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Planning for Jewish communities

The Jewish day school marketplace

The attitudes of Jewish parents in Greater London and the South-east towards formal education

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research** (JPR) is an independent think-tank that informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on social, political and cultural issues affecting Jewish life.

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Planning for Jewish communities includes surveys and research into the infrastructure of organized Jewish communities, helping them develop policy recommendations and strategies for change in the welfare, education and social sectors.

Preface

This report provides an in-depth examination of the attitudes and characteristics of Jewish parents living in Greater London and the South-east who are the current and potential users of formal educational services. It provides a sample of parents, assesses who they are and examines how they would like to educate their children. It provides hard empirical data that will help community planners to design educational services that are in keeping with the needs and wants of the Jewish population of Greater London and the South-east.

The report builds on two previous educational studies published by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) in 2001 and 2002. The first, *The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education,* analysed the strengths and weaknesses of full-time Jewish day schooling from a policy perspective.[1] In particular, it discussed whether Jewish day schools—as an example of faith-based schooling—work. It examined key performance data, including national examination results and OFSTED inspection reports, and noted, for example, how pupils at Jewish day schools achieve results that are far higher than the national average. It also included data from in-depth interviews with education providers and parents across Britain.

The second, *Responding to Diversity? An Initial Investigation into Multicultural Education in Jewish Schools in the United Kingdom,* provided the first analysis by a particular faith or ethnic community of the teaching of multiculturalism in its day schools.[2] The report set out to study the approach of senior management and governors in regard to multicultural education, how it is treated in school prospectuses and what impact it has on children attending Jewish day schools. The study revealed great diversity. While some schools were taking multiculturalism seriously and provided models of good practice, others considered it to be low down on their list of priorities. The study highlighted some of the issues and challenges facing schools in teaching about people from different backgrounds and/or ways of life, and was designed to encourage a communal debate about multiculturalism in schools.

The Jewish Day School Marketplace draws on data collected by JPR as part of its survey of Jews living in Greater London and the South-east. This quantitative survey involved analysis of the views of 2,965 Jews who responded to a questionnaire distributed in the spring of 2002, making it the largest direct survey of British Jewry ever undertaken. The key findings were published in *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study.*[3] Included was an initial analysis of the attitudes of London Jews towards education and schooling. *The Jewish Day School Marketplace* builds on that report—and should be read in conjunction with it—by analysing issues relating to school choice in far more depth. It focuses on the views of respondents with children aged 16 or under, both those who have chosen to educate at least one of their children at a Jewish day school and those who have opted for general (non-Jewish) schools.

The survey of Greater London and the South-east is itself part of a wider national survey of British Jewry, with an analysis of the Leeds Jewish population also due to be published.[4] The national survey is the key component of JPR's five-year programme of research, Long-term Planning for British Jewry (LTP). This aims to influence the development of policies and priorities for Jewish charities and other voluntary bodies in the twenty-first century, and is made up of several projects

1 Oliver Valins, Barry Kosmin and Jacqueline Goldberg, *The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2001).

2 Geoffrey Short, *Responding to Diversity? An Initial Investigation into Multicultural Education in Jewish Schools in the United Kingdom* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

3 Harriet Becher, Stanley Waterman, Barry Kosmin and Katarina Thomson, *A Portrait of Jews in London and the South-east: A Community Study* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

4 Stanley Waterman, *The Leeds Jewish Community Study* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003 forthcoming).

that come together to form a comprehensive picture of British Jewry's communal organizations and services. These projects build on one another, feeding into a strategy document that will assist the community in planning its future.

For social planning purposes, it was necessary at the outset of the LTP project to map the parameters of the organized Jewish community. It emerged that the Jewish voluntary sector comprised nearly 2,000 financially independent organizations, which means that the income needed for their maintenance had to be substantial. Researchers were commissioned to map systematically for the first time the income and expenditure of these organizations across all their funding streams. The resulting report, *The Financial Resources of the Jewish Voluntary Sector,* estimated total income in 1997 at just over £500 million.[5] This was several times the expected proportion of the UK national voluntary-sector income.

