

SECURING OUR FUTURE

an inquiry into

Jewish Education in the United Kingdom



Jewish Educational
Development Trust

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FOREWORD BY THE CHIEF RABBI

Jewish education is the axis of Jewish continuity, the centre around which all else turns.

Studying Jewish history one is struck time and again by the fact that at significant junctures when the question of Jewish survival was most acute, visionary leaders took a single fateful decision; to invest their energies in building schools, houses of study and networks of education.

In the nineteenth century, Samson Raphael Hirsch pioneered the modern Jewish day school as the stronghold against assimilation. After the destruction of the Second Temple, when Jewish life lay in ruins, Rabban Yochanan ben Zakkai predicated the Jewish future on the academy at Yavneh. After the destruction of the First Temple and the return of Jews from Babylon to Israel, Ezra summoned the people to Jerusalem and taught them Torah.

Nowhere is that vision more in evidence than in the fact that as Moses was preparing to lead the Israelites out of Egypt - on the very brink of the Exodus - he was already instructing them "And when your children ask you, What does this ceremony mean?..." Even before the Israelites had left Egypt, Moses' mind had turned to the education of future generations.

The result was that Jews survived. They lacked power, but they had a no less potent form of security. They knew who they were and why. And they took pains to pass that commitment on to their children. Investing in education, they ensured the Jewish future.

This report on the current state of and future directions for Jewish education in the United Kingdom is therefore a document which deserves the most sustained and serious reflection. Michael Phillips, Chairman of the Jewish Educational Development Trust, is to be congratulated for his foresight in commissioning it, as are Fred Worms and the members of his team for the energy, thoroughness and vision that are evident throughout its pages.

As the report makes clear from the beginning, we stand at a critical moment in the history of Anglo-Jewry. We are losing four thousand Jews each year. But at the same time we have a unique opportunity to create a dynamic of Jewish renewal. We have come late - but not too late - to the realisation that Jewish education holds the key to the vitality of our community, intellectually, spiritually and even demographically. Those who know, grow; while those for whom Judaism and Jewish identity are a closed book gradually drift away.

The implications of this report are clear. We must move Jewish education to the highest place on our communal agenda. We must work to recruit to it teachers and lay leaders of excellence. We must communicate the importance of education to the

community, especially to parents. Above all we must create a genuinely national structure that will allow us to use our limited resources to the maximum effect.

The single most striking finding to emerge is the sheer fragmentation of Anglo-Jewish education as presently constituted. This means that we have not yet developed effective communal strategies for the recruitment and training of teachers, the construction of curricula, interaction and reinforcement between formal and informal learning contexts, the sharing of models of excellence and best practice, the development of lay leadership and the research and decision-making forums necessary for sound educational planning.

Many dedicated and gifted individuals have laboured long and separately in the cause of Jewish learning. The time has come for us to pool our resources and labour together.

This report is not the end of a process but a beginning. I hope it will lead to a searching communal debate out of which will emerge the shape of a new structure for Anglo-Jewish education.

The critical test of the health of a community is: does it look forward or backward? Is it preoccupied with memories of its distinguished past? Or does it look forward to a yet more creative future? Our future as a Jewish community lies in our children, and their children. For their sake let us invest in Jewish education and give it the best of our energies, imagination and concern.

DR JONATHAN SACKS
Chief Rabbi

CHAIRMAN'S OVERVIEW

This report has been commissioned by the Jewish Educational Development Trust which has, since its inception, supported Jewish education from kindergarten to secondary school. The timing of the enquiry could not have been more propitious. Growing enthusiasm for more and better Jewish education emanating from some quarters is met by indifference from others, to whom Judaism has become a marginal issue. The length and depth of the economic recession have had a serious effect on the finances of many of our institutions, threatening the very fabric on which the community has been relying.

Our terms of reference were confined to the eighteen and under age group. We have, therefore, not dealt with young adults, university students nor with adult Jewish education. These deserve a special enquiry.

It is, however, not possible to examine this somewhat arbitrary division in isolation. For example, adult Jewish education cannot be entirely disconnected from Limudei Kodesh in schools where parents have volunteered to engage in religious studies in order to keep up with their children or where family-education projects are practised.

The key to Anglo-Jewry's survival lies in education. Inter-marriage is rife. A large proportion of Jews have lost interest in their heritage. The number of one-parent families is increasing and there are more children with problematical halachic provenance. The community is shrinking at the rate of 4,300 per annum. From a post-war 460,000, we are now less than 300,000 and if the rate of decline cannot be arrested, we shall be less than 250,000 in some twenty years time.

Dr. Miller's demographic research shows that the number of children in the 5 to 17 age group is rapidly shrinking (58,500 in 1962 - 42,800 in 1991), thus reflecting the general decline.

During the same time span, the number studying in chadarim went down from 21,000 to 11,000. On the other hand, 12,800 pupils who attended Jewish nursery, primary and secondary schools in 1975 grew to 16,000 in 1991 - an enormous success on the face of it. 7,000 out of the 16,000 go to charedi/ultra-orthodox schools, which leaves just 9,000 of non-charedi background in full-time Jewish education and this number includes children in nursery schools.

At any one time, 45% of our children aged between five and eighteen are deprived of formal Jewish education. 60% of our teenagers have opted out by not attending either Hebrew classes or Jewish schools after their Bar/Batmitzvah. By the time they are aged seventeen only 10% will have stayed the course.

Spasmodic efforts have been made by the United Synagogue, AJG, the Jewish Memorial Council, Spiro and others to cater for the large number of Jewish teenagers at public and state schools. Morning assembly, withdrawal classes and Jewish societies have presented acceptable forums in the majority of schools where the Headteachers proved co-operative.

However, there has been no coordination in this potentially fertile field. Past efforts have fizzled out, some schools are looked after, others are being ignored, and lack of funds have dampened the enthusiasm of even the most dedicated. It is not surprising that many of our youngsters grow up Jewishly illiterate. Yet a viable and vibrant Jewish Diaspora is essential, not least for the benefit of Israel.

Anglo-Jewry since its return in 1656 has never created a proper educational infrastructure as found in central and eastern Europe. It was thought that there was an unlimited reservoir of Rabbis and teachers in the traditional European centres. The Shoah has put an end to this. After the war the realisation slowly dawned on our community that we had not only lost one third of our people, but that the well which watered us for centuries had dried up. It has not been easy to try to recreate in a few decades what has evolved organically for several centuries in traditional Jewish centres.

