative text should serve to deepen and broaden the conversation rather than distorting or silencing it. While Una believes this to be possible, the inclusion (or imposition) of scriptural voices can also be seen as a form of internalised colonialism, which forces people to see the world through an external and foreign cultural prism and prevents truly critical engagement with objective reality.

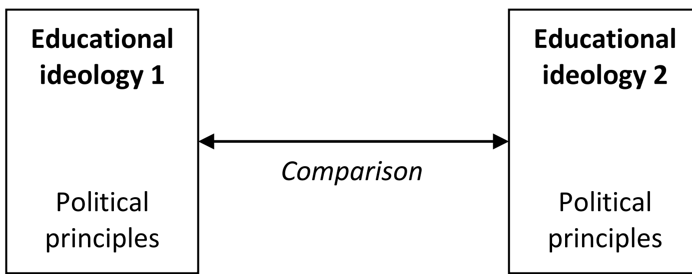
Freire's pedagogy similarly implies a number of modifications to Una's ideology. Una understands social reality in essentially harmonious terms and argues that it is possible to transform society through common effort towards the democratic implementation of values. In this light, problem-posing pedagogy is largely irrelevant in that it presupposes a conflictual reality which resists attempts to change it. Una's brand of constructivist socialism, identified with this harmonious social outlook, is also incompatible with Freire's basic assumptions. However, even on the assumption that it is possible to build a non-oppressive society from the ground up in the framework of the commune, a process of authentic transformation involves engaging with the problems of wider society rather than retreating from them into the ideal, isolated society of the kibbutz. This engagement

requires a sophisticated, conflictual understanding of society and a compatible, problem-posing pedagogy. Una's ideology seems to be able to absorb these adjustments: it recognises the existence of injustice and the necessity of democratic political action as a means of social change, alongside the development of the kibbutz. From a Freirean perspective, Una's system is based on good intentions and a certain degree of insight, but only reflects an intermediate stage of conscientization. Una's cloudy understanding of society and his rejection of radical dialogical pedagogy stem from, and legitimate, each other.

In conclusion, what is the nature of the connection between educational and social-political ideologies? Tzvi Lamm claims that education is an unambiguously ideological endeavour, in that all educational decisions and practices are guided by pre-existing values-based commitments (Lamm, 2000: 228-232). If so, there is no fundamental distinction between political-social and educational ideologies; education is no more than an expression of ideology in a certain area of practice. Conversely, scholars such as William Frankena and Hobert Burns assume the existence of two separate phenomena: philosophy, ideology and fundamental assumptions on the one hand, and educational practice on the other. Frankena claims that educational aims and methods are derived from philosophical foundations (Frankena, 1970: 14-22), while Burns argues that there is no necessary connection between a given philosophy and any particular educational practice: education cannot be deduced logically or derived empirically from philosophical assumptions, both because practical prescriptions cannot be derived from theoretical observations, and because any particular philosophy can express itself educationally in more than one way. Instead, he defines a 'softer,' pragmatic or psychological connection between philosophy and education: while philosophy cannot objectively determine educational practice, it can be used to justify approaches to education on a practical, subjective level (Burns, 1962: 53-63). Can educational approaches be deduced from general ideologies (as Lamm assumes), or is the connection between the two 'softer' (Burns and Frankena)? Finally, is it possible to employ a given radical pedagogy in a specific ideological context by adjusting the educational content of one in light of the social-political content of the other, or is it necessary to create a thorough synthesis of two coherent ideologies?

In the context of authentically educational ideologies, like those of Freire and Una, in which the diagnosis, eschatology and strategy all reflect pedagogical concerns and in which the pedagogy is more or less consistent with social and political principles, the creation of a synthesis involves a process of comparison (see Figure 1): are the fundamental principles underlying the political and educational features of the two ideologies compatible? For example, does Freire's conception of oppression as dehumanisation gel with Una's critique of a value-free reality? If so, this implies that Freirean pedagogy is potentially liberatory in terms of the religious kibbutz movement; if not, one of the ideologies requires modification.