For the purposes of the financial resources study, the education sector was taken to include all charitable and other non-profit organizations with an educational purpose, including, but not exclusively, independent schools. State-maintained, voluntary-aided schools were beyond the remit of this project, with the exception of the income streams directly related to the Judaic content of these schools' curricula. The financial resources report reinforced the central role that education, including day schools, plays in the Jewish voluntary sector, with an estimated expenditure of £95 million in the 1997 financial year. In a related report, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Sector,* which examined trusts with specifically Jewish remits, it emerged that in the same financial year over £10.5 million was granted to educational organizations.[6]

The existence of these 2,000 voluntary organizations means that several thousand members of the Jewish community are needed to fill unpaid leadership posts on boards of trustees, take on the burden of financial office, and accept legal and moral responsibility for the running of each organization. JPR commissioned and published a qualitative study, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector,* with the aim of exploring the issues and challenges faced by those who were serving on the boards of Jewish voluntary agencies in the United Kingdom.[7] Chairs of boards of governors of schools were among those interviewed, giving another perspective on the running of these institutions within the Jewish community. Key challenges for all boards were identified, including dealing with the pressures created by change as a result of increasing professionalization and with the problem of recruiting volunteers and leaders. Five specific areas of interest emerged in relation to the Jewish voluntary sector: the need for co-operation, the challenge posed by internal divisions, the need for a sense of collective responsibility, the changing demography of the Jewish population and the problem of resources.

A further publication, *Facing the Future: The Provision of Long-term Care Facilities for Older Jewish People in the United Kingdom,* a companion piece to the education report, provided an in-depth examination of services available for older people in the Jewish community.[8] It offered a strategic assessment of older people's care provision by the organized Jewish community and detailed the historical development of social care, demographic changes and the range of services currently being provided. Its particular focus was on institutional care provision within Jewish residential and nursing homes, which account for the lion's share of communal and government funding. It addressed key policy concerns in relation to financing services, provision of places and human resources, issues that have previously been approached only on an *ad hoc* basis and without evidence-based research. This report will be augmented by a specialist report on older Jewish people using data from the national survey.

Another piece of research, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital: Jews Associating with Other Jews in Manchester,* examined 'social

5 Peter Halfpenny and Margaret Reid, *The Financial Resources of the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000).

6 Ernest Schlesinger, *Grant-making Trusts in the Jewish Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000).

7 Margaret Harris and Colin Rochester, *Governance in the Jewish Voluntary Sector* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2001).

8 Oliver Valins, *Facing the Future: The Provision of Long-term Care Facilities for Older Jewish People in the United Kingdom* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2002).

capital', the 'glue' that holds the Jewish community in Manchester together through activities such as Jewish football leagues, rambling clubs and amateur dramatics.[9] While these clubs and societies may not be formal charities, as voluntary organizations they are key components in maintaining Jewish identity and community.

In combination, the different strands of the LTP project will be used to produce a strategic planning document. This will provide a co-ordinated approach for the whole of the UK Jewish voluntary sector over the next two decades. By relying on a plan based on firm evidence concerning the inputs, outputs and processes of the Jewish voluntary sector—and, in particular, the needs and wants of the Jewish public—charities and other organizations will be able to direct their services more effectively.

9 Ernest Schlesinger, *Creating Community and Accumulating Social Capital: Jews Associating with Other Jews in Manchester* (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2003 forthcoming).

Summary

- This report provides a detailed analysis of the characteristics of 840 Jewish parents living in Greater London and the South-east and their attitudes towards the education of their children. It is based on the largest direct survey of British Jewry ever undertaken. This survey was not designed to be representative of the whole of British (or indeed Greater London) Jewry, but instead concentrated on 'middle-of-the-road' Jews, who are the most likely to use mainstream community education resources and facilities (and so under-represented both strictly Orthodox (Haredi) and unaffiliated Jews).

- At primary level, most Jewish parents (who chose only one type of schooling for all their children) opted for general independent schools. The second most popular option was Jewish state-sector schools. The third choice was general (non-Jewish) state-sector schools. Around 1 in 6 parents sent their children to a combination of different schools.

- At secondary level, the overall pattern of current school choices was the same as for primary schools. However, almost half of all parents sent their children to a combination of schools. This reflects the discerning nature of parental choice at secondary level: parents will choose different options depending on what they see as best for their individual children. Parents are making relatively sophisticated choices according to the particular attributes and characteristics of their different children, thus highlighting the importance for planners of recognizing that formal educational services are in a highly competitive marketplace. For many parents at secondary level, ideological questions concerning private versus state or Jewish versus non-Jewish are of less importance than finding the particular school that will best meet the needs and aspirations of their children.