When Lord Jakobovits became Chief Rabbi twenty-five years ago he made Jewish education his primary target. He said he would measure the success of his term of office by the yardstick of progress in education. His achievements have been considerable. The formation of the Jewish Educational Development Trust has been the catalyst in the growth in the numbers of Jewish schools.

Twenty-five years ago Progressive communities were ambivalent about Jewish schooling. Today they are not only in their favour but would like to expand. It is also true to say that there are more yeshivot than at any time in our history, that Hillel Houses are flourishing, that adult Jewish education is appealing to a growing segment and that Yakar, the Sternberg Centre, Project Seed and the Spiro Institute are attracting students of all ages.

Whilst thousands of our young people have opted out, many seek greater identification with our heritage. A new self-assertiveness permeates our youth, not only amongst those who wear kippot wherever they go.

Keeping a low profile does not appeal to them. When Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks inverted Descartes' maxim by saying "incognito ergo sum" he was referring to the older generation who preferred to keep their heads down.

Whilst considerable progress has been made, there is an unprecedented funding crisis which threatens to bring down what has been painstakingly created. The United Synagogue is trying to divest itself of its educational burden which threatens its very structure, yet there is no doubt that its one million pounds plus deficiency will have to be picked up somewhere else.

The £275,000 subsidy which the Joint Israel Appeal (JIA) has allocated to the Zionist Federation Education Trust (ZFET) is being phased out over the next five years and a deficit of £315,000 is being projected by the ZFET for 1992. The Sternberg Centre has also been adversely affected by the current situation, and there is hardly an educational organisation in the community which is not suffering from a severe cash crisis.

We have reached a watershed. Unless the haemorrhage is arrested we shall inevitably continue on the downward slope and reach nadir within two generations.

What can we learn from other countries?

Let us look at the United States. Jewish education received a shot in the arm through the creation of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America convened by Mort Mandel. Together with the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education it is taking an overall view of the educational establishments ranging from Orthodox to Progressive, right through North America. This approach has brought enormous benefits not only through synergy but also by raising awareness of the need for Jewish education to be the priority.

In South Africa the annual communal appeal alternates between Israel and the requirements of the local community which are largely of an educational nature.

The absence of a strong central Jewish educational authority in the UK has produced a fissiparous system without the strength and financial clout to follow up recommendations. Three examples may be quoted:-

1. The JEDT appointed a committee in 1978 to report on teacher training and career structure, chaired by Stuart Young which produced a series of recommendations which are shown in Appendix 2. Our present enquiry has come to very similar conclusions. Little has been done in the meantime and the position has possibly got worse.
2. When complaints of the quality of teaching at part-time Hebrew classes reached a crescendo in 1978 one centre of excellence was created in Stanmore which was to become a model. An outstanding pedagogue specialising in teacher training was brought over from Israel and he succeeded within a matter of months to transform the traditionally tired Hebrew classes into a dynamic centre.

Audio visual methods were introduced and children produced their own videos. The enthusiasm was such that those who were previously reluctant to go on a Sunday now volunteered to attend three times a week. However, with personnel changes the initiative collapsed.

3. One of the main reasons why it is so difficult to enrol experienced Jewish teachers, particularly in the North West London area, is the cost of residential property. Efforts were made to create a special fund within the framework of the JEDT to offer subsidised mortgages to suitable candidates. Unfortunately the recession negated two years work and the project could not proceed.

Education has been relegated to the bottom of the ladder, relying on haphazard competing fund-raising from a multitude of non-professional, well-meaning sponsoring organisations. Even what we have is maintained with difficulty.

Two predominant fund-raising bodies are active in the community. The JIA with its long history and sophisticated apparatus and Jewish Care which has attracted within

its fold more charitable bodies engaged in the welfare of the elderly, the handicapped and the underprivileged. Ideally, we should create one central fund-raising organisation covering Israel, welfare and Jewish education. Whilst it would be far from ideal to have three major fund-raising bodies with permanent staff in our small community, it will take many years, as it has taken in the United States, to make a community chest function efficiently. We cannot afford to wait. The needs of the education sector are crying out.

With all our alleged shortcomings, the Anglo-Jewish community is reputed to be the best structured in Europe. We have a responsibility beyond our shores. The World Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency have become alert to the vital necessity to reinforce Diaspora Jewry with an improved educational framework. Within the UK, the shift of central resources and the power of decision-making from local authorities to school governors, affords a unique opportunity to those responsible for Jewish schools. Now, more than ever, there is scope for constructive change.

God has given us freedom of choice. Whether the best days are yet to come is entirely within our own hands. Our recommendation that a National Council for Jewish Education be created is, I believe, the almost inevitable solution to our structural deficiency.

My committee has deliberated over a period of 15 months in the course of which we interviewed a large number of professionals and lay leaders engaged in different areas of Jewish education in various parts of the country. Our sessions were conducted on specific themes, such as part-time, full-time primary, full-time secondary and informal Jewish education.

We wish to express our appreciation to all those who gave of their time and energy and so enabled us to formulate the ideas contained in this report.

The dedication, patience and perseverance of my colleagues on the Think Tank are beyond praise.

Jewish education plays a vital role in ensuring the future of our community. The task is a formidable one but we can only desist from it by writing off our future.

FRED S. WORMS
Chairman

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The case for educational renewal

There is a vital link between Jewish education and Jewish continuity. But it is a link that is coming under increasing strain. 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. It must do so at a time of diminishing commitment to Jewish life, and in a social context which encourages young people to treat Judaism as no more than one option in an open market of secular and religious possibilities.

The challenge for Jewish education is to compete in this market and to sustain Jewish belief and practice by means of the sheer quality and relevance of the educational message. That it sometimes fails to meet this challenge is clear from the demographic evidence, but the potential and readiness for change has never been more apparent.

Concern about Anglo-Jewish continuity is just one element in this move towards educational renewal. National developments in educational policy are another. The shift of power and resources from local education authorities to individual schools, the easing of entry requirements to the teaching profession, even the increase in economic pressure have created conditions in which imaginative new approaches can be pursued. Above all, widespread recognition of the community's own failings - of missed opportunities for collaboration, for joint planning, for the pooling of expertise and resources - has created a determination to establish new structures and to revitalise existing ones.