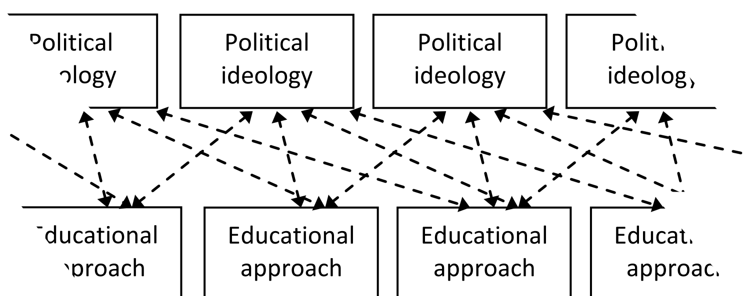
Figure 1



This model of comparison and modification entails deriving one uniform educational practice from two distinct ideologies, the implicit assumption being that two ideologies can be compatible yet not identical. If this is not the case and any ideology is by definition unique, having its own set of distinct pedagogical implications, any modification will effectively transform it into a different ideology thus invalidating any possibility of mediation between them. If so, any attempt to realise religious socialism, for example, by means of Freirean pedagogy can only result in the subversion of one ideology by the other.

However, if the connection between ideology and education is 'soft' or subjective (as Burns suggests), it will be possible to connect a wide variety of political and pedagogical approaches. If so, the rigorous comparison between fundamental principles becomes redundant and the goal of accurately translating a political ideology into educational terms is invalidated (see Figure 2).

Figure 2



Instead, two pragmatic questions emerge: first, assuming no principled commitment to particular methodologies, what educational practices are likely to advance a given ideological agenda? Second, how might it be possible to employ a particular pedagogy without adopting the ideological positions which are associated with it? While this approach allows for the employment of educational practices in ideological settings other than the ones in which they were originally conceived, it also entails the domestication of previously radical approaches. When educators implement critical pedagogy in the absence of any commitment to its original ideological agenda, they run the risk of voiding it of content and turning it, in the words of Peter McLaren, into an aimless 'floating

signifier' for any agenda – progressive or reactionary – an educator may wish to impose on it (McLaren, 1999: 51-52). In this context, the only alternative seems to be to abandon the attempt to ground educational practice in any universal theoretical model. Education in this view becomes an entirely practical, empirical endeavour, and the development of educational philosophy becomes redundant.

Yet, as Zvi Lamm claims, all pedagogy is ideological in that it is motivated by prescriptive ideals which by definition cannot be inferred from present reality. If so, radical educators are obliged to persist in their efforts to implement liberatory educational theories in the settings in which they operate. This endeavour requires the rigorous integration of diverse yet compatible sets of principles and the creation of dialogue between them, enabling ideological goals to develop and shift in light of educational practices – and vice versa – in an ongoing dialectical process.

Notes

1. For biographical information on Freire see Macedo D, 1975: 175-199 and McLaren, 2000: 139-147. On Una and the religious kibbutz movement see Wagner, 1998, Katz, 1996 and Gorny, 2001: 233-250.

2. On Freire's literacy work in Brazil, see Brown, C, 'Literacy in Thirty Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in Norteast Brazil' in Shor, 1987: 215-230.

3. On the relevance of Freirean pedagogy in the developed world see Shor and Freire, 1987: 121-142. For a practical, readable and amusing application of some of Freire's ideas, see Postman and Weingartner, 1969.

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'V'yigdal – And the child grew….'
The Presence of Children and Childhood in Judaism
Michael Shire and Maureen Kendler

We have worked independently on the nature of childhood in Judaism with different emphases and have come to slightly different conclusions about the meaning and significance that childhood plays. From the biblical text through rabbinic and medieval literature, to early modern and modern stories, poems and songs, children feature as individuals but with markedly different characteristics. Some children are violent, some righteous and holy; some enter the text only to immediately grow up and some have descriptions of their childhood. Our questions revolve around whether meaningful childhood is a modern 'invention' and merely a way station on the way to adulthood or has deep theological significance for describing a pure state of being with Divine purpose.

Reading our texts and literature provides competing evidence; on the one hand there is a rich *aggadic* tradition of symbolic childhood emulating the Children of Israel's relationship with the Divine, on the other hand, there is clear differentiation of children as 'other', relegated to minor and marginal roles in Jewish life. Children are considered a blessing in Judaism and that study and learning are quintessential childhood activities. There is also a rich description of ritual and moral obligations placed upon children. Biographies of growing up detail varieties of Jewish experience, both positive and negative.

Our modern perceptions of childhood colour our views of the tradition; whether it be the sentimentalised picture of the pre-modern Jewish family or the poverty stricken and vulnerable images of immigrant and refugee children. We seek to refine this dialogue to further understand the nature of Jewish childhood.

Theologies of childhood

An approach to understanding the religious context for children and childhood is prevalent in Christian theologies of childhood. Questions that such theologians ask include: What is God saying to us in the existence of childhood, in the necessity that life must begin with childhood and that all peoples must enter into a time of formation and education? To whom do children belong and who should determine their future and growth?