- Parents typically had above-average income levels and a high level of general education. However, those who sent at least one of their children to a Jewish school (termed 'Jewish day school parents' in this report) earned less on average, and had fewer general educational qualifications, than the rest of the sample of Jewish parents (termed 'general school parents' in this report).

- The Jewish upbringing of both Jewish and general school parents was similar, but there were differences in patterns of current religious practices. Jewish day school parents were far more likely to consider themselves Orthodox (i.e. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath) or Haredi than general school parents. Nevertheless, both sets of parents were most likely to describe themselves as 'traditional'. Moreover, a large majority of both sets of parents were willing to travel on the Sabbath.

- Eighty-seven per cent of parents wanted their children to have some formal Jewish education, while 92 per cent thought it important that their children mixed in Jewish social groups.

- Among those parents who chose to send at least one of their children to a Jewish primary school, the most important factors influencing their decision were, first, that there was insufficient Jewish education at general schools; second, that these schools were a logical follow-on from Jewish nurseries; and, third, that Jewish day schools provided a protective environment.

- In regard to secondary education, parents were asked how far they agreed or disagreed with a series of short statements. Among Jewish day school parents, the statements that elicited most support were: 'Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost'; 'A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook'; and 'A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils.' Among general school parents, support was strongest for the following statements: 'A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils'; 'A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society'; and 'A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish studies are on the curriculum.'

- Among Jewish day school parents, the factors most influencing their choice of school were school ethos, followed by the number of other Jewish children attending the institution, and then by quality of teaching and academic standards. In contrast, general school parents considered quality of teaching and academic standards most important, followed by school ethos and then by the views of friends.

- In the second empirical section of the report the data was analysed according to geographical location, by means of the views of parents living in Outer North-west London (including South Hertfordshire), Inner North-west London (including Hampstead and Highgate) and North-east London (Redbridge and South Essex).

- Parents in Inner North-west London were, by some way, the most likely to send their children to general (non-Jewish) independent schools and this also correlates with their higher income levels. Around half of Jewish parents in Outer North-west and North-east London sent their children to Jewish primary schools, compared with only a quarter in the Inner North-west London sector.

- In terms of current religious practices and beliefs, the data highlight a clear continuum among parents. Parents living in Outer North-west London were more likely to follow traditional or Orthodox practices than those in Inner North-west London, who were far more likely to follow these than parents in North-east London. For example, 78 per cent of parents in Outer North-west London always fasted on Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), compared with 74 per cent in Inner North-west London and only 48 per cent in North-east London.

- Parents in Outer North-west London were most likely to agree strongly that some formal Jewish education was important. However, the vast majority from across all three sectors agreed in some measure with this statement.

- There was relatively little variation in attitudes towards secondary education among parents living in the three geographical sectors. Parents tended to rate quality of teaching, academic standards and school ethos as the most important factors in choosing a school. They also supported the idea of non-Jewish schools most strongly, providing they had sufficient Jewish pupils.

