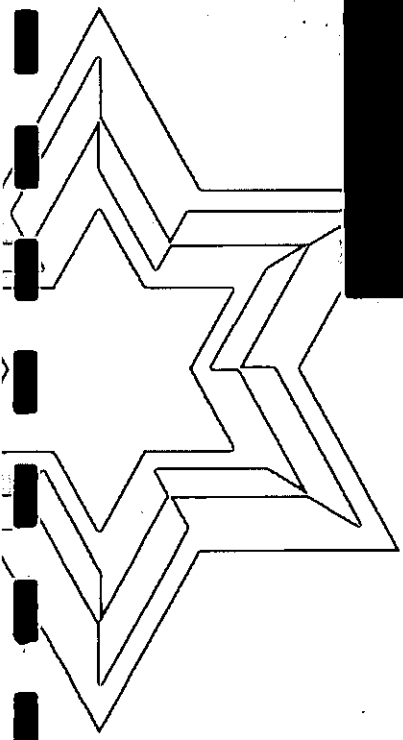
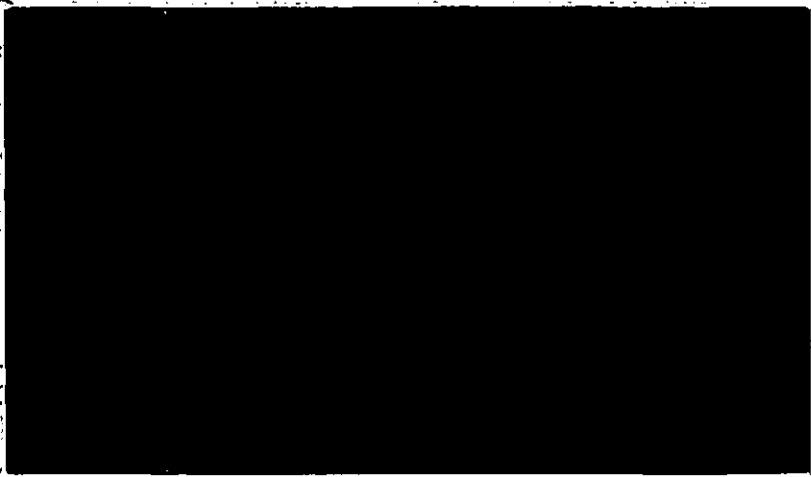


The Board of Deputies of British Jews



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I S H J E W S

The Board Of Deputies Of British Jews
Community Research Unit

**Jewish Education
at the Crossroads**

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I. Introduction

Since 1992 the Board of Deputies' Community Research Unit has been responsible for consistent, repeated basic data collection from Jewish nurseries, schools and *chedarim* in Britain. This regular compilation was stimulated by growing international interest in the development of Jewish education and the 1992 publication *Securing our Future*, which laid the groundwork for discussion of British Jewish educational issues for the rest of the century and beyond. During this period the data was used for the intermittent international work on Jewish education of the late 1980-90s and was also the background to the recent JPR publication (Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg 2001). By school year 1999/2000, the body of information built up by the Community Research Unit, while by its very nature slow-growing, had reached the point at which it could be utilized to delineate communal trends in Jewish education – both full and part-time.

As the JPR review has shown, the basic priorities set out in the 1992 study are still at the forefront of the community's educational concerns. However, as this paper illustrates, Jewish education evolved significantly during the last decade, bringing new issues to the community's educational agenda.

Over the last decade Jewish education in Britain has undergone significant transformations in structure and content. The chief change has been the expansion of Jewish full-time education and the contraction of supplementary education. This is a major structural shift with manifold implications for the community which has occurred against a background of an age-related geographical concentration of community and a declining number of births. The contradiction between demographic decrease and full-time educational expansion is at the centre of this report. We illustrate and examine here the evolution of Jewish education in Britain during the last decade, and suggest possible causes of and factors affecting these trends. The policy implications of the trends are examined and discussed.

The development of Jewish education in the 1990s in Britain is related to changes within both British Jewry and the English educational system. In this paper we address the relationships between family, community and formal education, and examine their roles as socialisation agents for Jewish life. We also locate Jewish full-

time education within the context of English education, by exploring the effect of the 1988 Education Reform Act (DfES 1988) and multi-cultural policies on Jewish education. These two themes combine to highlight the position of Jewish education as an intersection of communal and statutory interests and requirements.

The first section of the report describes research methods and is followed by a description of the structural changes in Jewish education. The third section explores these educational trends in the light of British Jewish sociological and educational patterns. We then set Jewish education in the context of English state educational policy by exploring the effects of multicultural and market policies on Jewish schools. The closing sections discuss some implications of the findings.

II. Research Methods

Over the past decade the Community Research Unit has carried out a yearly survey among all Jewish day schools in Britain. As indicated earlier, this work followed the parameters set by the Jewish Educational Development Trust report (1992), and was initially a part of international surveys carried out by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in the 1980s. The questions asked in the first years were detailed, enquiring about many aspects of education, including teacher and pupil numbers, building and equipment and aspects of the curriculum. The Unit repeated these questions for two years but, as response rates were particularly low for the very detailed questions about Jewish studies curriculum, the questionnaires were reduced to focus on student and staff numbers and pupil transfers. These are all essential for policy decisions. Over the period the Unit has simultaneously accompanied this annual audit with a more confined study of *chedarim*, which has concentrated on student and staff numbers.

In this paper we review the data collected by these questionnaires from school year 1992/3 to 1999/2000 both to report on the growth of Jewish day-schools and nurseries in the Britain and to assess the related position of part-time Jewish education. Regular data collection is continuing and the datafile for school year 2000/1 is being finalised at the time of writing. While every attempt was made each year to ensure that all schools and *chedarim* replied to the questionnaire, some schools failed to make a return every year. As the non-responding schools varied from year to year, there is information from most schools for most years. The question-response rate also varied from school to school and year to year. Therefore, in collecting the data, most attention was given to obtaining details of pupil enrolment and numbers of teachers; where necessary schools were phoned for this most needed information.

The educational issues raised in the analysis are located within demographic, communal or educational contexts. Thus, in addition to the educational data, other community and general datasets were used in this report, including birth figures, synagogue statistics, OFSTED and Pikuach reports.

Terminology

Religious orientation

We are aware that we ourselves impose analytical categories on data and that the terms with which categories are labelled are matters of choice. They must, however, reflect a reality. Thus, for the purpose of the current report, we have grouped the schools according to (a) the character of the school in terms of educational ethos and policies, and (b) the communities they serve. Accordingly, we have distinguished three groups of schools: Strictly Orthodox schools, Mainstream Orthodox (hereafter: Mainstream)¹ and Progressive schools. Whereas in the general run of analyses this categorisation need not present a difficulty, we are sensitive to the fact that these are not uniform categories and that each category incorporates a wide range of practices, philosophies and experiences as well as intake. We are also aware that these groups are not hermetically sealed in terms of the religious practice of the children who attend. Strictly Orthodox individuals may attend certain mainstream schools, while Progressive Jews may also enrol their children in mainstream schools.

The definition **Strictly Orthodox** schools is applied in this report to schools which are specifically established as socialisation agents for *Haredi* Jewish life and display a special vision of Jewish education. Schools in the Strictly Orthodox sector adopt and follow a traditional, long-standing, religiously-centred programme. This is reflected in their curriculum, some teaching methods and their education system's structure and organisation. Although most of these schools teach secular studies, these are often marginalised in terms of time allocation and coverage.

Most of the schools in this sector (80%) have an average size of 260 pupils. The others (20%) are much smaller in size, ranging between 10 and 90 pupils per school, and often include mixed-age classes. In terms of building, most Strictly Orthodox schools are situated in purpose-built buildings while some are positioned in houses, synagogues or *Batei Midrash*. For the main part, these schools draw their pupils

¹ This corresponds to Central Orthodox in the JPR report.

from closely-knit Jewish communities, where all families and individuals follow a distinct life style which is informed by *Halacha* and customs.

Mainstream Orthodox schools cover a wide range of educational philosophies and practices all of which are designed to combine Jewish life with modern knowledge. About 40% are state maintained and follow the national curriculum; thus most of their time is devoted to non-religious studies. In terms of their pupil composition, most come from homes where parents are affiliated to Mainstream Orthodox synagogues. Nevertheless, there is significant diversity in terms of pupils' religious practice within each school, ranging from secular families to Modern Orthodox. Some of these schools (mainly in the regions) take non-Jewish pupils (see chapter VII).

Progressive schools are those affiliated to the Reform and Liberal synagogue movements. These schools, the first of which was established in 1981, are new to British Jewish education. They combine secular studies with their own Jewish studies programme and also draw their pupils from families who display a wide range of religious practice.

Other details

All Jewish schools day schools except one operate under the English education system. There is one school in Scotland and none in Wales. The Jewish education enterprise is therefore squarely set in the English education system that is regulated by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES)².

Where dates are given for **school years**, they relate to the September in which the academic year commenced. Thus '1999' refers to the school year 1999-2000.

The definitions of **nurseries and schools** in this paper are those used by the DfES. Although there are some minor variations in the age ranges of pupils in each category, nurseries typically accommodate children between the ages of 2 and 5, and primary schools include pupils between the ages of 5 and 11. Most of the secondary Jewish schools accommodate pupils between the ages of 11-18. Enrolment at *Yeshiva* is offered to pupils from the age of 15. Some of the schools (mainly in the Strictly Orthodox sector) defined in this paper as 'primary and

² Previously the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE)

secondary' may not accommodate the full age range and often enrol children from age 4 up to 12 or 14.

The term **school age children** refers to children aged 5 to 17, while **statutory education** includes only those aged 5 to 16. Where nursery children and children in Special Educational Needs schools (SEN) are included in the analysis, this is clearly indicated. Since post-16 enrolment rates in the community are generally higher than the general population, most tables and figures in this report include pupils aged 5 to 17 at the start of the school year.

Please note that according to the DfES records, there were 49 registered independent Jewish schools in Britain in 1999, while our records show 54 independent schools. This variation is mainly a result of administrative procedures under which primary and secondary schools that we have considered as separate entities are registered as a single institution by the DfES.

Analysis

Day schools

In order to produce trend data for Jewish schools from 1992 to 1999, the eight individual datafiles were aggregated into a single database and analysed using SPSS. Information on the religious orientation, type of school and its geographical location was established at the beginning of the period (or whenever a new school was added) and maintained throughout.