Childhood therefore is seen not be merely as a stage to pass through as the developmentalists would have it, but rather a state of being profoundly spiritual 'a part of our being before God' (Shier-Jones 2007, pxii). Theologians of childhood believe that there needs to be a fuller understanding of this state of being and how religion can contribute to the way childhood is shaped and formed. Here there is a distinction to be made between children and childhood. There has been very little theological speculation, especially in Judaism, on the nature of childhood though thought has been given in the tradition to the moral and spiritual status of the child.

The blessings of childhood are reflected in the Hebrew Bible. Children are viewed as gifts from God, a sign of God's blessing and a source of joy to parents and the community (Watson 2007, Shier-Jones 2007, Bunge 2001, Jenson 2005). However, they are also depicted as in need of strict discipline when rebellious. Parents who produce children are considered to be blessed and there are many and varied customs and ceremonies to introduce a child into the Jewish community. Just as children are received as a blessing, they, in turn, bless their own parents as well as the larger community as indicated in the concept of *Zechut banim* – through the merits of the children, the parents deserve honour. The distinct nature of the spirituality of children in Judaism is therefore expressed as a purity of nature and a potential for the highest aspiration of holiness and goodness. Treasured and cherished, Judaism values children and childhood as perhaps the most pure form of being created in God's image (*b'zelem elohim*). A classic passage from the *midrash* illuminates the incomparable status of the child in the very act of God's revelation:

> *"When God was about to give the Torah to Israel, he asked them, will you accept my Torah? And they answered, we will. God said, give me surety that you will fulfill its ordinances. They said let Abraham, Isaac and Jacob be our pledges. God answered, but the patriarchs themselves need sureties…..Then Israel said, our children shall be our sureties. God said such as these pledges I will indeed accept. Straight away the Israelites brought their wives with their children, even infants at the breast, even babes yet unborn. And God gave them power of speech even to those yet in the womb. He said to them, I am about to give your parents the Torah, will you pledge yourselves that they will fulfil it. They said, we pledge ourselves. Then God rehearsed command after command and to each in succession the children promised obedience."* (Tanhuma Vayiggash.)

From investigation of attitudes in the *Midrash* based on biblical narratives of the childhood experiences of Joseph, Samuel and David, we can see emerge a state of childhood being treasured for a special role. Childhood is seen as a condition of purity and deep spiritual connection especially through awe and wonder of God's creation and Divine purpose. Biblical stories about children demonstrate their ability to see what others cannot as in Joseph's dreams or Samuel's call in the Temple. Childhood is a state treasured in the young and one to be fostered even into adulthood. Invoking the prophet Elijah, harbinger of the Messiah at a boy's circumcision demonstrates that each newborn has the potential to change the world and bring it to completion and perfection. The sublime notion of harmony and perfection as described by the prophet Isaiah incorporates a young child playing with a wolf and lamb, leopard and goat and lion and calf at the end of days.

The vital role of learning in fulfilling the purpose of childhood and finally entering the adult world is richly described in Jewish literature. The elaborate ceremonies developed from early rabbinic times continue to this very day with influences from all the cultures and countries in which Jews have lived. The traditional approach to learning was to start with

the study of Leviticus and its sacrificial order. The rationale for this priority was that just as sacrifices are pure, so are children… 'therefore let the pure learn about the pure' (Leviticus Rabbah 7:3). Children are seen as pure of heart and mind and therefore regarded as potential for ultimate service to God through the Priesthood. This is echoed in the story of Samuel who is indentured to the High Priest in the Temple by Hannah, his mother, in thanksgiving for his long awaited birth. His innocence as a child is emphasised in God's call to him in the Temple being the only one who can hear God's voice. Only a child's receptivity has the ability to perceive God's presence and respond to a call for duty and lifetime of service. Samuel as he grows and develops becomes the paradigm for the child's potential as Priest and Prophet teaching others through wisdom and moral conscience.

The description of the Covenanted people in Jewish literature as 'the Children of Israel' places these views of childhood on a theological plane. This understanding of childhood (as distinct to the status of the child) becomes reflective of the Divine-human relationship. Even though the People of Israel are often depicted as failing in their duty to fulfil God's mission, nevertheless their status as child to a Divine parent is never questioned. This concept emphasises the unconditional love of parents to children. As children are the fulfilment of their parents' hopes, so Israel is the crowning glory of God's creation. When Rabbi Akiva living under Roman occupation in Judea describes man's belovedness by virtue of being created in the image of God, he emphasises the nature of the child-Divine relationship.