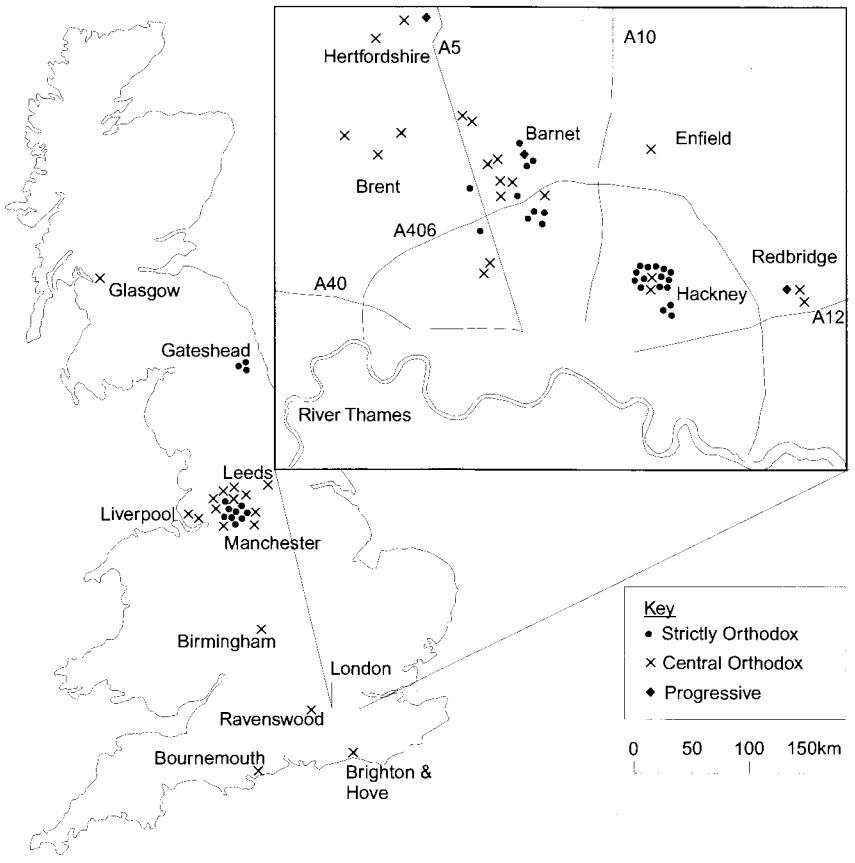
- Finally, a profile is provided of parents who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that a Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook. While this is a hypothetical option (all Jewish schools in Britain are run under the auspices of one or more of the synagogal bodies), this question was included to allow parents to consider Jewish schooling from a slightly different perspective (i.e. taking a non-affiliated approach). The results proved to be interesting. In Outer North-west London, over half of parents who agreed with secular cultural schools were not sending any of their children to a Jewish school. In Inner North-west London, more than two-thirds of parents who agreed with secular cultural Jewish schools were not sending any of their children to a Jewish school. These responses suggest the need for further investigation in this area.

1 Introduction

Jewish day schools are flourishing. While the UK Jewish population has declined by over 25 per cent since the 1950s, the number of children attending Jewish day schools has grown by 500 per cent. The proportion of Jewish children attending such schools has doubled in each generation since the 1950s. Today, more than half of all Jewish children are enrolled in Jewish day schools, with over 22,000 children attending a UK Jewish nursery, primary or secondary school. This spectacular growth has been driven by a variety of factors, including the demand for increased provision from community leaders set against fears of rising assimilation rates, the support of wealthy philanthropists, the expectations of academic excellence in Jewish schools compared with general state provision and a reaction against the perceived poor standards of synagogue-based Jewish education classes.[10]

Most of the growth in Jewish day school education has taken place in Greater London. Two-thirds of British Jews live in the capital, which is also where the majority of Jewish primary and secondary schools are located (see Figure 1). There are currently plans to build one or possibly two new secondary schools in South Hertfordshire (to the north of the Greater London boundary), as well as nascent ideas for joint-faith or 'academy' schools in Central and/or Outer North-west London.[11]

Figure 1: Primary and secondary Jewish day schools according to religious affiliations[12]



10 Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg.

11 'Academy' schools are institutions sponsored by business, faith or voluntary groups working with partners from the local community. They are located in areas of disadvantage, replacing schools that face 'challenging' circumstances, or where there is need for additional school places. They are open to pupils of all abilities and focus their efforts on one or more subject areas, such as science and technology, business skills or languages.

12 Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg, 42.

Community leaders have primarily drawn up these plans, with alternative proposals in South Hertfordshire put forward by the United Synagogue and by a group seeking to build a 'cross communal' school. However, any possibility for putting together a combined bid here has been hampered by debates over entrance criteria. The United Synagogue wants the school to be open only to pupils who are *halakhically* Jewish (i.e. according to traditional Jewish law), while the communal school movement wants it to be open to pupils deemed Jewish by any of the major synagogue bodies.[13] At the heart of the debates are hugely important questions for parents about how they want their children to be educated, what type of school they would ideally like and what they are willing to settle for.

In the various debates and controversies about the strengths and weaknesses of different school options, the views and wishes of parents are typically under-represented. This is despite the UK educational system being explicitly based on parental wishes since the 1944 Education Act, which introduced universal secondary schooling.