We assessed replacement for missing data on enrolment and school transfer by averaging out available figures over five years; these averages were used to fill unanswered questions. In the latest years, the response rate for school enrolment figures is 93%. Please note that our data does not include *yeshiva* education, and thus that there is a higher rate of missing data from the upper level of secondary schools in the Strictly Orthodox sector.

In order to assess the educational expansion in relation to demographic trends within British Jewry, we used births data recorded by the Community Research Unit. This allowed us to estimate the core Jewish school-age population between 1992 and

today³. However, no data is currently available on either inflows or outflows in Jewish international migration⁴ which may affect school enrolment and transfer patterns.

We have calculated the total number of school-age children in the Mainstream and Progressive sectors arithmetically. First, we assumed that *all* school-age children in the Strictly Orthodox sector attend Jewish schools; we arrived at this number from enrolment reported to us by the Strictly Orthodox schools and subtracted it from the total number of Jewish children given by the births data⁵. The resulting remainder we have taken as the Mainstream and Progressive school-age population.

Chedarim and synagogue classes

The datafiles of *chedarim* for 1992 to 1999 were dealt with in the same way as those of the day schools - again to provide a single database. A much shorter questionnaire is used for *chedarim* in order to encourage at least a basic response from head teachers who are for the most part part-time. We have to report, however, that response rate from *chedarim* varied more than that of day schools over the period and the quality of their raw data thus is less robust: this is particularly so for years 1992 to 1996. The latest level of coverage for enrolment figures is approximately 70%; the total figures include some 30% of estimated averages. While this could affect yearly totals, having discussed the findings with those involved in cheder education, it is clear that the overall patterns described by our data are sound.

³ See Schmool and Cohen (1998) for statistical analysis of birth figures in British Jewry.

⁴ We are aware of migration flows from and to Israel, from and to Strictly Orthodox communities in New York and Belgium, and from South Africa in the recent years.

⁵ The Strictly Orthodox sector includes some immigrant children while totals of Mainstream and Progressive births are likely to be underestimated.

III. Structural patterns in the 1990s

The course of Jewish education in Britain during the last decade has been marked by a structural change: the expansion of the day school, and the corresponding decline of supplementary education. This is a major transformation, which bears educational, financial and other implications for the Jewish community. In this chapter we explore and describe these changes, and discuss some of their educational and policy implications.

Schools and enrolment

The most prominent finding in our study is the steady increase in the number of Jewish day schools. In 1992 there were 96 schools and nurseries offering full time Jewish education. By 1999 the number had risen to 135 facilities, demonstrating an increase of 40% (see Table 1).

Table 1: Jewish nurseries and schools in Britain

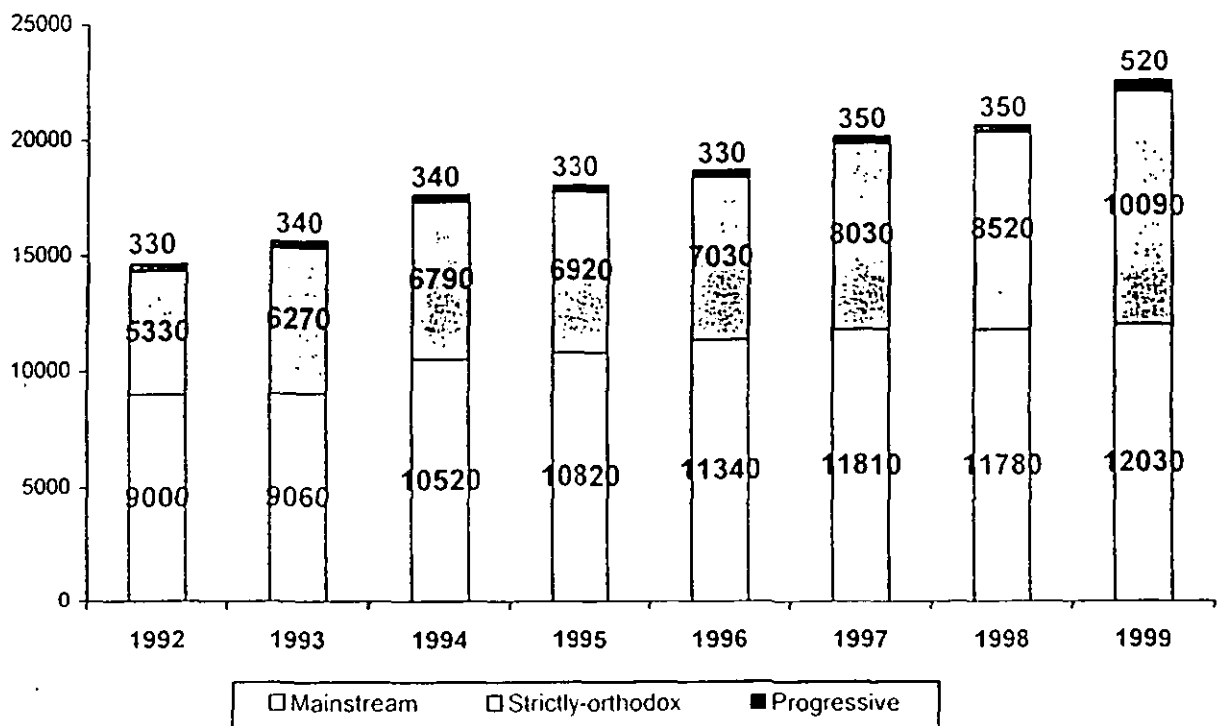
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Nursery	39	44	44	42	42	45	42	43
Primary	29	29	31	31	31	30	34	41
Primary +nursery	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	5
Primary +secondary	5	8	8	8	9	15	17	20
Secondary	17	18	18	18	18	18	17	22
SEN	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	4
Total	96	105	106	104	106	115	117	135

The number of self-contained Jewish nurseries fluctuated during the decade, some operating only for a few years. The 43 nurseries functioning in 1999 do not include all those open in 1992; in total, there were four more nurseries in 1999. Similar patterns occurred in nurseries attached to primary schools. The net gain over the period was one more primary school offering nursery facilities.

Between 1992 and 1999, 32 new primary and secondary schools were established. 25 of the newly established schools are Strictly Orthodox, six are Mainstream and two primary schools were established in 1999 in the Progressive sector. This underlines the Strictly Orthodox nature of Jewish full-time education: currently 52 schools out of 92 primary and secondary schools, just over 50% of Jewish schools in Britain, are Strictly Orthodox⁶. This proportion remained fairly stable during the last 10 years.

In 1992 the number of Jewish children⁷ receiving full time Jewish education (including nurseries and SEN) in Britain was 14,660 pupils rising to 22,640 in 1999 (54% increase). As Figure 1 indicates, the Strictly Orthodox sector almost doubled its numbers from 5,330 pupils in 1992 to 10,090 in 1999. The Mainstream sector increased by 33% (from 9,000 in 1992 to 12,030 in 1999) while enrolment in Progressive schools rose from 330 pupils in 1992 to 520 in 1999.

Figure 1: Pupils in Jewish schools and nurseries by sector



⁶ The number of Mainstream primary and secondary schools is currently 37, and 3 primary schools are Progressive.

⁷ The figures include Jewish pupils only. In addition about 800 non-Jewish pupils were enrolled in Jewish schools (mainly in primary and secondary mainstream schools in the regions) between 1992 and 1999.

If we consider the stage of education rather than communal affiliation, Figure 2 shows that the growth was in primary and secondary enrolment, rather than nursery schooling. Numbers at nursery age have decreased by 3% over the last 8 years, most importantly by 15% between 1996 and 1999. The number of children attending SEN schools was 60 in 1992, and with the establishment of new schools the number has risen to 110 pupils. Currently each of the schools accommodates between 20 to 30 pupils.