> *"Beloved is Man for he was created in the image of God. Beloved are the people of Israel for they are called the children of God. Beloved are the People of Israel for a precious tool was given to them with which the world was created."* (Mishnah Avot 3:14.)

Within humanity as a whole, the Jewish people occupy a special position as the 'Children of God'. This love for children is enduring and eternal. Even when children cease to behave, they are still their parents' sons and daughters. Similarly, Israel's special position is one that does not change according to Israel's behaviour.

> *"You are children to the Eternal One your God (Deut 14:1). When you conduct yourselves as children you are called children. When you do not conduct yourselves as children, you are not called children. These are the words of Rabbi Judah. Rabbi Meir says: In either case you are called children as it says 'They are foolish children' (Jer 4:22) and it says 'Children in whom there is no faith' (Deut 32:20) and it says 'A seed of evildoers; children acting corruptly' (Isaiah 1:4). Instead therefore of saying 'you are not my children', it shall be said to them 'children of the living God' (Hos 2:1)."* Talmud Kiddushin 36a.

The varying conceptions of childhood in Jewish literature encompass a view of children as a blessing but with ritual and moral obligations to grow in learning and in goodness. This is the quintessential task for childhood and entails ‘learning to be righteous’ (Shire, 2006). Childhood is also seen as symbolic of the human-divine relationship particularly in the relationship of the Children of Israel to a parent God. This theological construct is reflective of the way in which the rabbis viewed the exalted and pure nature of childhood.

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Being Jewish and Doing Jewish:
Jewish Identity in Reform Jewish Teenagers
Lisa Stock

This paper discusses interviews with 30 young people aged 16-18 years. It examines the attitude of the interviewees towards being Jewish in a largely non-Jewish environment and their attitude towards Israel. These young people were frequently from families where one parent had converted or was not Jewish and most had limited social networks within the Jewish community. While all these teenagers identified themselves as 'being Jewish' there is no doubt that they also felt that they had a choice about whether and how they connected to both Judaism and the Jewish community in the future. The majority had some emotional bond with Israel but these feelings were ambivalent and conflicted. They frequently lacked real understanding both of Israel as a country and of the politics of the Middle East.

This paper is based on a qualitative study which examined the identity of Reform Jewish teenagers in the north of England (Stock, 2008). It was primarily conducted using semi-structured interviews with 29 young people aged 16-18 years, who were all members of Reform Synagogues. The paper discusses their attitudes to being Jewish and to Israel.

Geographically, many of the interviewees lived outside “Jewish” areas so their choice of school was influenced by geography and availability as well as other preferences. None attended Jewish secondary schools. The majority (18) were at independent secondary schools, the remainder at state secondary schools. In general, the 11 interviewees who had been to a Jewish primary school valued the Jewish knowledge they had acquired, but all the interviewees had a strong preference for non-Jewish secondary schools. They felt they were being better prepared for life in a 'multicultural society' by mixing at school with a wide range of people, at least in terms of religious diversity; being 'the only Jew in the school' was not seen as a problem. They saw having mostly non-Jewish friendships as the norm - only two interviewees had mostly Jewish friends. Some attended independent schools with a significant number of Jewish pupils, usually from a more traditional/Orthodox background, but this did not mean they were likely to have close Jewish friends and they often saw themselves as being outside the 'Jewish clique' or 'crowd'.

These young people came from a complex variety of families. As well as having mostly non-Jewish friends, many had non-Jewish family members. Just under half of the interviewees had two parents who were born Jewish and in two of these families the maternal grandmother was a convert. In two families one parent was Jewish and the other had not converted and in one family both parents had converted. The largest group were families where the father was 'born Jewish' while the mother had converted; in all but two cases this was through the British Reform Beth Din.

Overlaying the religious origins of the various members of the families were issues of divorce, bereavement and remarriage. Twenty of those interviewed lived with both parents but two had suffered the death of their father. Co-incidentally, both fathers had had a previous marriage and there were older half siblings. In seven families, the parents had divorced. Three of these interviewees lived with their mother only, while four lived in families where there had been one or more remarriages. In two of these more complex families, the interviewee lived with their father and, in two, with their mother.

One final piece in this jigsaw of family diversity was that a number had one parent who was born abroad, including in America, Argentina, Israel, Ireland, Iran, the Philippines, Morocco and South Africa and many families were geographically dispersed within Britain. Few interviewees had grown up with regular and frequent direct contact with grandparents on both sides of the family.