2. The organisation of the report

The purpose of this report is to develop a strategy for Jewish educational renewal. The report does not seek to be narrowly prescriptive, but rather to identify priorities and to propose some principles for effective educational change.

The approach has been two-fold. First, an attempt has been made to review the statistical trends in the take-up and organisation of Anglo-Jewish education. Second, we have listened to the views and recommendations of professional educators and lay leaders on a range of specific educational issues. These two sources of evidence underpin our analysis of the strategic problems facing Anglo-Jewish education and lead to the recommendations in points 5 and 6 below.

3. The statistical picture

In terms of the variety of provision and the dedication of staff, there are areas of substantial strength in the current system. But the position is less healthy if attention is focused on statistical measures of educational impact. Over the past thirty years the proportion of young people engaged in Jewish education at any one time has not risen far above the 50% level recorded in the early sixties. And the absolute numbers

have actually fallen substantially - from 30,000 to just under 24,000 - reflecting a parallel contraction in the size of the community as a whole.

Not only has the 'market share' remained constant, but the patterns of participation are also problematic. Between the ages of 6 and 13 about 70% of the children in each year group receive some form of organised Jewish education, but the participation rate slumps to 30% within a year or two of Bar/Batmitzvah and down to 10% by the final year of secondary school. We lose educational contact with the majority of young Jews at the very point in time when they are beginning to address existential issues and form lasting relationships.

Looking specifically at the full-time sector, there has been a dramatic growth in Jewish day school numbers. These are up from around 9,000 in the early sixties to almost 13,000 in 1991. But even here participation is very much a childhood phenomenon; for the first time in the history of Anglo-Jewish schooling, nurseries lead the way with 38% of the age group attending, while secondary schools trail with only 24% participation. Were it not for the expansion in the number of charedi pupils attending these schools, the total number in Jewish secondary schools would have fallen; and for the system as a whole there is now insufficient demand to fill all the available places at secondary level.

All this highlights the lack of continuity in Jewish education beyond the early teens. Research studies suggest that the problem is not related to weakening Jewish identity, but rather to a failure to design or market sufficiently attractive programmes.

4. The specific educational issues

Alongside the statistical evidence on trends in participation, a detailed analysis of specific factors affecting the quality and impact of Jewish education was carried out. Five critical areas were identified:

- i) the shortage of suitably motivated, skilled and charismatic teaching staff and the associated problems of high staff turnover, underdeveloped leadership, limited enthusiasm for staff development, and a lack of professional cohesion
- ii) the failure to exploit and develop the contribution of Youth and Community workers and to encourage interaction between formal and informal educational systems
- iii) limited continuity of approach to the Jewish curriculum within schools and a lack of attention to methods of assessing pupils' Jewish knowledge, skills and understanding
- iv) the need to clarify and define the role of lay leaders in educational settings, to recruit people of energy, integrity and ability, and to provide suitable training and support
- v) the limited use of marketing techniques and concepts to mobilise support for Jewish education, to recruit teachers and lay leaders, and to promote educational programmes

5. The general strategy

At an operational level the goal for Jewish education is clear. It is to raise standards, dramatically increase participation in Jewish learning, and ultimately to change the outlook of future generations of young Jews.

To achieve these ends a radical programme of educational renewal is called for. Clearly it will require attention to the specific problems that inhibit the delivery of high quality educational programmes. But these problems grow out of failures at a systems level - failures of organisational structure and of educational approach or philosophy. We are convinced that the key factors in the revitalisation of Jewish education are matters of general approach as well as of operational detail.

There are five key elements to the general strategy:

5.1 Prioritisation and rational choice

The resources available to fund educational development are limited and possibly shrinking. Choices will have to be made between competing claims - for new schools, training schemes, youth facilities and so forth - and these must be based on an objective analysis of needs, costs and expected benefits. Unless the community starts to take cost-benefit analysis seriously, we run the risk of wasting scarce resources on unproductive projects. This means that funding agencies will need to think in terms of measuring educational outcomes rather than weighing political pressure.

5.2 Developing people not buildings

The data that have been collected suggest that the community will soon be over-provided with day school places, but desperately short of qualified and dedicated Jewish teachers. Yet teachers are the critical element in a system designed to inspire commitment and transmit Jewish values. The community has prioritised physical structure, while education also demands human skill and ingenuity. This leads us to recommend that the recruitment, training and development of educational personnel should be placed at the top of the communal agenda at least until the end of this decade.

5.3 An integrated approach

The limitation on resources implies choice. But equally some parts of the system are interdependent and require a holistic rather than a piecemeal approach. To have a real impact on performance, the policy should be to tackle a manageable set of related issues in a systematic way. Initially, the priority should be to address the interlocking problems of recruitment, training and curriculum development.

5.4 A research based strategy

At the most general level, research encourages systematic thinking and critical evaluation. It shifts the focus of communal attention from the simple *delivery* of Jewish education to the measurement of *outcomes and effectiveness* and it is therefore a key part of quality assurance.

In the context of the present proposals, research will be needed to evaluate the educational benefits of competing projects, to assess the demand for new services, to measure the cognitive and attitudinal changes produced by aspects of the Jewish curriculum and to assess trends in the take-up and distribution of Jewish education.

5.5 Crossing boundaries

The fifth aim is fundamental to all the others and it is at the root of our strategy for Jewish educational revival. It addresses the fundamental weakness in the Jewish educational service - the absence of shared aims and coordinated action.

We are drawn to this conclusion despite the evidence of strength and vitality in many areas of educational endeavour and recognising the contribution of talented and devoted individuals throughout the system. Despite all this, the fact remains that Anglo-Jewish education is extraordinarily fragmented; that human and financial resources are wasted; that vital communal initiatives - on training, curriculum development, the rational use of space, the measurement of educational outcomes - simply do not happen.