Figure 2: Pupils in Jewish schools and nurseries in Britain

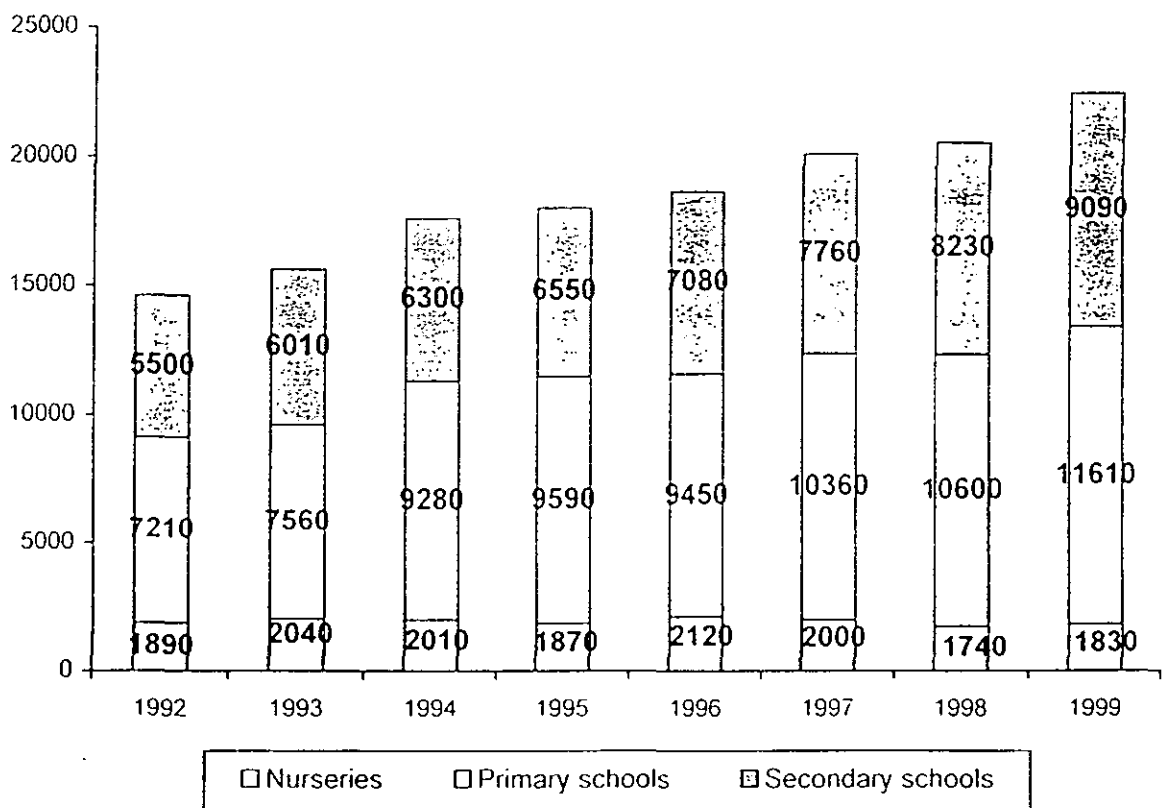
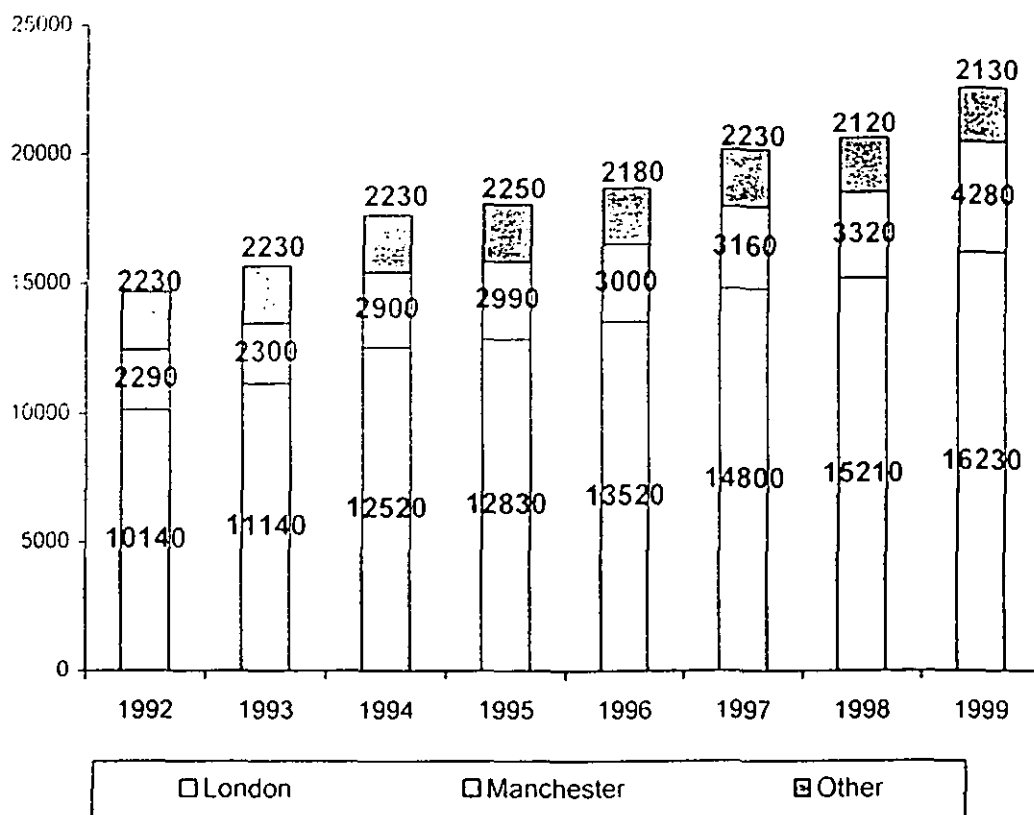


Figure 3 examines the geographical distribution of full-time education. Over the period, only Greater London, Manchester, Liverpool and Gateshead have offered a full age-range of Jewish day school provision. The graph underlines the concentration of day schools in Greater London and Manchester and shows that pupil enrolment in Jewish schools has increased in those areas. On the other hand,

there has been a slight decrease in Jewish children enrolled in Liverpool, Leeds and Glasgow since 1995; Jewish enrolment in all other areas has remained fairly stable.

It is noteworthy that the growth described above is not peculiar to Britain but rather a global Jewish phenomenon. A recent review (World Jewish Congress Institute 2000) indicates the expansion of the formal Jewish day school systems in the USA, Canada, France, the former Soviet Union, South Africa, Australia and Latin America.

Figure 3: Pupils in Jewish schools and nurseries by area



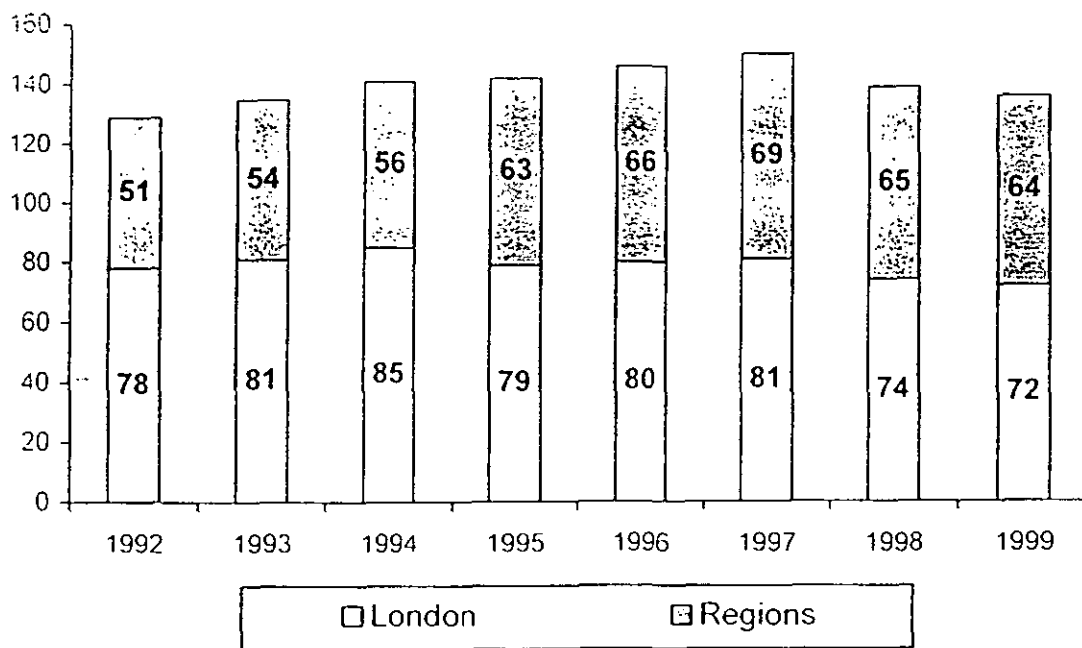
Supplementary Jewish Education

Until thirty years ago the predominant form of Jewish education in Britain was synagogue classes, traditionally known as *cheder*. For most pupils *cheder* was their only formal Jewish education. It was in essence the East European pattern of basic Jewish education transplanted in British society. Most Jewish children attended non-Jewish schools during the day and *cheder* in addition (Miller 1988; Miller 2001).

Chedarim are in the main a communal service provided by synagogues although there are some regional community-run *chedarim*. *Cheder* classes are held weekly, twice weekly or more frequently depending on local conditions and history. They are held on Sundays and sometimes in the evening after school; some also organise regular children's Shabbat and festival services. Pupils, both boys and girls, usually attend until age 12 or 13. Few continue beyond this although there are some teenage centres or special classes that extend the education offered to age 16 and give an opportunity for pupils to take GCE or GCSE in Hebrew and the Judaism option in Religious Studies. Today because, inter alia, parents consider that the Jewish education of their children is adequately provided for by the day school, most day school pupils are unlikely to attend *cheder*⁸.

Figure 4 sets out the numbers of *chedarim* in Great Britain in the 1990s and shows a slight increase from 129 institutions in 1992 to 136 in 1999. However, the peak number of *chedarim* was in 1997; thereafter the number reduced.

Figure 4 : *Chedarim* in Britain by area

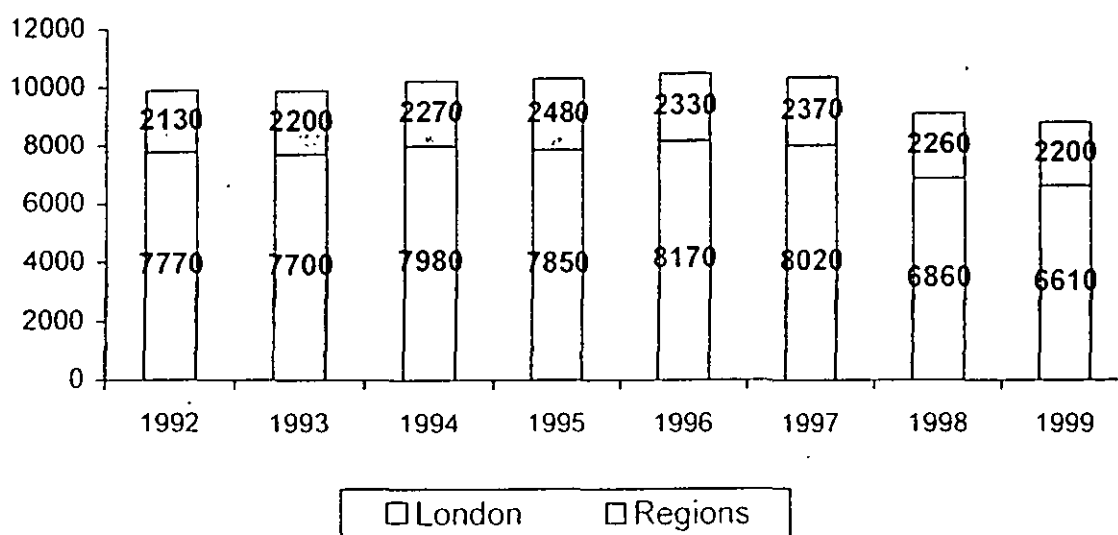


⁸ With the exception of few Strictly Orthodox schools for whom *cheder* is an extension of the day school.

Between 1992 and 1997 more than 20 new *chedarim* were established, mainly in the regions. These were very small organisations, often constituting less than 30 pupils; the majority were established by Reform and Liberal communities, while others were established by Mainstream and Masorti synagogues. Since 1994, a number of institutions in London have amalgamated or closed down. After 1997, the general pattern both in London and the regions was one of decline with 14 organisations closing down or amalgamating.

Figure 5 presents the number of pupils enrolled in *chedarim* between 1992 and 1999. It shows that until 1996 the number of pupils attending *chedarim* slightly increased in the regions but remained stable in London. Since 1996, the number of pupils attending *chedarim* (both in London and the regions) has fallen from 10,500 pupils to 8810 (a decrease of 16%). In 1999 the number of pupils per *cheder* ranged between 5 and 300 pupils and the average number of pupils in a *cheder* was 65.