The tradition that conversion should not subsequently be mentioned means that there can be a sense of taboo around this subject (Holding, 2006). The interviewees were not asked about conversion, but it was clear from the ease with which they themselves raised the subject that they were almost all comfortable with the fact that one parent had converted. Where there were non-Jewish members of the extended family this diversity was generally valued and sometimes seen to provide an insight into another religion or lifestyle. So, for example, the interviewees said that taking part in Christmas celebrations or present giving was, for them, devoid of any religious significance; they took part as an outsider or visitor. Naomi said her Christian family members and her visits to church had made her more aware of Christianity and strengthened her feeling of being Jewish. She said:

> *"When I'm in a church I really don't feel like I should be there - I don't feel that I'm a part of that type of thing - I don't believe in what they're saying… it sort of reinstates the fact that I'm Jewish and this is where I belong and I'm comfortable in this type of place - so I think if anything it's helped me."*

The families varied in their religious observance with regard to Kashrut, festival observance, Shabbat and Jewish education. For example, some families who lived in Jewish areas had kosher homes, although the teenagers interviewed did not keep Kosher when out or intend to have kosher homes in the future. However, family origin, that is whether one parent had converted to Judaism, was not in itself a defining factor influencing either the religious practice of the family or the attitude of these teenagers to being Jewish.

When the teenagers were asked what 'being Jewish' meant to them, they gave a range of replies which largely related to family life or connections with friends and community rather than religious faith or practice. Many said they were 'not religious', that is they distanced themselves from religious observance for its own sake. Rather they referred to cultural aspects, the importance of family, family history and Jewish continuity, and sometimes to Jewish values.

Those showing the strongest Jewish identification came from a variety of backgrounds. For example, David's family were actively involved in their community and both parents were 'born Jewish'. He had attended a Jewish primary school and Cheder regularly, and had a strong involvement with a Jewish Youth Movement. He did not believe in God and yet he said:

> *"I feel it's quite important to marry in even if it's just someone who converts... as long as I have Jewish children and they get to experience the same – uh – joy of Judaism I've experienced."*

This strong identification with 'being Jewish' was also seen in teenagers whose family had little involvement with the Jewish community or ritual observance in the home. Dalia lived a considerable distance from the Jewish community and had relatively little Jewish practice in the home. She had not attended Jewish schools or youth groups. Her father had converted, but her parents had divorced. However her mother was Israeli and Dalia had a very strong sense of 'being Jewish'. Dalia said:

> "*because I've been brought up with not a lot of other Jewish people it's a special religion to me – it's something – my mum is as well so it's brought me a lot closer to my mum – being Jewish is – it's a very special thing close to my heart and I'm very very proud of it…"*

Nearly all the young people, no matter what their background, felt they had a choice about their future. While few of the interviewees were positively and highly committed to engaging in Jewish religious practice in the future, almost none were prepared to rule it out completely, particularly with reference to the upbringing of any future children. However this was highly contingent on whether they found a Jewish partner and the majority did not hold a strong commitment to this. The lack of a strong engagement with Jewish practice, however, did not mean that there was a rejection of the notion of a future identification as 'Jewish'.

Overall, a positive attitude towards future identification was associated with a positive engagement with one or more of three aspects of Jewish ethnicity. The first of these was Judaism as a religion. This had to be more than just a belief in God; there also had to be some meaningful enjoyment of Jewish ritual, or appreciation of the intellectual content, or religious values and morals found within Judaism. The second was a strong emphasis on family relationships. This could be with the nuclear or the extended family or could be a very strong relationship with one parent. It was also sometimes associated with a desire not to break a 'link' to preceding generations. The last point of linkage was through social relationships. Some interviewees had strong friendships or friendship groups originating in or maintained by one of the Jewish institutions – a Jewish primary school, Youth Group or Youth Movement. These social networks and the ongoing support they gave, could be associated with increased knowledge of religion, history, or Israel. They often provided a body of knowledge and activity associated with what was referred to as 'cultural'

Judaism. While some parents and teenagers expressed a preference for a future partner to be Jewish, this was not seen as essential in order to have Jewish offspring. It was a matter to be negotiated within any future relationship and was highly contingent on that future partner and their religious identification, rather than a matter of an individual belief system.

Just as these interviewees were mostly positive about being Jewish, most felt they had some sort of emotional 'bond' with Israel. In their study of moderately engaged Jews, Cohen and Kahn-Harris (2004: 50) concluded that there is a trilogy of statements which encapsulated the ambivalent position of the majority of their sample.

1 I love Israel
2 I don't always agree with what Israel is doing
3 I hate when the non-Jewish media makes Israel look bad – even when I myself don't agree with what Israel is doing.