The essential ingredient of our strategy is not so much the pooling of resources (though this may sometimes be necessary) as the simple recognition that Jewish education cannot succeed as the sum of a set of independent parts. There is an urgent need for collaboration between people and across institutions to create progress at many different levels. We envisage:

- * joint programmes to develop training schemes, curriculum studies and research
- * new forms of collaboration between formal and informal sectors
- * the sharing of personnel between schools, part-time centres and youth groups
- * increased integration between Jewish studies and secular parts of the curriculum
- * collaboration between synagogues, schools and part-time centres to ensure that Jewish education reaches every one of our young people
- * the development of family education alongside that of the individual pupil

All this, and many of the specific recommendations outlined below, assumes that the community will be able to meet the challenge; that it can create an educational "eruv"

within which there is vibrant debate, a commitment to synergy, and a determination to work together in the interests of Jewish education and of Jewish continuity.

6. Summary of specific recommendations

6.1 Communal infrastructure

The community should establish a representative, umbrella body for Jewish education advised by professional educators and those engaged in communal planning and research. Its brief should be to encourage and facilitate educational collaboration and planning. Specifically it should seek to:-

- (i) identify strategically important and communally relevant developments and initiatives,
- (ii) set up networks of lay leaders and professional staff to formulate specific proposals, and
- (iii) raise funds from community sources and overseas agencies to support projects of strategic importance for Anglo-Jewish education in the widest sense.

6.2 Teaching of Jewish studies - recruitment and staff development

A unified approach to training, recruitment and staff development needs to be adopted with particular emphasis on the recognition, reward and enhancement of available expertise. The selection of particular approaches and initiatives should be preceded by appropriate *market research and feasibility studies*.

Recruitment into teaching should be encouraged by:

Developing joint degree courses combining Jewish studies with popular undergraduate subjects such as psychology or history. The aim is to retain the interest of able students who might otherwise not consider a career in Jewish education.

Developing attractive retraining programmes for (a) adults working in other professions who wish to retrain to become Jewish and Hebrew Studies (JHS) teachers and for (b) qualified teachers who wish to transfer from secular to Jewish studies teaching.

The *motivation and development* of staff should be supported by a comprehensive programme of attractive and challenging in-service training courses designed to encourage a sense of professionalism and a commitment to innovation. A modular programme should be developed to meet the needs of a variety of staff at different points in their career paths. Successful completion of particular components of the programme should be linked, as appropriate, to salary enhancement, promotion to a senior grade and the award of externally validated qualifications.

6.3 Jewish teachers of secular subjects

Strategies to increase the involvement in Jewish schools of religiously committed teachers of secular subjects should be explored. These might include (a) the provision of scholarships to students undergoing teacher training linked to an appointment in a particular Jewish school and (b) a targeted recruitment drive among Jewish staff currently teaching in non-Jewish schools.

6.4 Jewish studies teachers in the part-time system

Efforts should be made to strengthen the training of part-time teachers. The goal should be to develop and attract mature and charismatic staff capable of building on the affective and social dimensions of Jewish identity to create an appreciation of Jewish beliefs and practices. The development of schemes to train local staff to work within their own communities will reduce the problems caused by religious and cultural differences between pupils and teachers.

Full-time posts of "community educator" and "educational fieldworker" should be established to provide a high-quality teaching and advisory service to be shared between part-time centres. Such staff should act as catalysts, advisers, trainers and curriculum specialists, encouraging a more dynamic and purposeful approach to Jewish studies teaching.

6.5 Youth and community work

Long term funding should be sought to ensure the continuation of the recently established training scheme for Jewish Youth and Community (Y&C) workers. The application of the scheme should be extended to part-time staff and to Y&C workers operating in other regions of the United Kingdom.

There is an urgent need to increase opportunities for training voluntary workers. This training should be provided by local visits of Y&C fieldworkers along the lines proposed for part-time teachers.

6.6 Interaction between formal and informal systems

The development of joint educational programmes, incorporating experiential and more formal methodologies, is seen as the main solution to the problem of low participation in post-13 Jewish education. To encourage synergy between educational professionals working in the two areas (a) joint seminars and conferences should be organised to develop collaborative ventures, (b) some educators should be shared between school, youth groups and part-time centres; and (c) joint training schemes should be developed for JHS and Y&C professionals.

6.7 Curriculum development

The separate development of curricular materials by individual schools and centres should be discouraged. Instead a network of professionals should be established to collaborate in the development of the Jewish curriculum, assess and develop

educational programmes designed abroad, and examine ways of measuring pupils' learning and understanding of Jewish subjects.

An academic unit should be established to (a) build-up a knowledge base in Jewish curriculum studies, (b) develop a programme of intensive research and evaluation of JHS materials and teaching methods and (c) contribute to the training of JHS teachers.

A fund should be established to provide grants to teachers who have demonstrated outstanding merit in the field of curriculum development. Such grants might cover the cost of additional training, visits to other centres, the time involved in completing a project or the training of new staff in the use or development of the curriculum.

6.8 Lay leadership and management

Clear guidelines should be developed specifying the role, functions and code of conduct applicable to professional staff and to lay leaders working in Jewish educational settings.

Traditional approaches to the selection of lay leaders will need to change; recruitment should be widened to ensure that younger age groups of both sexes are represented and that intellectual and interpersonal skills are given priority.

An association or network of lay leaders should be established to organise training in curriculum, personnel and finance-related issues and to provide well-researched policy guidance.

6.9 Marketing Jewish education

A marketing approach will become an increasingly vital element in the bid to mobilize individual and communal support for Jewish education. A group should be established to explore the use of marketing concepts in the promotion of educational products and the recruitment of pupils and staff. The study should include consideration of the role of the communal Rabbi in the promotion of Jewish education, the use of the media in creating awareness of educational developments and the design of communal systems to assist those making educational choices.