Figure 5: Pupils in *chedarim* in Britain by area



The recent decrease both in enrolment and the number of institutions occurred primarily in areas where new Jewish day schools were established. The expansion of day schools in Greater London and Manchester was directly followed by a reduction in *chedarim*. This has been accompanied by a parallel decline in areas of reducing Jewish population. While our data did not directly address this, discussions over the

period with those responsible for *cheder* education have made clear that these trends are correlated: the Jewish day school is gradually replacing the *cheder* (Miller 2001).

This information taken together with our data on day school enrolment clearly charts a major communal shift from part-time to full-time education. There can be little doubt that this transformation will generate more effective Jewish education for those children who attend Jewish day schools for some part of their educational career. Day-schools are better equipped than part-time classes in terms of their curriculum, their ethos and social environments to impart Jewish knowledge and to enhance religious observance (Miller 2001).

The emerging pattern that we have delineated also fits with the contemporary life style and leisure patterns of the majority of British Jews. Sundays and after-school were once unopposed times for Jewish education. Today, for many, Sunday and/or midweek classes conflict with family outings, extra-curricular activities or weekend plans. More positively, with the wide take-up of full-time Jewish education, parents discover that the Jewish day school follows the Jewish calendar and thus facilitates celebration of the Jewish festivals. Importantly, attendance at a Jewish day school avoids the cultural and religious conflicts that Jewish pupils may experience in religiously mixed schools.

As a whole, our data on full-time and part-time education suggests that one approach to Jewish education is to a large extent replacing the other. However a word of caution is required here. While this change may be possible within large communities where there is a critical mass of children to fill day schools, it may not be feasible for smaller metropolitan or regional communities. These areas therefore need to maintain supplementary classes if their children are to be given any formal, classroom Jewish education. Furthermore, many children do not move from Jewish primary to Jewish secondary schools, and their post-primary Jewish education needs have to be catered for. This may be by the community or through individual or private enterprise.

IV. The Jewish Context

We now place the structural changes that we have delineated within the demographic and sociological context of the Jewish community. We will focus on demographic patterns, changes in religious practice and educational attitudes among parents, and recent developments within Jewish schools.

We noted at the outset that there is a contradiction between the community's demographic trends and the growth in Jewish full-time education. We therefore examine the relationship between the two and consider other sociological factors that may be at play, in particular an awakening interest in full-time Jewish education among the latest cohorts of parents.

Demographic trends

The number of children entering schooling in any one year depends upon the number of births three or five years earlier (according to whether or not we include nursery education) and the numbers of school aged children who migrate in any one year.⁹ The numbers of births themselves are a function of the age structure of the community – more exactly the number of women of childbearing age – and the birth patterns of different sections of the community. These latter are particularly important in assessing potential demand for Jewish day-schooling in the community.

The Community Research Unit has been monitoring births recorded by the community for some 30 years and is thus able broadly to estimate the number of Jewish children reaching school age in each of the years under review. These data are set out in Table 2 below. The figures are based on circumcisions recorded by the Orthodox and Progressive circumcision authorities. The total is approximately doubled to allow for the biological ratio of male to female births.

⁹ As noted, we do not have data on migration patterns. However, there are some data to show that a small number of immigrant children enter Jewish day-schools but, of course, this gives no indication of either those who do not apply or those who apply and cannot obtain places, nor does it tell us about those who leave Britain.

Table 2: Births according to years of birth/ starting statutory schooling

Birth	YEAR	BIRTHS	
	Schooling Years (age 5-17)	Annual Number	3-yearly Average
1974	1979-1990	3253	
1975	1980-1991	3300	3259
1976	1981-1992	3224	3269
1977	1982-1993	3283	3318
1978	1983-1994	3446	3441
1979	1984-1995	3594	3497
1980	1985-1996	3451	3565
1981	1986-1997	3651	3504
1982	1987-1998	3410	3486
1983	1988-1999	3396	3428
1984	1989-2000	3478	3491
1985	1990-2001	3600	3546
1986	1991-2002	3559	3622
1987	1992-2003	3708	3656
1988	1993-2004	3700	3600
1989	1994-2005	3392	3415
1990	1995-2006	3152	3349
1991	1996-2007	3502	3219
1992	1997-2008	3003	3115
1993	1998-2009	2840	2913
1994	1999-2010	2897	2917
1995	2000-2011	3013	2936
1996	2001-2012	2897	2858
1997	2002-2013	2663	2744
1998	2003-2014	2673	2615
1999	2004-2015	2509	2600
2000	2005-2016	2617	

We are aware that these figures underestimate the numbers of Jewish births as some circumcisions are performed by doctors rather than by *mohelim*, and a very few parents avoid circumcision completely. The data are available only as totals because we have no information about the background of the parents who use a *mohel's* services, nor is there any indication that any particular *mohel* restricts

himself to a particular geographical or denominational section of the community. We are therefore not able to provide direct data of births for, say, Manchester or particularly the synagogally unaffiliated section of the community.

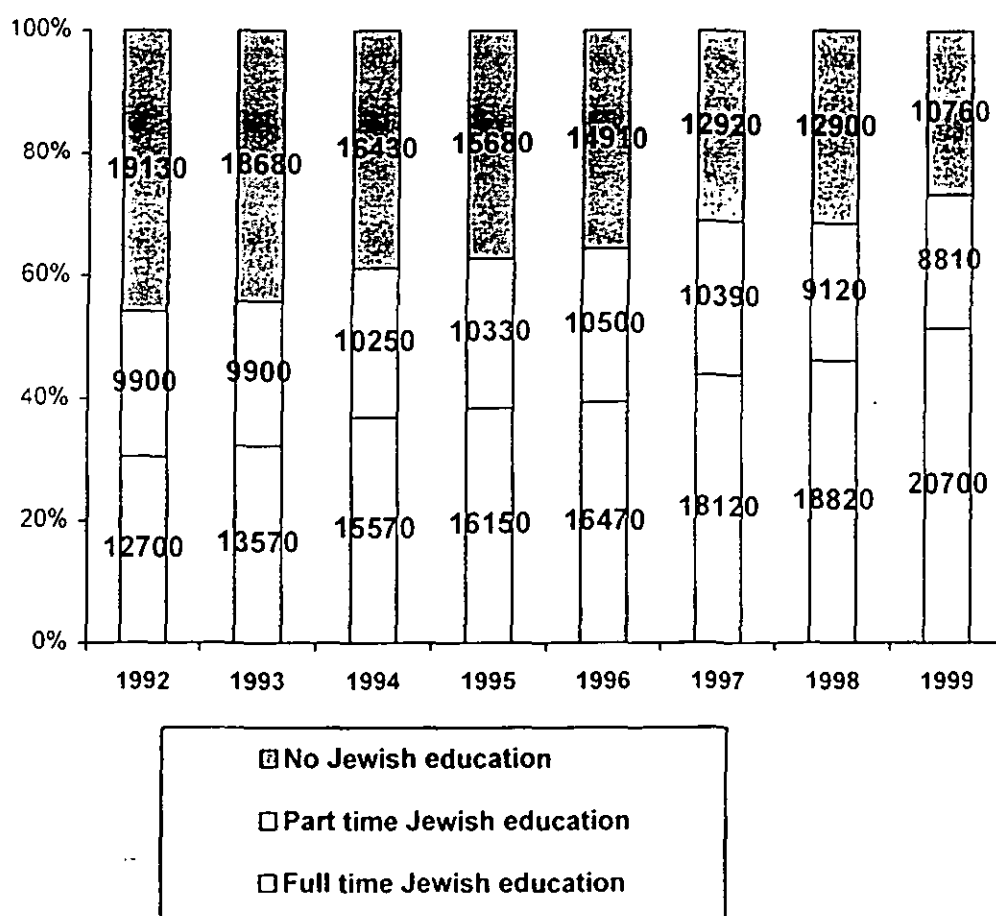
In the school year beginning in September 1992, children of school age (5-17) will have been born between 1976 and 1987. Similarly, all children enrolled in school in 1999 will have been born between 1983 and 1994. The earliest and latest years of birth given here indicate that children of statutory school age during the period on which this report concentrates will have been born between 1976 and 1994. As the numbers of births set out in Table 2 indicate, over those years the number of recorded births fell from 3,269 in 1976 to 2897 in 1994 (that is a decrease of 11% over the period). Although there were some fluctuations the figures show a trend of regular decrease. As has been demonstrated, the number of pupils attending Jewish day schools has *not* reflected this decrease. As can be seen in the table, for year of birth 1987 children reach statutory school age in 1992 and the number of births for 1987 was approximately 3700. The total number of children of school age (5 to 17) in 1992 is estimated by taking together births for years 1976 to 1987; this totals to approximately 41,730.

In Figure 6 we apply this data to see how the Jewish education status of children of school age changed in the 1990s. The total number of school-age children *fell* from 41,730 in 1992 to 40,270 in 1999; however the proportion receiving any type of Jewish education *rose* by 19% (54% in 1992, 73% in 1999). We can also see that the proportion enrolled in Jewish day schools increased over the period by 21% (from 30% in 1992, to 51% in 1999) while that in part-time education remained at about 22%.

Evidence from earlier decades (JEDT 1992) suggests that in the mid-1960s only 15% of school-aged Jewish children were in full-time Jewish education rising to 25% by the mid-1980s. This data together with our latest statistics shows that in just less than 40 years the *proportion* of Jewish children receiving full-time Jewish education has tripled. In comparison, the proportion taking up part-time education fell from

36% in the 1960s to 22% in the 1990s. By showing the number and proportions of children in different types of Jewish education Figure 6 gives dimensions to the shift in balance between part- and full-time Jewish education. It also clarifies the extent to which absolute decline in part-time numbers is outstripped by the growth in full-time enrolment. Importantly, the number in any year with no Jewish education has progressively reduced throughout the 1990s.

Figure 6: Status of Jewish education among school-age (5-17) population



Full-time education take-up varies between primary and secondary levels. Whereas 34% of five to ten year olds were attending Jewish primary schools in 1992, only 27% of 11 to 17 year olds were then in Jewish secondary schools. By 1999 the proportions had risen to 59% for the primary level and to 45% for secondary. This differential is related both to the nature of birth experience within different parts of the community and to the different expectations parents have of primary and secondary education. More importantly, it links to the provision of Jewish secondary schooling;

only two mainstream secondary schools have been established during the last decade, making secondary Jewish education less available in comparison with primary education. This point is taken up again in Chapter VI in the discussion on transition from primary to secondary schooling.