These teenagers, mostly the offspring of the 'moderately engaged', exhibited a similar ambivalence. This was especially true for those who had not visited Israel. The extent to which this bond existed in some way was often seen in the attitude of the young people to the Israel-Palestine conflict and, in particular, in the way they responded to criticism of Israel by non-Jews.

Nearly two thirds of the interviewees (18) had visited Israel, nine with their family, five on a post-GCSE Israel Tour, and one on a school trip. Three had visited both with their family and on a tour. Among those who had not visited, some would like to have gone on a tour but had not because of the security situation. Only one had not been and positively stated that he would not visit Israel. For almost all the interviewees, Israel as a country held some emotional or religious significance. It was seen as a place with a particular symbolic significance. There was an assumption that Israel was a religious country, fundamentally different to other countries. Emily was asked if she had ever been to Israel. She said no, but then added: *"oh I've been to Eilat."*

For Emily there was something in her expectation of what Israel is, which was not fulfilled in her experience of Eilat. Nicola was able to express more clearly this expectation of Israel as an Orthodox Jewish country:

> *"I didn't expect it to be like – it's difficult to explain – I didn't expect it to be like – normal – I just kind of thought it to be like – really religious and like – well it is but – I used to think there was like no fun aspects – like they don't have shopping and they don't do normal things."*

Like others who had visited Israel, Nicola was able to adjust her view of Israel on the basis of her experience. For those who had not been, there was no opportunity to gain a more realistic understanding. Those with family in Israel understandably felt very comfortable there. Some who were less closely connected to Israel also experienced

‘feeling comfortable’ in Israel. Jamie had a lot of Jewish friends, both from school and his Youth Movement but was still surprised at how he felt when everyone around him was Jewish.

> *“it was a shock when I got there - I didn’t really consider what it would be like to be around Jews all the time, it was a completely new experience to me - and I hadn’t really prepared myself mentally to deal with it – but…- I just felt - more in touch with the community there really.”*

Those who had not visited Israel also tended to be less engaged with Synagogues or Youth Movements and their attachment to Israel was in general weaker. However they still tended to support Israel, to some degree. Emily had an interest in current affairs. She had not been involved with any of the Jewish Youth Movements, but had visited Israel with her family. She expressed the confusion that several other interviewees felt. Emily said*:*

> *“the kind of sane side of me says - actually I’ve got absolutely no connection with Israel…- I don’t really see why I should have a connection because I’ve never lived there - I’ve never had any relatives that have lived there - I don’t see why I should have a connection with Israel any more than a Moslem would have - a connection with Saudi Arabia because that's an Islamic country but … whenever anyone ever says that Israel’s an evil country and they’re killing all the Palestinians - I jump up to the defence of it immediately so… I won’t let anyone say anything against it and - whenever I read anything in the newspaper which is slightly biased against Israel I get very angry so - yes - there’s two sides to it.”*

Almost all the interviewees were prepared to defend Israel’s actions against criticism by non-Jews, even if they were themselves critical of the Israeli government and its actions. Many expressed the view that there was fault on both sides of the conflict.

Naomi, who had not visited Israel, felt a strong connection but also needed to ensure her friends understood that being Jewish was not the same as being Israeli, and felt this confusion was often at the root of anti-Semitic comments:

> *“for me Israel is a part of being Jewish really – it’s got a huge part to play - in the history - in the culture of Judaism so it’s important to me - but I think it’s important that people know that… being Jewish isn’t being Israeli - like I don’t agree with a lot of the stuff going on - but still I would be on the side of Israel.”*

However well they thought they understood the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, most interviewees felt strongly that it was essential to look at both sides of the argument. They were prepared to defend Israel’s actions in the context of political discussions with non-Jewish friends or acquaintances and, in these circumstances, put aside their own reservations.

For example, Ben was an articulate young man who relished political argument. He had enjoyed an Israel Tour and the opportunity to think about Zionism and his relationship to Israel. He did not feel that he should give unqualified support to Israel, but nevertheless Ben defended Israel strongly in discussions with friends, because he felt both sides of the argument should be heard:

> *"my view is one of sort of support for Israel but of criticism for the… policies of the government - they carry out - and so I sort of - have to …provide that other view point of the sort of pro-Israel one even though I don't necessarily believe it that much."*

These teenagers often felt a degree of frustration. They knew they didn't fully understand the politics of the Middle East, but didn't trust the media as a source of information. For example, Jasmine said:

> *"I don't really know too much about it to be honest - as - not as much as I should do - I read the papers and I watch the news but - all the news you watch on - TV is biased one way or another - the English newspapers are all completely biased whatever you read - and you're going to read a different view whichever paper it is - the Jewish papers are biased totally towards Israel - so it's difficult to get what's really going on - you've got to really read between the lines and - often I haven't a clue what's going on because it's all very complicated."*