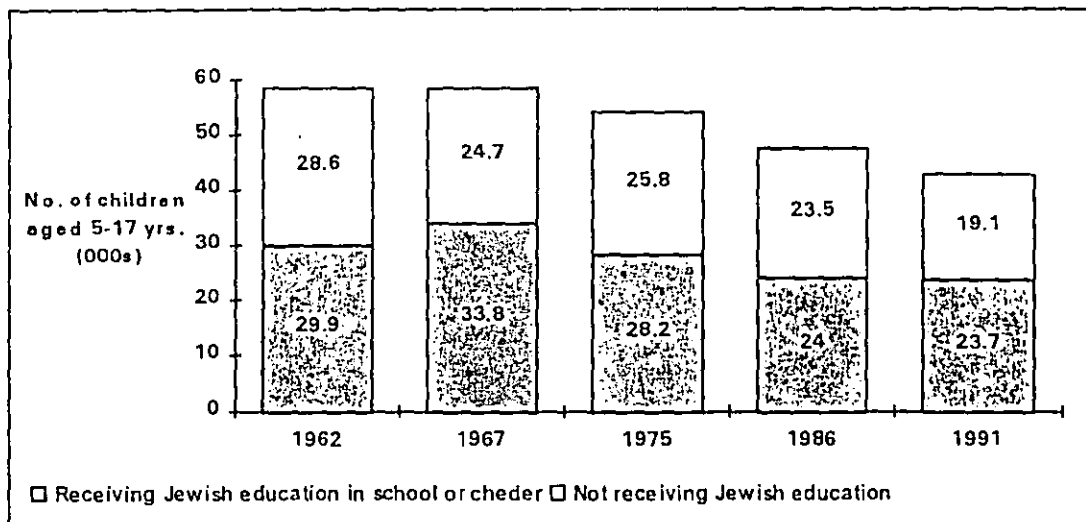
Section 2

MAPPING JEWISH EDUCATION - THE STATISTICS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

2 OVERALL PARTICIPATION

2.1 One indicator of the educational health of the community is the number of pupils receiving some form of organised Jewish education in a given period of time. Using this crude index, the number of pupils involved in full- or part-time learning has fallen consistently over the past twenty-five years, from a peak of about 34,000 in the mid-sixties to the current level of just under 24,000 (Figure 1).

Figure 1* : Participation in Jewish education, 1962-1991



However, this decline merely reflects parallel changes in the demography of the community, in particular the substantial contraction in the size of the Jewish school-age population. Taking this into account, the *proportion* of schoolchildren participating in Jewish education has remained more-or-less stable over the period - fluctuating around the current level of 55% (Table 1).

* The source of all statistical data is given in Appendices 3, 4 and 5.

Table 1: Participation of 5-17 year-olds in Jewish education

YEAR	62/63	67/68	75/76	86/87	90/91
No. of children receiving JE	29,929	33,858	28,254	24,042	23,742
Total No. of 5-17yr olds	58,500	58,500	54,000	47,500	42,800
No. in JE as % of total	51%	58%	52%	51%	55%

Although the reduction of 10,000 Jewish studies pupils is attributable to demography rather than declining enthusiasm, the change is by no means insignificant from a policy viewpoint. It is questionable whether an educational infrastructure that has evolved to accommodate 34,000 pupils can operate efficiently with two-thirds of that number. And yet the evidence is that educational structures have become more diverse, rather than less, with predictable strain on educational budgets and other resources (3.63-3.64).*

2.2 The current level of participation in Jewish education leaves considerable scope for increasing student numbers. However a participation rate of 55% does not imply that the remaining 45% of the school-aged population receive no Jewish education whatsoever - only that the proportion who are enrolled at any particular moment in time is 55%. Since children move into, and out of, Jewish education at various ages, the proportion who participate *at some stage in their school career* will be much higher than 55% - for example, the proportion rises to almost 80% in the 7-8 year age band and then falls again (see Figure 2).

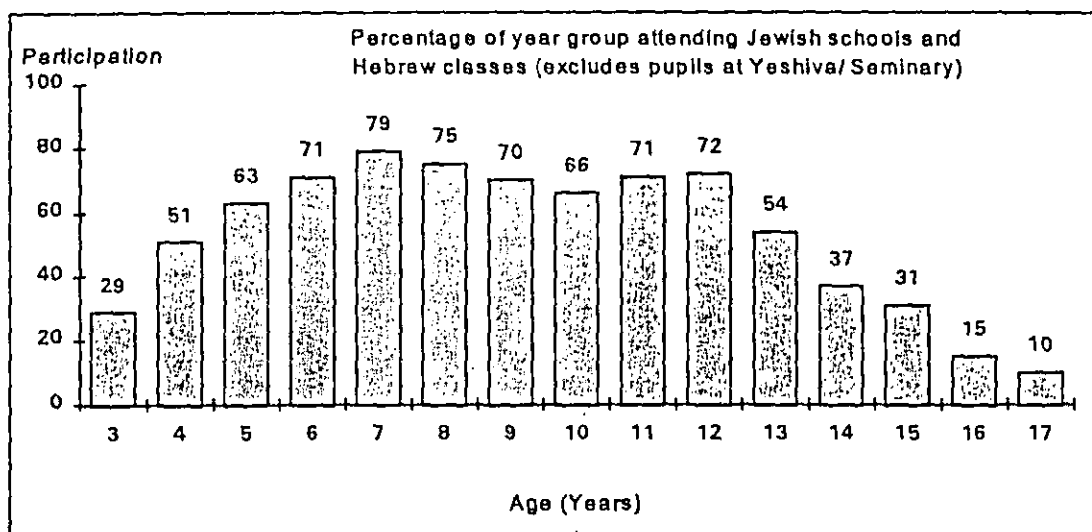
In other words, whilst only 55% of all young people between 5 and 17 years are engaged in Jewish study at any one time, we know that at least 80% of them come into contact with it at some point in their development. And the true figure is probably even higher than this since some non-participants at age seven may well enrol at a later stage. Furthermore, the 80% estimate makes no allowance for those receiving education under the aegis of a Jewish youth group or similar organisation, nor does it take account of the number of pupils who receive private tuition in Jewish subjects. Hence it is a reasonable assumption that something like 90% of Jewish youngsters have some exposure to Jewish learning during their school years, although this may be sporadic and minimal in some cases.

2.3 There is, of course, a need to provide for the 10% or so who are currently untouched by Jewish education, but the main challenge must be to extend the period of involvement of those who do take part at some stage.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to later paragraphs.

Figure 2 illustrates the extent of the problem. In the age range 6-12 years about 70% of the children in each year group receive some form of organised Jewish education.

Figure 2: Participation in Jewish education, 3-17 years



But the participation rate slumps to 30% within a year or two of Bar/Batmitzvah and down to 10% by the final year of secondary school. The critical period between adolescence and young adulthood (13 - 18 years) is also the period in which all but the Zionist-oriented youth groups report low levels of participation - lower, in fact, than in equivalent non-Jewish organisations.