As we set out when describing the growth in schools and attendance, the pattern of provision of education is not uniform – whether considered geographically or according to religious affiliation. While there is some choice for some parents, others who may want a day-school for their children do not have this option. Demographic factors come into play here because outside the Strictly Orthodox centres¹⁰ provision of full-time schooling is influenced by, among other factors, the number of children potentially available for full-time Jewish education.

It is therefore important to compare the distinct demographic character of the Strictly Orthodox sector with other groupings. This shows that the acculturated sections are following Western patterns with older marriage, a later start to having a family and smaller completed families while the Strictly Orthodox have early marriage and large families (Schmool and Cohen 1998).

Thus, while the total of births recorded communally is falling, on the assumption that *all* Strictly Orthodox children attend day school, the enrolment figures of the schools confirm the high birth rates of the Strictly Orthodox. The number of Strictly Orthodox school-age children rose from 4,830 in 1992 to 9,400 in 1999, an increase of 95%¹¹. By simply subtracting Strictly Orthodox enrolment from the total school-age cohort, the number of school-age children in the Mainstream and Progressive population is thus shown to have fallen from 36,900 in 1992 to 30,870 in 1999, a drop of 16%. This decline developed steadily throughout the decade.

¹⁰ As the age range of Strictly Orthodox schools indicates, small schools are opened to meet need.

¹¹ This excludes older boys who enter Yeshiva schools. See methods chapter for more information.

These opposing trends combine to increase the Strictly Orthodox proportion of the total Jewish school aged from 11% in 1993 to 23% in 1999. In line with this, the Strictly Orthodox share of enrolment in Jewish day schools rose from 38% in 1992 to 45% in 1999.

Table 3: Enrolment in Jewish schools in comparison to Jewish school-age population by sector

Year	Total Jews of school age	School-age Jewish population (5-17)					
		Attending any Jewish day school		At Mainstream and Progressive*		At Strictly Orthodox*	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1992	41,730	12,700	30.4	7,870	21.3	4,830	100
1993	42,150	13,570	32.2	7,960	21.7	5,610	100
1994	42,250	15,570	36.8	9,430	26.1	6,140	100
1995	42,160	16,150	38.3	10,120	28.0	6,030	100
1996	41,880	16,470	39.3	10,130	27.4	6,340	100
1997	41,430	18,120	43.7	10,740	31.5	7,380	100
1998	40,840	18,820	46.1	10,900	33.1	7,920	100
1999	40,270	20,700	51.4	11,300	36.6	9,400	100

* **Note:** Percentage given in these columns relates to the school-age population of the particular group. Thus in 1992, 21.3% of the 36,900 school-age Mainstream/Progressive group were in Mainstream or Progressive day schools

Both direct observation and discussions with Strictly Orthodox educators confirm our assumption about their school enrolment. Therefore, the increase in enrolment in Strictly Orthodox schools can simply be explained demographically by this increase in births, within a community which ensures that supply meets demand. The major Strictly Orthodox enclaves of British Jewry are found in North and North West London and in Manchester and it is these areas that have shown high rates of increase in day school enrolment.

Nevertheless, although birth figures of Mainstream and Progressive Jews are declining, their day school enrolment has risen from 7,870 in 1992 to 11,300 in 1999. In 1992 one in five Mainstream and Progressive school-age children was in a Jewish day school; by 1999 that ratio had risen to one in three. Clearly other social and educational factors are at work here and these are discussed later.

However, even in the Mainstream and Progressive communities demographic experience and local Jewish educational opportunity are closely linked. Those, particularly suburban, areas that have attracted critical numbers of young families have seen new schools open. On the other hand, Traditional, mainly regional, communities that have experienced marked Jewish population decrease through decades of local emigration and an accompanying ageing of the community. These communities are being obliged to recognise that a school may close; or a new school may not be possible; or their schools have to take non-Jewish pupils to fill vacancies because there are not enough Jewish children to fill all school places.

Religious attitudes, identity and education

Jewish education today faces multiple challenges: it aims to impart Jewish principles and traditions to pupils, to support the young as they develop a sense of Jewish identity and to promote communal ties. When Jewish communities were distinct from surrounding populations, especially where the host society was to any degree hostile, Jews were strongly socialised into patterns essential for meaningful Jewish life either at home or, informally, within the community. As Jews acculturated into the more open societies of Western civilisation, this straightforward socialisation into Judaism and Jewish life became weaker. To compensate, religious practice and communal life are increasingly mediated through formal education. Jewish schooling is thus more than ever before a keystone in the continuity of the community. Arguing this point the Chief Rabbi has written: 'Those who know grow; while those for whom Judaism and Jewish identity are a closed book gradually drift away' (JEDT 1992).

The Chief Rabbi later urged parents and communal leaders to place Jewish formal education at the top of their policy agenda: 'We have given too little attention and too few resources to creating new generations of committed Jews.' (Sacks 1994).

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, many lay and professional communal leaders in Britain, other Diaspora communities and Israel became alarmed by predictions of world-wide Jewish demographic disintegration. They therefore associated with a view of Jewish education as a corrective and worked consistently for its expansion. They campaigned for change, raised communal awareness of the part that Jewish education should play in community revival and strongly advocated a programme for the regeneration of day schools. The efforts of these opinion formers may therefore be seen as one element in the recent expansion of Jewish education both in Britain and elsewhere (World Jewish Congress Institute 2000).

The British leadership response was built partly on recognition of the dilution of Jewish identity and the drift away from community as highlighted by sample surveys, synagogue membership data, population projections and synagogue marriage statistics. In particular, rising levels of intermarriage (Miller, Schmool and Lerman 1996; NJPS 1990) were taken as key indicators since they introduce family formation patterns that have the potential to remove increasing numbers of new parents and their children from the Jewish community and simultaneously dilute religious practice. While sample survey findings suggest that a noticeable proportion of younger British Jews is indeed distancing itself from synagogue and communal life and from the religious customs practised by their families, this is not the whole story. Simultaneously we have seen, in all sectors of the community, blossoming adult education courses in Jewish culture, history and religion accompanied by high attendance by Jews of all ages at national and local conferences and seminars. Moreover, no Jewish day school would have viable levels of enrolment unless enough parents were psychologically prepared to send children there; this presupposes an attitudinal change within those sections of the community not heretofore philosophically committed to Jewish day schools.

Until recently, the scarcity of Jewish schools meant that many had no access to Jewish schools, and even where it was available, many parents especially within Mainstream and Progressive British Jewry, perceived the Jewish day school as too isolating. Consequently, most of today's parents were not educated in Jewish day schools. Our data indicate that the current generation of parents is more willing to accept Jewish schools, at least at primary level. Why then this Mainstream and Progressive shift towards Jewish schools? Why has the Jewish school become a recognised option?

We would suggest that the weakening of Jewish identity together with the loss of communal affiliation and decline in religious practice among certain sectors of British Jewry has prompted yet other parents to search for new ways of maintaining their children's Jewishness and understanding of Judaism. This second group appears to have turned to the school for Jewish support and reinforcement. As the Jewish Educational Development Trust report *Securing our Future* (1992) argues: 'Jewish education has not only to reinforce the positive influence of the home but often to replace it as the main vehicle of communal survival'. There are those in British Jewry (who may be defined as 'moderately affiliated'), who may feel unable to provide their children with the Jewish socialisation delivered by their own parents, and they may therefore regard Jewish full-time education as the best means of ensuring their children's sense of Jewish identity and understanding of their heritage. Once in the Jewish day school system, parents' understanding of community and religion is reinforced through their children's education.

Additionally, the changing ratio of full- to part-time Jewish education may reflect a reaction by parents to their own educational experience. For most of today's parents, Jewish education will have meant supplementary, *cheder* or synagogue class, education of variable quality. Very many of these parents are secularly highly educated (Miller, Schmool and Lerman 1996; Goldberg and Kosmin 1997). In evaluating their own secular and religious education experiences, many have become doubtful about the supplementary model of Jewish schooling and do not see it as an effective medium for Jewish education. These parents could be turning to the day school as a superior alternative.

The renewed interest in Jewish education thus brings together certain currents of thought within the community. At a leadership level, interest has been stimulated by awareness of an impending crisis in Jewish demography. For a noticeable number of parents, disillusion with their own Jewish educational experience and recognition of the need for meaningful Jewish education as a means of maintaining their children's Jewish identity has prompted support of Jewish day schools. For yet others who are among the more orthodox within the Mainstream community, there is an ideological commitment to Jewish education parallel to that within the Strictly Orthodox sectors. All these trends must be kept in mind when we discuss the wider changes within British society and education. Foremost amongst these has been the development of a national curriculum which has had a knock-on effect *within* Jewish schools.

Curriculum

In theory, prior to the Education Reform Act of 1988 (DfES 1988), there was no national compulsory syllabus for schools in England. However, in practice, all secondary schools (including some denominational secondary schools), developed curricula in line with the examination requirements (GCSE and A-Levels) of different examination boards, which could be seen as a quasi-national curriculum. Most Jewish secondary schools followed these requirements.

With the ERA 1988 the National Curriculum gradually came into force and has been implemented in all Mainstream and Progressive schools and in about 25% of the Strictly Orthodox secondary schools. The available data suggest that currently 16 Jewish secondary schools (38%) follow the National Curriculum and concomitantly prepare their pupils for GCSE or A-level examinations. Nine of those schools are Strictly Orthodox (4 are boys' schools and 5 are girls' schools). Nevertheless, most Strictly Orthodox independent schools do not follow the National Curriculum; they have an autonomous curriculum which is seen as a preparation for *yeshiva* or seminary. This is often combined with some basic secular studies.

At the primary level, the introduction of a National Curriculum has been a sea-change. All primary state maintained schools are obliged to adopt it. Moreover,

many independent primary schools – including some Jewish schools - follow the new guidelines as they recognise that entry examinations for secondary schools assume a basic coverage of the National Curriculum. Our data¹² suggest that all Jewish primary state-maintained and some independent schools follow the National Curriculum. As at the secondary level, the independent Strictly Orthodox schools tend to apply their own curriculum.

Although the National Curriculum does not include Religious Education (RE), all state non-denominational schools are required teach RE giving a basic knowledge of at least two major religions and they normally use a local syllabus that is based on a Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) model. Denominational schools are exempt from this requirement and set aside time to teach and practice their own faiths. In practice, however, only Muslim and most Jewish schools confine their religious education in this way. Other denominational schools, which are mainly Christian, follow the model syllabus.