So, in comparison with Cohen and Kahn-Harris' description of the adult community above, these young people seem to be saying something slightly different:

1. I feel an attachment to Israel (though I might not understand why)
2. I don't like it when non-Jewish friends criticize Israel and I will defend it even though
3. I don't agree with what Israel/the Israeli government is doing and
4. I sometimes don't know enough to understand the politics of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Whether media coverage of Israel is, or is not, biased, in not the issue here. For this generation of young people, their experience of media coverage of Israel's activities is largely negative. While a previous generation grew up with Israel depicted as 'David' standing against the 'Goliath' of the Arab armies, mainstream media coverage now sees Israel as an aggressor, murdering Palestinian children and building an 'apartheid' wall to separate the two populations. The tendency to conflate 'Israeli' with 'Jewish' leaves these young people feeling that they are supporting actions they are not comfortable with. One way of managing this discomfort is to separate the actions of the Israeli people from those of the Israeli government; while Israeli's are Jewish, the argument goes, Jews in this country are not Israeli and cannot be held responsible for the Israeli government. The young person can thus feel comfortable supporting 'Israel'. Another strategy is to refer to

the culpability of both ‘sides’ in the conflict – both sides are then at fault so that Israel is, morally, ‘no worse’ than the ‘other’ side. Both these strategies were common.

This group of teenagers came from a complex variety of Jewish families. They all identified as Jewish and saw this continuing in the future. Nevertheless, the extent to which they would continue to associate with the Jewish community or with Jewish practice would depend on who they found as a future partner and few were committed to making a Jewish relationship a priority. Their relationship with Israel was still developing; while most had some emotional bond with Israel, for many this was based on limited knowledge.

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Anglo-Jewish History in UK Universities: A Brief Critical Overview

Geoffrey Alderman

The past two decades have witnessed a remarkable renaissance in the academic study of the history of the Jews in Great Britain and of their impact upon British history. The historiography of the Jews in Britain can be briefly told.[1] Until well into the second half of the twentieth century that historiography consisted largely of sanitised narrative focussed on the reinforcement of the image of a small, homogenous community dwelling in a land that was – it was alleged – remarkably welcoming of its immigrants of the Hebrew persuasion. The history itself was for the most part written by the children of the generation of the emancipation – men like Albert Hyamson and Cecil Roth – and by those (like Vivian Lipman, a pupil of Roth) who unashamedly regarded themselves as the spiritual heirs to this legacy.

The publication of Professor Lloyd Gartner's monograph *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870 – 1914*, in 1960, seemed to herald the end of this era, but proved to be a false dawn.[2] Why was this? This seminal work – which dispelled so many romanticised myths about that period and those immigrants – came from the pen of an American scholar, thoroughly at home with the Hebrew and Yiddish sources as well as the English, and free from the subtle inhibitions and somewhat less subtle communal constraints that obtained in the United Kingdom. Moreover, whereas the American university world was glad to offer homes to young scholars who had served their academic apprenticeships within the world of Jewish history (and, more generally, of Jewish studies), no such opportunities existed in the UK. Outside of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, Jewish history was hardly taught; where it was taught, it was likely to be only within departments of theology, classics and ancient (and perhaps medieval) history. Those intent on pursuing academic careers in the UK were well advised to steer clear of the modern history of the Jewish people.

This is no longer the case. Modern Anglo-Jewish history has benefited from the increasing interest in 'ethnic' studies, and in the experience and impact of immigrant minorities in British – and more generally in European – urban communities. The Anglo-Jewish community itself has matured: it is no longer reluctant to confront its recent past. Scarcely less important has been the willingness of communal philanthropists to fund university posts and university-level research into this recent past. The history of the Jews has been recognised as a subject in its own right within the scope of the quinquennial government-mandated Research Assessment Exercises involving the taxpayer-funded higher-education sector in the UK.

In the early 1990s, the University of London approved the history of the Jews in Britain as a discrete optional subject within its Bachelor's programme in modern history. Today there is scarcely a university in the UK where it is not possible to study modern Anglo-Jewish history in some form. Of particular note – but this list is far from exhaustive – are the Oxford Centre

for Hebrew & Jewish Studies, the Department for Hebrew & Jewish Studies at University College London, the Centres for Jewish Studies at the University of Manchester and at the School of Oriental & African Studies, and the Parkes Institute and Library at the University of Southampton, which houses the largest single collection of private archives bearing upon the history of the Jews in the UK. We might also note that a number of leading communal bodies have been persuaded to transfer their own archives (often inadequately housed hitherto) to the expert care of London Metropolitan Archives (formerly the Greater London Record Office).