The explanation for this "trough" in teenage involvement is unlikely to lie in a simple rejection of Jewish values and experience. Several studies^{5, 6} show that the intensity of Jewish identity is particularly high among teenagers and the general view of professional educators and youth workers is that the problem lies in the nature of the product rather than the willingness of young Jews to participate.

The priority must be to develop strategies for the promotion of continuity in Jewish education, at least throughout the childhood and teenage years. There is a need to design and evaluate new models of Jewish education for teenagers, to examine opportunities for collaboration and synergy between formal and informal systems, and to develop more effective approaches to the marketing of educational youth programmes. The objective should be to raise the participation rate substantially above the current 55% level which, as noted above, has shown no significant improvement over the past thirty years.

Table 2:
Trends in full- and part-time Jewish education
for children between 5 and 17 years

YEAR	62/63	67/68	75/76	86/87	90/91
No. of children-PT	21,075	24,843	17,346	11,957	10,957
No. of children-FT	8,854	9,015	10,908	12,085	12,785
PT as % all children*	36%	42%	32%	25%	26%
FT as % all children*	15%	15%	20%	25%	30%

* The sum of the full and part-time percentages corresponds to the total percentage in Table 1, except for rounding differences.

THE BALANCE BETWEEN DAY SCHOOLS AND CHADARIM

2.4 Although the percentage of children exposed to Jewish education has remained stable, there have been remarkable shifts in the mode of delivery, religious orientation and geography of the system. Perhaps the most dramatic change has been the growth of the Jewish day school movement and the corresponding erosion of the part-time sector.

Table 2 illustrates this changing balance; of the total numbers involved in Jewish education over the period 1962-91, the day school share has increased steadily, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the total. Day schools now serve more than half of those engaged in Jewish learning and almost 30% of all school-age Jewish children (5 to 17 years).

2.5 There can be little doubt that this shift from part-time to full-time schooling will produce more effective Jewish education. Research studies show that schools are better able to impart Jewish knowledge and to enhance religious observance than part-time classes, although their impact on religious belief and on Jewish identity is less certain, particularly at secondary level^{3, 4}. Jewish schools may also excite the interest and involvement of their pupils' families in a way that part-time classes are unable to do.

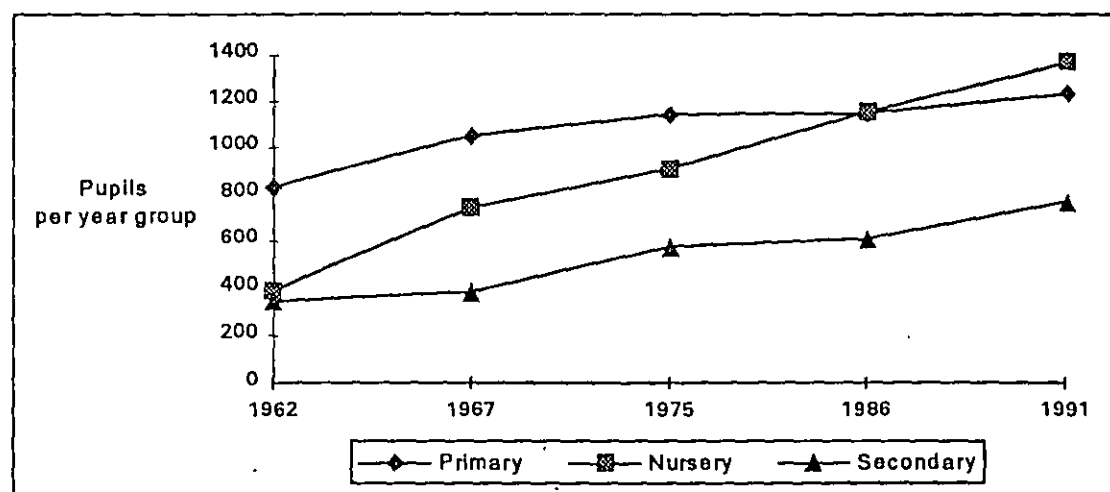
Given that Jewish day schools are more effective than chadarim, there remains a separate question as to whether they are more cost-effective than the part-time alternatives - that is whether they deliver more educational benefit per pound than the

part-time system. This is a complex question that has not been seriously addressed. We know little of the relative benefits of full- and part-time education and of the most effective models to adopt in particular settings. It follows that the current balance between full- and part-time provision is not necessarily optimal, particularly in areas where the maintenance of small schools is associated with high unit costs. In a period of financial constraint these issues deserve serious consideration (4.2).

THE PATTERN OF NURSERY, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING

2.6 The steady growth in the level of enrolment in full-time Jewish schooling conceals marked shifts in the detailed pattern of provision. Figure 3 illustrates the changing patterns of enrolment in Jewish nursery, primary and secondary schooling over the past thirty years (see also Appendix 5).

Figure 3:
Mean number of pupils per year group
in Jewish nursery, primary and secondary schools, 1962-1991



Of particular note is the growing popularity of Jewish nursery schooling. Beginning with a participation rate of 8% in the early sixties, the nursery school has overtaken first the secondary and then the primary sector to become the most popular form of Jewish schooling. It now attracts some 38% of the pre-school age group, compared with participation rates of about 36% and 24% in Jewish primary and secondary schools respectively.

2.7 These figures show that involvement in full-time Jewish education is now inversely proportional to the age of the child. As children progress through the Jewish educational system an increasing number are removed and the numbers joining do not fully compensate for the outflow (see Table 3). Some of those leaving have no choice in the matter - they may fail to gain admission to a Jewish school or there may be no local provision - but the vast majority are removed voluntarily. Of those who leave the system at 5+ and 11+, about 85% transfer to non-Jewish selective schools, with the implication that many parents reject Jewish schools on academic grounds

and that this consideration outweighs any commitment they may have to full-time Jewish learning.