The National Curriculum takes up 80% of school time. Consequently, Jewish state schools face a significant challenge in combining the National Curriculum and Jewish studies within the limited time and resources available to them. Prior to the ERA 1988, many Jewish schools allocated a higher proportion of their time to Jewish studies and Hebrew. In order to accommodate state regulations with the religious education they offer, they have had to reconsider their curriculum or extend the school day. The *immediate* upheaval caused by the implementation of the National Curriculum in Jewish days schools meant that less time, mental energy and other resources were available for enhancing Jewish studies and Hebrew.

From 2001, Citizenship Education has been included in the National Curriculum as a statutory requirement in both primary and secondary schools. This topic is expected to present further demands on the tight teaching schedule of denominational schools. Further, it challenges faith-based schools as it addresses individuals'

¹² Which includes that collected directly through our annual studies augmented by information from DFES statistics

national status in relation to their group affiliations and emphasises Britain's diversity in many areas including ethnicity and religion.

As we argued earlier, the Jewish community has experienced a gradual shift in the perception of the role of Jewish schools that extends beyond their social environments to their educational curriculum, policies, and ethos. This implies a change in the relationship between the three main socialisation agents of family, community and school. While in the past the family and community were expected to be the main sources of socialisation for Jewish values and way of life, today Jewish day schools are gradually taking a central role in socialising youngsters to Jewish life by means of their Jewish Studies curriculum, school ethos and religious practice.

However, there is no formal cross-school Jewish Studies/Hebrew curriculum for Mainstream and Progressive day schools in Britain. With the exception of GCSE and A-level exams in Jewish studies and Hebrew (which are taken only by a small number of pupils) there is no consensual approved curriculum and no community-wide inventory of essential textbooks. More importantly, there is no agreement on the depth of knowledge primary and secondary pupils should gain about their heritage. At the same time the National Curriculum has affected the place of Jewish Studies and Hebrew in these schools. Some justify this situation and argue that this is a sign of a healthy community that respects its inner pluralism and differences. Others claim that it is harmful to the causes of Jewish education and demonstrates educational anarchy and oversight.

We attempted to assess patterns of subjects taught from information collected in the course of our annual survey. However, while our data on the Jewish curriculum in these schools demonstrates differences between schools and sectors it is not robust enough to provide a detailed analysis. Responses from schools about what they teach in fact give a broad basic measure of agreement since between 60% and 80% offer different combinations of traditional topics that may be considered a Jewish core curriculum. The following subjects are covered: Bible, Jewish laws and customs, ethics and values, Jewish festivals, art, music and history; schools also conduct prayers and teach synagogue skills. Modern Hebrew is taught in most

schools along with Israel or Zionism with half of secondary schools working towards GCSE exams in modern Hebrew and Jewish studies, and a third of schools offering these options to A-level pupils. The issue is that simply quantifying how many schools teach which subjects does not indicate the depths to which they are taught and how they develop across a child's school experience.

Some light is thrown on this by the report of the community's detailed inspection service (Pikuach) for Jewish studies. Pikuach is modelled on the OFSTED inspection of state schools and has a specific framework for the inspection of Jewish Studies in Jewish schools. The first Pikuach report (Pikuach 2000) was published in June 2000 reviewing the results of inspections carried out in 23 Jewish state schools over previous years and suggesting how the Jewish Studies Curriculum might be strengthened. The findings of this first report were generally positive and now that follow-up inspections are being carried out it is clear that the quality of Jewish education in Jewish days schools is improving. However, the first Pikuach overview also highlighted the lack of core curriculum in Jewish studies and Hebrew as a major area to be tackled.

V. The Wider Context

Multiculturalism

While it is appealing to view renewed parental interest in Jewish education solely in Jewish communal terms, the changes must also be set within national and global contexts. It is particularly important, for a deeper understanding of our own trends, to examine the educational development for minority groups in Western states.

Until the 1960s assimilative ideas dominated both educational policies and the ways in which minority groups were treated. According to the assimilation model, minorities were expected to adopt the cultural norms and lifestyle of the majority in a way that would lead them to abandon their original cultural features and to disappear as distinct groups. In the educational domain this ideology meant that minority groups were expected to integrate into the national framework of education. Whereas there was social segregation in education caused by the geographical congregation of minorities (Waterman and Kosmin 1987), this did not affect the content of education provided.

By the mid-1980s assimilative ideas had come under considerable attack in Britain and other Western countries. In many places assimilationist expectations were criticised (and later abandoned) as they came up against the reality of ethnicities persisting over generations. The ideological shift culminated in an approach known as Multiculturalism, which promotes cultural differentiation within the framework of the nation and its cultural and linguistic unity. The concept legitimises cultural heterogeneity and maintains that individuals and groups can hold to ethnic affiliation and at the same time develop national loyalties within a national space (Cornell and Hartmann 1998).

In the British educational arena, Multiculturalism has been translated into policies aimed at enabling and encouraging minority communities to cultivate their own culture and establish ethnic communities and organisations. In effect, multicultural

policies encourage the establishment of schools that promote bilingual, religious and cultural education as a means of maintaining the ethno-linguistic and cultural identities of children. This approach has been given consistent government endorsement since the ERA 1993 (DfES 1993) and, as we have seen, has been adopted in the recent DfES White Paper *Schools – achieving success* (2001).

Clearly, faith based schools have attracted opposition. The opponents are concerned that the state may be nurturing intolerance, religious fundamentalism, and the ghettoisation of society. They argue that allowing minority groups to form their own schools induces a sense of separateness in society, and may marginalise minority children in the labour market (Walford 1995).

For most of the 20th century, British Jewry in the main accepted, if not the assimilation then at least, an acculturation model. For the Jewish world this model supported, e.g., interpretations from the late 19th century of Jews Free School as a school to turn immigrant children into Englishmen, and helped categorise Jewish day schools as an alternative only for the strictly observant minority. Unsurprisingly, with such a philosophy, Jewish day schools were not given a general high priority. The supplementary educational system was deemed adequate and went unchallenged in the absence of any appraisal of overall community development or educational outcomes until the latter decades of the last century. Our school enrolment data suggests that some personal attitudes have changed and, as many other minority groups are searching for ways of integrating their ethnic and national identities, British Jewry has become part of this general process by promoting Jewish continuity. The establishment of Jewish day schools is thus being encouraged to support wider communal goals.

The expansion of Jewish education must be viewed in this context of the growing legitimisation of cultural difference. We now have a social climate that underlines the voluntary nature of religious identification and simultaneously respects and encourages ethnic affiliation and identification. It has brought unique opportunities for the Jewish community.

The Educational marketplace

We have already touched on the changes that the ERA 1988 (DfES 1988) brought to the curriculum in Jewish days schools. It also initiated changes in organisation, funding and registration arrangements and established new relationships with LEAs, parents and the DfES. The most significant of these changes was the introduction of 'free-market' mechanisms into state education in the form of parental choice. At the same time it moved schools to compete for pupils by changing the funding system. Under the reformed system, money is attached to the number of pupils on roll. The ERA 1988 thus promoted a powerful ideology of consumerism in education, a move that was also apparent in other Western countries (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1996).

Consumption in today's society is a pivotal means for reinventing or preserving self-identity; individuals increasingly capitalise on their possessions to confirm their individual and social identities. This has had a special impact on minority groups. As multicultural ideology has developed, individuals have recognised that consuming certain goods or services symbolises their identities and affiliations. Buying ethnic foods, clothes or music and paying for communal services or organisation memberships reflect this trend. Choosing Jewish education may be seen as part of this process since opting for religious or culturally oriented education seems to fit well with both consumerist and multicultural ideas.

Consumerist ideas are also linked with market strategies that promote competition as a way of maintaining a high standard of goods and services. The educational market strategy created by the ERA 1988 was specifically designed to improve the standards of state education in Britain. Recent British research findings (Gewirtz, Ball and Bowe 1996) reveal that this consumerist ideology is gradually becoming a fundamental ethos in the education system in England at least as a middle class phenomenon. Many middle class parents have become more than ever preoccupied with the pay-offs of their children's education. These parents are demanding the same standards and effectiveness from state institutions that they perceive as

operating in private schools. The class structure of British Jewry¹³ is such that many young Jewish families fall into this group. They expect from Jewish schools, services which are distinct, stimulating, and offer a real proof of academic success. As the statistics given later on patterns of transition from primary to secondary school suggest, in order to attract pupils, Jewish schools compete with private selective schools and must therefore offer similar services and academic standards. The modern British Jewish school incorporates many of the characteristics associated with private schools: small classes, modern equipment, well trained teachers, extra-curricular activities, parental involvement and 'more'; their academic achievements are in line with those of independent schools in the country.

Recognition of the fact that state and independent Jewish schools both offer quality education has been facilitated by the publication of the DfES league tables¹⁴ since 1995. This information, published on a yearly basis, has consistently shown that Jewish state-maintained and independent schools, both at primary and secondary level, have scored significantly higher, on average, in comparison with state schools in their locality and all state maintained schools in England, in all types of national examinations (Valins *et al* 2001).

These publicly acknowledged success rates may help explain the recent growth in participation in Jewish schools across Britain. Choosing a Jewish school may signify, for many parents, a 'good choice' in educational terms rather than only concern for Jewish matters. This needs to be recognised in future planning and policymaking.

¹³ The available socio-economic data indicates that the mainstream sector of British Jewry is mainly professional, and thus identified as middle class (Miller, Schmool and Lerman 1996).

¹⁴ League tables are tables including national exams results for all the schools in the country (excluding independent primary schools). They are published once a year for each type of examination:

SAT – Standard Attainment Tests at ages 7, 11 and 14.

GCSE – General Certificate of Secondary Education exams at age 16.

A-Level – Advanced Level at the end of secondary school which acts as university entrance.

VI. Planning for the Future

We turn now to look at how the facts and ideas that we have set out in the body of this paper can be used to inform a communal planning process for education, particularly for the establishment and expansion of day-schools. We fully recognise that the Strictly Orthodox community establishes new schools in response to the demand for places and in congruence with its birth experience, and so we mainly restrict the discussion here to educational planning in the Mainstream and Progressive sectors. However, the issues discussed will also affect the Strictly Orthodox community and it should be recognised that this will have implications for the Mainstream/Progressive sectors. We also understand that individual schools do think about much of what we set out below. However, we feel it is necessary, at this stage in the development of the educational structure, to look in the round at a range of factors that affect it.