At the same time, the academic study of Anglo-Jewish history has flourished in the United States of America, where some of its most brilliant contemporary expositors are to be found. It is a particular tribute to these expositors that they, and their students, have managed to maintain and expand this scholarship in spite of the ocean that separates them from their subject matter.

Notes

[1] It is told at greater length in my essay, 'Academic Duty and Communal Obligation: Some Thoughts on the Writing of Anglo-Jewish History,' in G. Alderman (ed.) *Controversy & Crisis* (Academic Studies Press, Boston, Massachusetts, USA, 2008), 37-51.

[2] Geoffrey Alderman, 'The Canon,' *Times Higher Education*, 28 May 2009, 49.

Author Biographies

Professor Geoffrey Alderman is Michael Gross Professor of Politics and Contemporary History at the University of Buckingham. He is the author of many books and learned articles on the history of the Jews in Modern Britain, for which the University of Oxford awarded him the higher degree of Doctor of Letters in 2006.
geoffreyalderman@gmail.com

Dina Brawer holds a BA (Hons) in Jewish Studies and an MA in Education (Psychology). She enjoys studying and teaching topics of Jewish interest to adults and to teens in informal settings. She currently develops and delivers training for volunteers at Jewish Care.
dinabrawer@hotmail.com

Dr Ludwik Finkelstein OBE FREng is Research Fellow at Leo Baeck College London, from which he graduated with an MA and a PhD. He is also an engineering scientist working at City University London of which he is Professor Emeritus and a former Dean of Engineering and Pro-Vice-Chancellor.
l.finkelstein@city.ac.uk

Rabbi Dr Michael Hilton has served Kol Chai Hatch End Jewish Community since 2001. He is the author of *The Gospels and Rabbinic Judaism* with Gordian Marshall OP and *The Christian Effect on Jewish Life.* He has recently completed an MA, focussing on the history of bar mitzvah in Europe, 1100-1800.
RabbiM@kolchai.org

Melanie Kelly has worked for over 13 years in Jewish education in synagogue communities and for the last seven years at Clore Shalom School. She is a recent graduate from Leo Baeck College with an MA in Jewish Education. At Clore Shalom she leads a Jewish Studies project teaching Parashat Hashavua to support the development of pupils' Jewish identity, spirituality and cultural capital.
kellyfamily1@btinternet.com

Maureen Kendler is Head of Educational Programming at the London School of Jewish Studies. She is a UJIA Ashdown Fellow, has a teaching background and is currently completing an MA in Jewish Education. Teaching texts is what she loves to do best.
maureen@lsjs.ac.uk

Dr Helena Miller is the Director of Research and Evaluation at UJIA. Her doctorate is in Jewish Education and she has taught and written widely on many aspects of Jewish education over the years. She is the senior editor, with Alex Pomson and Lisa Grant, of the forthcoming *International Handbook of Jewish Education*, to be published by Springer in 2011.
helena.miller@ujia.org

Matt Plen is Movement Director of the Assembly of Masorti Synagogues and a doctoral student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where his research topic is Critical Pedagogy and Israeli Ideologies of Social Justice.
matt@masorti.org.uk

Rabbi Dr Michael Shire is Vice-Principal of Leo Baeck College and Director of its Department for Jewish Education. He has a PhD in Jewish Education from Hebrew Union College and an MA in Jewish Studies and Ordination from Leo Baeck College. An authored chapter relevant to the topic at the conference is "Learning to be Righteous: A Jewish Theology of Childhood" in Yust, Johnson, Sasso and Roehlkepartain (2006) *Nurturing Child and Adolescent Spirituality*, Rowman and Littlefield, New York.
michael.shire@lbc.ac.uk

Marc Shoffren is the Jewish Ethos leader at Clore Shalom School, Hertfordshire. He is a graduate of the Melton Senior Educators Programme, where he explored folktales in Jewish education. He has an MA in religious education, where research focused on children's exploration of *t'fillah* (prayer), and an MBA in Educational Leadership.
mjs@cloreshalom.herts.sch.uk

Dr Lisa Stock received a BA in Sociology after which she qualified and worked as a Teacher of the Deaf and Educational Audiologist for over 20 years. A former Board member of the Movement for Reform Judaism, Lisa completed her PhD in Sociology in 2008. Her thesis examined the Jewish identity of Reform Jewish teenagers.
stock@zetnet.co.uk