Table 3:
Flows into and out of full-time Jewish schooling - reception year to sixth form

	Inflows		Outflows
Nursery 4 yrs		100%	
			-----> 25%
Primary 5 yrs	-----> 3%	78%	
			-----> 7%
Primary 10 yrs		71%	
			-----> 18%
Secondary 11 yrs	-----> 13%	66%	
			-----> 16%
Secondary 15 yrs (fifth form)		50%	
			-----> 30% leavers
Secondary 16 yrs (sixth form)	-----> 4%	24%	

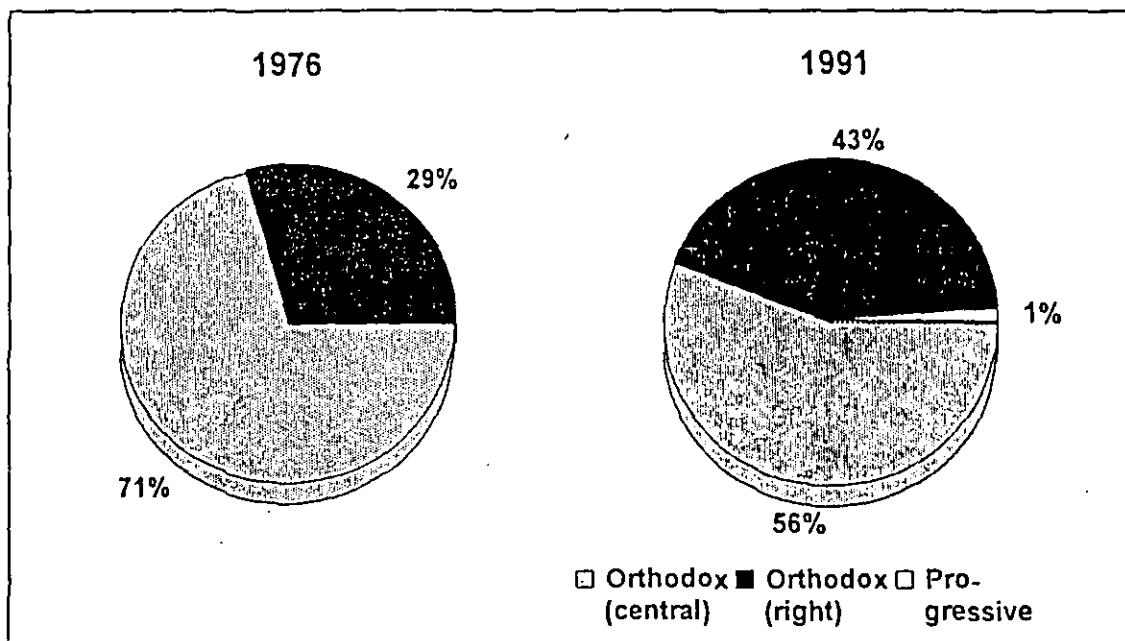
2.8 In absolute terms the outflow is equivalent to about 400 pupils per annum at 5 years and a further 300 at the point of transfer to secondary schooling. These constitute a substantial proportion of the community's more able students, representing a serious challenge to Jewish educational endeavour. One response is to seek to develop imaginative programmes of part-time Jewish learning that can retain the interest of these young people after they have moved to non-Jewish day schools. Another is to develop new or remodelled Jewish secondary schools that compete with non-Jewish selective schools in terms of the excellence of their secular academic standards. More radically, attempts might be made to market Jewish secondary schools more effectively among this category of parents (3.58-3.62). In all these cases planning would be assisted by more subtle information about parental attitudes to Jewish schooling and the factors that might influence their decision making (3.59).

RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION OF JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

2.9 A second shift in the pattern of Jewish schooling over the past few years is the substantial growth of charedi controlled and right-of-centre Jewish schooling, reflecting demographic trends in the community as a whole. In 1976, the right-wing groupings catered for some 3,500 pupils - equivalent to 29% of all pupils in Jewish schools and kindergartens; now they educate almost 7000 pupils - about 43% of the total (see Figure 4 and Appendix 5). This is in stark contrast to the Progressive movement which, although three times larger than the right-wing orthodox community, maintains responsibility for only 1% of the population of Jewish day school pupils. Meanwhile the number of pupils attending schools run by central orthodox authorities has remained fairly stable at about 9,000 over the same period,

although the geographical distribution has shifted. It follows that the central orthodox share of the full-time educational cake is falling in relative terms.

Figure 4: Religious orientation of Jewish schooling *



* Percentage of pupils (3-17yrs) in schools run by progressive, central orthodox, and right-of-centre orthodox groupings.

2.10 The strategic implications of this shift in religious orientation need to be addressed. Right-wing orthodox schools will require higher ratios of Jewish studies staff, different styles of teacher training and distinctive approaches to curriculum development. Nonetheless they share some of the concerns of other sectors, for example in relation to funding, buildings, the supply of teachers and relations with governmental and other bodies. There is consequently a basis for establishing collaborative links between right-wing and other agencies to ensure cooperation and efficient development in areas of mutual interest (3.63-3.65).

THE CONCENTRATION OF JEWISH SCHOOLING

2.11 The geographical distribution of Jewish schooling broadly reflects the distribution of the adult Jewish population. Thus London and Manchester contain the greatest numbers of full-time pupils, accounting for 68% and 21% of the total respectively, while Liverpool, Gateshead, Leeds and Glasgow account for most of the remainder.

Over the past sixteen years there has been a substantial increase in geographical concentration, with sustained growth in London and Manchester fuelled by fairly rapid contraction in most of the smaller provincial centres (see Table 4).

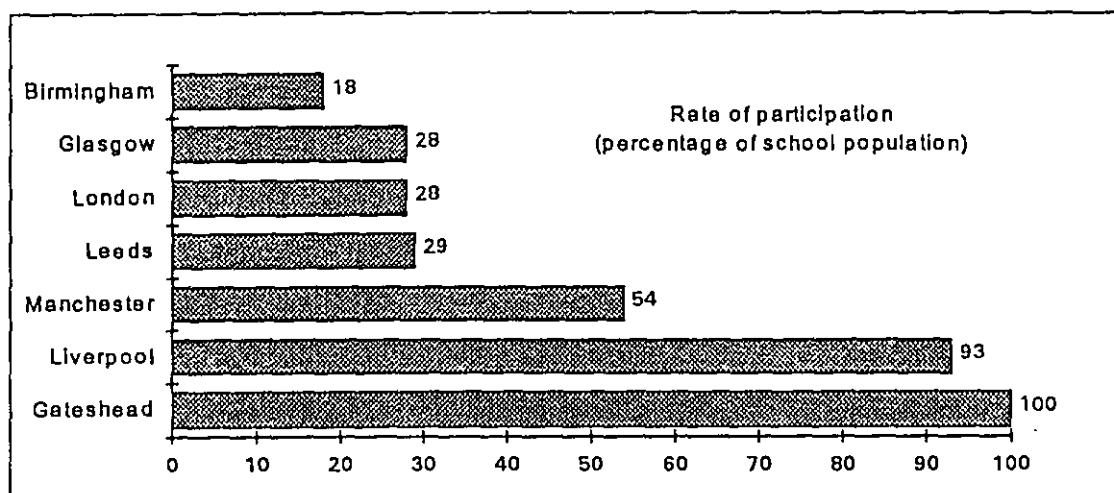
Table 4: Regional variations in the uptake of Jewish schooling