Participation in Jewish day school education is dependent on a range of factors, including parental interest and the availability of school places. In the Mainstream and Progressive communities the establishment of a new school may occur as a result of the efforts of few enthusiasts – typically lay leaders, teachers or parents – who work and lobby for it. Further, a new school may be established as a consequence of local opportunity: a surplus local authority or other building may become available, or funding possibilities arise either via the Jewish community or an LEA.

In line with the preceding discussion in this paper, we look at four areas: the demographic considerations in school development, implications of the voluntary aid funding system, the patterns of transition from primary to secondary school and the place of part-time education. As with most of this paper, the discussion is based on data available up to school year 1999/2000. We are however aware of developments in the last and newly-current years and refer to them where appropriate.

Demography

The starting point for any integrated educational planning is the number of children for which any community has to provide. With the Jewish as with other communities, this total number of children is finite at any point in time. Moreover, it is shared among the community, as we have discussed in the body of this report, according to geography or communal affiliation. Secondly, the number of children is not static and therefore informed planning must consider birth and migration patterns. This is particularly important as, self-evidently, school-planning looks to the future. Thirdly, the relationship between numbers of children and the type of school must be taken into account. A primary school maybe viable within a community because it can be smaller, but the same community may not be able to sustain a secondary school.

Given these limitations, we set out below some indication of how demography may affect opportunities for opening new schools. We have taken Greater London as an example since over two-thirds of British Jewry reside there or in areas contiguous with it. We then look at the North West London area, where local geographical and community characteristics come into play. The methodology used can be adapted to other areas but the underlying assumptions will then need to be refined according to local conditions. We must however point out that this type of projection should only be carried through with great caution for localities with small numbers of school aged children as there are likely to be greater fluctuations in numbers over time.

In our discussion of the Jewish context we set out the assumptions involved in developing birth statistics for the community. We recognise that these can understate the numbers of children of school age as they do not take account of net migration affects. To this extent the data set out below, whether national or local, are a possible minimum (if immigration outweighs emigration) or a possible maximum (if there is net emigration). Enquiries to the Community Research Unit about Jewish schooling indicate that the demand for school places is increased by children who come with their parents from, e.g., Israel, South Africa or the United States either as long- or short-term residents. Children who are born to immigrants after arrival in Britain will clearly be included in births but may not attend school here if their parents leave. There are also the affects of *aliyah* and of particularly Strictly Orthodox

migration between Israel, Europe, the USA and Britain. Our feeling is that the last is the biggest contributor to migration patterns and, as it is restricted to this sector, will not essentially affect the argument presented below.

We have built on our raw annual compilations of births data to estimate the number of London births (to begin with covering both the Strictly Orthodox and the Mainstream/Progressive sectors). It was assumed that all orthodox *milot* performed by *mohelim* residing in the Greater London area were for boys living there.¹⁵ For the Reform community, we assumed that 60% of *milot* are for the Greater London area. From this basis it was calculated that, over the period, the Greater London area accounted on average for 75% of all births; Table 4 sets out the annual numbers of births in Greater London and environs for the 1980 and 1990s. These patterns mirror the national figures and show that births fell away very strongly in the 1990s.

Table 4 : Greater London births, 1979 -2000

Year	Annual Number	Year	Annual Number
1979	2613		
1980	2409	1990	2364
1981	2672	1991	2627
1982	2598	1992	2252
1983	2567	1993	2130
1984	2608	1994	2173
1985	2700	1995	2260
1986	2669	1996	2173
1987	2781	1997	1997
1988	2775	1998	2005
1989	2544	1999	1882
		2000	1963

Allowing that attendance at school continues over 12 years, in very broad terms Table 4 shows that, if *all* Jewish parents wished to send their children to Jewish day schools for *all* their education, the Greater London Jewish community would have needed 32,000 day school places at the start of the school year 2001/2002 i.e. for

¹⁵ We are aware that this slightly overstates the number of London *milot* as *mohelim* travel from one area to another to perform the *mitzvah*.

children born in 1996 or earlier. Of these 13,600 would be for primary and 18,400 for secondary schools.

We used the information in Table 4 as a starting point to estimate the future Greater London maximum numbers. For secondary school children up to year 2011, births figures for years 1984 to 2000 are simply aggregated to provide successive 11 to 17 age cohorts; projecting numbers of five to ten year olds for this period is more complex because it involves assumptions about future patterns of births.

In looking to the future for Mainstream and Progressive total demand, a first, best case scenario, we assumed that total communal births would *stabilise* at the 2000 level until 2010 and made three adjustments for the Strictly Orthodox input: first that Strictly Orthodox births would account for 15% of the total, the second that they would be 25% and thirdly that they would be 30%. These calculations showed that at the 15% level there would be 1630 Mainstream/Progressive births a year, at 25% there would be 1440 and at 30%, 1340. On this stable assumption, in 2015 there would be between 16,080 and 19,560 children available to enrol across the school age cohort in Mainstream or Progressive Jewish day schools in Greater London, according to proportion of Strictly Orthodox take-up.

We then looked at the trend in London births which showed that, between 1995 and 2000, the number of births fell on average by 2.7% from one year to the next. This rate of reduction was used as the base for the birth estimates for years to 2010 given in Table 5. From this we are able to assess the total number of school age children in 2015 and of five to ten year olds for years up to 2010, since those born in 2010 will begin formal schooling in 2015. The projections in Table 5 have been rounded to the nearest ten.

But what if the birth experience of the Mainstream/Progressive community declined further? What would the ball-park parameters of potential pupils be? We have given two sets of projections for the Greater London Mainstream/Progressive community to allow for this. Projections in Set A suggest pupil numbers if Mainstream/Progressive births continued to fall at 2.7% year on year and Set B is more extreme suggesting a 5% fall. The Strictly Orthodox assumptions used for the initial, stable, projections are again employed and the outcomes are included in each set.

The 5% level is arbitrary and is given as a worst-case example. The number of school aged children for 2015 is given, to the nearest hundred, at the foot of the table in total and according to primary and secondary ages. Compared with 2001, the school age cohort is estimated to be between 48% and 59% lower in 2015. If births were to increase among the Mainstream/Progressive community, all things being equal, we could clearly expect some increase in demand for school places. However, the general trends in fertility in Britain over the past three decades does not suggest that this is likely.

Table 5: Projections of Greater London Mainstream and Progressive births

	Set A			Set B		
	births fall at present 2.7% annual rate and with S-O at			births fall by 5% and with S-O at		
	15%	25%	30%	15%	25%	30%
1998	1700	1500	1400	1700	1500	1400
1999	1660	1460	1360	1620	1430	1330
2000	1620	1420	1330	1540	1360	1270
2001	1580	1380	1290	1460	1290	1200
2002	1540	1340	1260	1390	1230	1140
2003	1500	1310	1220	1320	1160	1090
2004	1460	1270	1190	1250	1110	1030
2005	1420	1240	1160	1190	1050	980
2006	1380	1210	1130	1130	1000	930
2007	1340	1170	1090	1070	950	890
2008	1300	1140	1070	1020	900	840
2009	1270	1110	1040	970	860	800
2010	1230	1080	1010	810	810	760

Estimated number of children in 2015

Aged:	15%	25%	30%	15%	25%	30%
5-10	7900	7000	6500	7800	6900	6400
11-17	11000	9700	9100	10800	9500	8900
5-17	18900	16700	15600	18600	16400	15300

To round off we turn briefly to projections for North West London¹⁶. If we assume that the area accounts for 70% of all Mainstream/Progressive births and take the middle

¹⁶ North West London covers Barnet, Brent, Enfield, Harrow and Hertsmere (South West Herts).

assumption - i.e. that the decline is steady at 2.7% annually - then in 2011 between 900 and 1100 pupils would reach the entry year for secondary school compared with between 1290 and 1560 in 2001. This is a reduction of approximately 30% and as we have seen the numbers would continue to decline if the assumptions are held constant. It is of course possible that families will move into this, or any other, area following school provision but that would affect the numbers available in other areas since we do not envisage any widespread increase in births within the Mainstream or Progressive communities.

Day school capacity and enrolment

Planning for the future requires knowledge of existing provision and the extent to which that is taken up. In our yearly studies, we asked schools not simply their enrolment figures but also their (eventual) maximum capacity and we look here at the relationship between the two elements.

When we considered the national capacity for school-age children in 1999 we found some 24,000 places. Within the Strictly Orthodox community 94% of primary and 89% of secondary places were filled and within the Mainstream and Progressive schools, 74% of primary places and 90% of secondary places were filled by Jewish pupils. The lower take-up for primary was because new schools have yet to reach full complement but know that their enrolment will be 100% as current pupils progress through the school. Schools in this category are all in the Greater London area. In both Greater London and Manchester there is little spare capacity in the secondary schools with more than 90% of school places being filled. Furthermore, most spare places are at sixth form level.

Clearly, if all parents were suddenly to decide to seek Jewish day schooling, new places would be required. As we have seen currently only 51% nationally are in day schools. We have also suggested that new schools depend on critical mass and to this we now add the time factor. A new school is not built for a year and we therefore examined, for the Greater London Mainstream/Progressive sectors, how long it would be before current capacity would meet the total number of pupils. Our returns for Greater London showed that there were just under 17,000 places in Mainstream and

Progressive schools.¹⁷ A comparison of this figure with the projections in Table 5 shows that, with the current rate of fall-off in Mainstream/Progressive births and with the Strictly Orthodox accounting for 25% of all Greater London births, total London provision and total possible enrolment will be in equilibrium in 2015 when there will be some 16,700 Greater London children of school age. We must then ask where these children live and whether or not they are within easy travel-to-school distance. It may be that, as has happened before, schools will be obliged to relocate but, where that is not possible, they may have to consider taking non-Jewish pupils, particularly if they are voluntary-aided schools.

In contradiction long-established schools in Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow and Liverpool have all reported surplus capacity ranging from over 30% to 65%. Where these schools are voluntary-aided non-Jewish children may take up places. This changes the composition of schools and is likely to affect their ethos, timetabling and, possibly eventually, their educational policies. These are qualitative affects that should be considered in any community-wide view for school development.

Patterns of transition

A third factor that affects enrolment is that of transition from one stage to another. This is particularly pertinent in respect of the move from primary to secondary school and highlights the issue of whether parents would send their children to a secondary school if more places were available.

Data on 907 pupils permitted us to examine the pattern of transition in 1999 for Mainstream secondary schools, using data from primary schools about the destination of their school-leavers and corresponding information from secondary schools about the feeder schools for their entry year. The analysis was confined to Mainstream and Progressive schools because Strictly Orthodox children automatically moved from one stage to another within their own sector.

The analysis showed that almost two-thirds of those who attended Mainstream or Progressive primary schools (65%) transferred to Jewish secondary schools; 54%

¹⁷ We are aware that their numbers are rising slightly at secondary level with provision of some extra places at Immanuel College and proposed further provision when JFS moves to Kenton.

transferred to Jewish LEA (non-selective) schools and 11% went to Jewish independent (fee-paying) schools. A further 20% moved to non-Jewish selective schools; 16% to fee-paying schools and 4% to LEA selective schools. Only 8% of children in Jewish primary schools moved to non-Jewish, non-selective schools. The reports from the secondary schools regarding their feeder schools is congruent with this primary school evidence; 80% of the pupils entering Jewish secondary schools transferred from Jewish primary schools.

However, not all those who would like to move from Jewish primary to Jewish secondary are able to do so. Only Greater London, Manchester, Liverpool and (for the Strictly Orthodox community) Gateshead have provision at both levels. There are regularly discussions in the Jewish press about children who have been refused places at the schools of their choice or about communities interested in extending provision but coming up against the issue of critical mass when planning for a new school, particularly at secondary level.

These patterns of transition highlight an element of educational constancy and continuity. In most cases, at present levels of demand, those who start their formal education in a Jewish nursery are likely to graduate from a secondary Jewish school. However, if the trend in demand for primary places is extended to secondary schools there will be a period of disappointment for more children until provision and demand are equalised either by providing more places or by the demographic outcomes. The nature of the planning process is such that, in those areas where it is feasible, it may not be long before a newly opened school will be losing numbers.

Funding

Most Jewish schools in Britain were established as independent fee-paying schools and over the years many have received state funding under its different guises. State support was strengthened by the Education Reform Act 1993 (DfES 1993) which effectively opened the way for private schools more easily to become state-funded via a category of Grant-Maintained schools. This simplified the shift from independent to state maintained status.

This development affected the pattern of funding within the community until 1999 when the Grant Maintained sector was abolished. Over the six years that the Grant Maintained system operated, 17 independent schools became Grant-Maintained or voluntary-aided and a further six schools were set up as Grant Maintained. The new state-funded schools were divided almost equally between the Mainstream and Strictly Orthodox sectors. With the dismantling of the Grant Maintained system in 1999, twelve Grant Maintained Jewish schools reverted to their previous independent fee paying status, seven were granted voluntary-aided status and four remained voluntary aided. The newly published 2001 White Paper '*Schools – achieving success*' specifically welcomes more faith schools where there is clear local agreement, reduces the statutory contribution of voluntary aided schools to the cost of building work from 15% to 10% for capital items and removes it altogether for revenue items (DfES 2001: p68). This is a move that will further assist in the development of the community's educational structure.

The outcome of changes in funding practices has been that currently some 83% of Strictly Orthodox pupils are enrolled in fee-paying schools, while approximately 90% of Mainstream and Progressive pupils attend state maintained schools. It can therefore be seen how, relatively and absolutely, the Mainstream/Progressive community relies on government funding which covers only the secular subjects and some capital cost. The Jewish elements of education are still the province of the community. This divide between the financial backing for secular studies and Jewish studies is made good by parental contribution and, unless parents meet their obligations, Jewish studies may be under-funded in some schools.

The funding arrangements of Jewish schools in Britain differ significantly from other Diaspora communities where Jewish schools receive little or no state subsidy. (World Jewish Congress Institute 2000). State funding of Jewish education has undoubtedly enabled a relatively more rapid expansion of Jewish education in Britain, simply by making it more accessible but this is not without costs in terms of the relationship between secular and Jewish studies.

Part-time education

The factors that have to be considered in expanding or establishing day schools throw into relief the position of part-time education within the community. While the full-time alternative may be available to an increasingly higher proportion of (at least primary aged) children, there are still areas and children that have to rely on more traditional educational patterns of *cheder* or synagogue class. This reliance is not simply in the smaller regional communities but is equally found in the less Jewishly populous areas of Greater London or Manchester. For example, there is a sizeable, widely spread Jewish population in sub-urban South London but the logistics of travel are such that there is no identifiable, appropriate location for a Jewish school.

The central agencies of the United Synagogue's Agency for Jewish Education and the progressive Centre for Jewish Education work to maintain the educational standards of those supplementary classes which fall under their own aegis but since the early 1990s a previous, co-ordinated system has gradually disintegrated and been restructured following the demise of the orthodox London Board for Jewish Education and Central Council for Jewish Education and their successors. One part of the process has been the devolved autonomy of 'United Synagogues' which has meant that each synagogue has become responsible for the running of its own *cheder*. It is not been possible therefore to measure, for example, whether *per capita* spending on pupils has increased or decreased, or to assess the quality of teaching. However it is clear from discussion with the central agencies that they are aware of these issues and that they are dedicated to maintaining standards, e.g. by inspecting *chedarim* often using the Pikuach model as a basis, and to developing curricula in line with new situations and parent/pupil expectations. The affect of these initiatives extends beyond the geographical confines of Greater London as both the institutions work within the regions.

However, part-time education could be an area of concern for Jewish pupils whose educational needs may not be addressed. What, for example, of those children who move from a Jewish primary school to a secular secondary school? Do they continue their Jewish education in supplementary classes (perhaps revisiting material that they already know well), do they drop out of the formal system and have private lessons, or do they simply finish their Jewish education at age eleven with just Bar or Bat

Mitzvah classes when needed? We do not have quantified answers to these questions which indicate three patterns of accommodation and present challenges to the part-time system. They are points to be considered in planning for the Jewish education of *all* our children.

VII. Discussion and Recommendations

In this Report we have reviewed the changes in British Jewish education in a communal context and against the wider background of educational currents within Britain and other Western countries. We have done so in order to illustrate that, as the sociological truism has it, a minority community's developments are coloured by those of the host society in which it is situated. So it is that a Jewish studies inspection service was developed in the wake of OFSTED and that great attention has been given in the Jewish media to the SATs results of Jewish days schools.

We have highlighted a major paradox within the community. While we stand at a critical demographic moment for the community with natural decrease accompanied by increasing incidence of intermarriage, at the same time we see renewed enthusiasm for Jewish education. We have used this finding to suggest that educational institutions have come to assume a greater responsibility for the future Jewish identity of their pupils because parents outside the Strictly Orthodox community wish to ensure that their children know about their heritage.

Communal leaders have given the clear message that in-depth full-time Jewish education is the means by which British Jewry will be rejuvenated: educational interventions, such as curriculum assessment at the individual school level, have improved the quality of Jewish education. Nevertheless, changes in Jewish education in Britain in the past decade have been unsystematic and the community has not developed an ordered policy although it has responded with vigour and commitment to the concerns and dilemmas. We now require a more co-ordinated approach.

It seems to us that the time is ripe for fuller cross-communal consultation (whether or not it leads to joint planning) and for the pooling of experience, expertise and resources (particularly in areas such as training in the technicalities of teaching and core-curriculum development in Ivrit and Jewish Studies) so that this expansion in education is maintained and consolidated. This is not to deny the individual

character of those educational agencies that serve the community so well, nor is it to ignore the fact that there is much informal communication between them.

Two other, linked, themes have also emerged from our analysis. These are the continued expansion of day schools and the future of part-time Jewish education. Our data show that Jewish day schools are geographically highly concentrated which means that, regardless of philosophical and political aims, many children will not be able to attend one. This is particularly the case outside the areas of Jewish population concentration because, as we have indicated, the development of a school depends on the presence of a critical mass of Jewish children to keep the school going.

Two questions then arise – how far can we develop day schools within Jewish areas and what of the Jewish education given to those who do not attend Jewish day schools?

It seems to us that the emphasis on Jewish day schooling is progressively weakening the part-time education system and that this is especially worrisome for those children who have no alternative. The attention given to day schools must be widely extended to include that which is provided for children who either only ever attend part-time classes or move to part-time education on leaving a Jewish primary school. We are aware that there have been great strides in curriculum development for *chedarim* and synagogue classes but, here again, the issue of sharing scarce communal resources should be addressed.

Secondly, in today's climate we can clearly expect to see new day schools opening. These could be for a particular section of the community or may need to be religiously more broadly based. In the long-term, populations move and, for voluntary aided schools, this could mean that places will come to be filled by non-Jewish pupils. We have already seen this in Birmingham and Liverpool. A change in intake has consequences for the characteristics of schools and an influx of non-Jewish pupils may represent a threat to a schools ethos depending on why non-Jewish parents in fact choose a Jewish day school.

It is normal for research reports to end by indicating where further research is required. Given the relatively meagre level of in-depth studies on British Jewish education it would be germane to issue such a request. Yet it seems to us simplistic to conclude there. Indeed, the Community Research Unit has built, and will continue to develop, regular basic data on population and education. Other researchers have chosen areas that, together with our core information, provide the community with a well-defined national overview of its educational trends. These are a benchmark against which educational strategies and plans can be set and the context in which local planning can take place.

We must recognise that, in terms of educational provision, we are serving a small, for the most part geographically confined yet mobile, population. Those planning an educational enterprise – be it the siting of a new school or the development of a Jewish studies pack - need to take account of what is happening elsewhere within the community. Such awareness requires communication and, in researching over many years, it has become clear to us that this is limited. For example, many different groups are evolving Ivrit curricula but each seems to operate in its own vacuum.

We recommend that channels for regular communication of educational initiatives be opened within the community to help towards the best allocation of scarce communal resources. The Board, through the Community Issues Division, looks forward to facilitating this process and, continuing the consultative role it has followed in other areas such as The Royal Commission on the Elderly and research co-ordination. We suggest that the first areas that should be addressed will include:

- the government's education policies with particular regard to how those related to faith schools will affect the *long-term development* of Jewish day schools;
- a rational system for siting schools that takes account of the effects that one new school may have on the local formal and informal educational ecology;

- longitudinal monitoring of the effectiveness of different forms of Jewish education on Jewish identity;
- wider cross-community co-operation in the practical, technical aspects of teacher training; and
- co-operation in development of curriculum and resources for core Jewish studies.

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