Region	Est. No. of Jewish Children*	No. in Jewish Schools		% change 91/75	Current rate of particip.
		1991	1975		
LONDON	30,000	8,447	6,973	+21.1%	28%
MANCHESTER	4,800	2,605	2,044	+27.4%	54%
LEEDS	970	279	417	-33.1%	29%
LIVERPOOL	480	446	660	-32.5%	93%
BIRMINGHAM	350	63	180	-65.0%	18%
GATESHEAD	430	428	-	-	100%
GLASGOW	750	212	201	+5.4%	28%

*5 - 17 years inclusive

2.12 In addition to these changes in the concentration of Jewish education, there are also significant regional variations in the percentage of pupils attending Jewish schools (Figure 5). Much of this variation reflects differences in the religious make up of the communities. Thus the Gateshead community, which is exclusively charedi in orientation, has 100% participation in Jewish schooling; Manchester, whose synagogue membership is about one-fifth charedi, achieves 54% participation; London and Leeds, with less than one-tenth charedi households, have participation rates of 28% and 29%. And Birmingham, with no significant right-wing orthodox presence, has the lowest rate of enrolment at just under 20%.

Figure 5: Rate of participation in Jewish schooling by region
 (includes Jewish primary and secondary schools but not yeshivot/seminaries)



There are two exceptions to this general trend. Glasgow's one Jewish primary school has attracted considerably more pupils than one would expect given its central orthodox and Progressive religious make up (see also Table 5). And Liverpool, which has a similar religious complexion, has achieved an outstandingly high participation rate in excess of 90% at its King David schools complex.

2.13 It is difficult to escape the conclusion that a small community can, in the right circumstances, generate sufficient commitment and common purpose to ensure almost universal participation in Jewish schooling. The approach adopted by the King David schools is complicated by the admission of a high proportion of non-Jewish pupils, but insofar as it attracts more than 90% of Jewish pupils in Liverpool, it offers a model for the integration of school and community that could be applied elsewhere - perhaps even in regions of London and Manchester where the degree of clustering of the Jewish population could support the development of integrated community schools. Such an approach could lead to improvements both in the take-up and quality of Jewish education, particularly if opportunities for the development of family education are exploited.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

2.14 Participation in Jewish schooling is, of course, limited by the availability of appropriate school places. It is therefore important to monitor the level of *provision* of Jewish day school places as well as the level of take-up. Table 5 gives an estimate, for selected regions of London and the provinces, of the maximum rate of participation in Jewish education that could be achieved if all available places were taken up (capacity). For comparison, the actual rates of participation are also listed.

Table 5 :
Regional variation in the provision and take-up
of places in Jewish primary and secondary schools

	Capacity: places per annum		Capacity: (max % of year group)		Participation (actual % of year group)	
	PRIM	SEC	PRIM	SEC	PRIM	SEC
N W LONDON	574	580	43	44	35	35
REDBRIDGE	70	200 ¹	23	65	21	10 ²
MANCHESTER	430	195	116 ⁴	53	75	49
LEEDS	60	note ³	80	-	51	-
LIVERPOOL	60	90	162 ⁴	240 ⁴	86	97
GLASGOW	40	0	69	0	54	0

1 includes 150 places at new secondary school under development

2 represents intake to existing secondary school (Beis Shammai)

3 secondary provision (to 13 years) being phased out

4 percentages above 100 indicate places exceed no. of Jewish pupils in the age group

It has to be recognised that not all of the spare capacity can be utilised. A given Jewish school may have spare places, but may not meet the educational needs of those who are still seeking Jewish schooling. Nonetheless these data give some indication of the scope for increased participation, and of the degree of access to Jewish education of children living in different areas.

2.15 It is apparent from Table 5 that none of these areas are suffering from a serious under-provision of places. The uptake of primary school places in Redbridge is rather close to the maximum capacity, but there is no evidence of children being prevented from attending the local school due to the pressure on places. Conversely, there is substantial over-provision in the secondary school sector where rates of participation average about 40% in London and Manchester, while capacity is in the region of 55% of the age group. This situation is likely to be replicated in Redbridge when the new school is completed, since the capacity of the Jewish secondary schools will then be about three times as great as the participation rate at primary level.

This is a problem throughout the Jewish secondary school system and it is underscored by the most recent DES statistics on the distribution of school sizes. In

the UK as a whole just over 3% of secondary schools contain fewer than 200 pupils, while in the Jewish sector 17 of the 24 secondary schools (70%) fall into this category. Simply put, there is now a generous provision of secondary school places in most areas of the UK and the priority should be to use this capacity more effectively.

In contrast, Jewish primary schools have a similar size distribution to that of the non-Jewish sector and the level of over-provision is generally less dramatic. More importantly, the cost of over-provision is far lower in the primary sector.

2.16 The tendency to over-provide at secondary level is related to the need to attract viable numbers of students for the wide range of options - academic, vocational and technological - that secondary schools seek to offer. However, since there are often insufficient numbers of Jewish pupils to fill the planned number of places, such schools must function inefficiently (in a financial sense and possibly also educationally) or move towards an optimal size by the acceptance of non-Jewish pupils or offer a restricted range of courses and facilities. This problem is currently manifest in Liverpool, but could spread to secondary schools in London and Manchester as the population of school-aged children in the central orthodox sector contracts. On the other hand, more effective marketing of Jewish education, or changes in parental demand, could easily compensate for expected demographic contraction.