> In the exercise and performance of all powers and duties concerned and imposed on them by this Act the Secretary of State and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.[14]

In planning new facilities, little thought is given to asking parents in a systematic way what they would like. Community leaders typically provide Jewish schools in a 'top-down' manner, rather than through a 'bottom-up' approach led by the needs and wants of individual parents. The aim of this report is to ascertain the views of Jewish parents. It uses data drawn from the JPR survey of London and the South-east, which sought responses from Jews living in North-west (including South Hertfordshire), North-east and South London. North of the River Thames questionnaires were randomly sent to households in areas known to have a high concentration of Jews, such as Hampstead, Highgate, Edgware, Redbridge, Ilford, Borehamwood and Radlett. South of the Thames, where the Jewish population is spatially far more dispersed, questionnaires were sent to households with distinctive Jewish ethnic names (DJNs) drawn from the electoral roll and the telephone directory.[15]

It should be noted that the survey was not designed to be representative of the whole of London Jewry. In particular, the areas sampled did not include Stamford Hill, which has the highest concentration of strictly Orthodox (Haredi) Jews. This area was not sampled because the Stamford Hill community had already commissioned a separate survey.[16] The survey also under-represented unaffiliated Jews, who are less likely to live in known Jewish areas and are thus harder to find (and response rates from these Jews also tend to be lower than average). Despite these limitations, the report provides an extremely comprehensive picture of the remainder of London Jewry, from those who describe themselves as non-practising, through Progressive Jews, to those who consider themselves (modern) Orthodox. This sample of Jews is the most likely to make use of the range of educational services provided by the 'mainstream' or central Jewish community. These Jews are thus the key target market for community planners in the Jewish voluntary sector.

The survey itself was divided into three sections. The first section was to be completed by all respondents and covered areas such as general

13 There are major debates in contemporary Judaism about 'who is a Jew'. Orthodox authorities insist that only someone born of a Jewish mother or who converts under Orthodox auspices can be classed as Jewish. As such, they do not consider Jewish anyone whose father is Jewish but whose mother is not, or someone who converted under the auspices of a synagogue movement that, in the United Kingdom, is not sanctioned by the Office of the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth.

14 Section 76 of the Education Act 1944, cited in F. Jacobs and Vivien Prais, 'Development in the law on state-aided schools for religious minorities', in Sonia Lipman and Vivian Lipman (eds), *Jewish Life in Britain 1962–1977* (New York: K. G. Saur 1981).

15 For more information on the methodology of the national survey, see Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson.

16 Christine Holman and Naomi Holman, *Torah, Worship and Acts of Loving Kindness* (London: The Interlink Foundation 2002).

demography, health, Jewish attitudes and beliefs, questions on neighbourhood and voluntary work. The second section was for respondents aged 75 or over, or infirm. The third section was to be completed by parents with children aged 16 or under. This section was answered by 840 people, of whom 356 had chosen to educate at least one of their children in a Jewish school.[17] This provided a very large sample for establishing the demographic and social characteristics of London Jewish parents and to assess the types of formal education they would like their children to receive.

Following this introduction, the report is divided into three sections. The first profiles the overall Jewish day school marketplace. It outlines the educational choices that parents in the sample population have adopted, their socio-economic characteristics, and their Jewish attitudes, practices and upbringing. It then details the attitudes of these parents towards Jewish education, examining how those in the sample chose between different options at both primary and secondary levels. It focuses on differences in characteristics and views between current users (i.e. who had at least one child who attended, or had recently attended, a Jewish day school) and potential users (i.e. Jewish parents whose children had never attended a Jewish day school).

The second section analyses differences by geographical location. This matters as educational services are primarily delivered at the local level; having a school in East London is, for example, obviously of limited value to those living in West London because of prohibitive transport times. For primary school education, the effects of geography were more limiting than for secondary education. At secondary level, parents were generally willing to allow their children to travel further and thus the potential catchment area for these institutions is greater. As far as the survey is concerned, looking at larger areas therefore coincides with an urgency for Jewish community planners to assess the needs and wants of Jewish parents specifically with regard to secondary schools. The data in the second section of the report are divided into three distinct geographical locations—Outer North-west London (including South Hertfordshire), Inner North-west London and North-east London. In the final part of this section, a profile is constructed of those parents in Outer North-west and Inner North-west London who stated that they strongly agreed or agreed with the idea of a secular cultural Jewish school. At present such an institution does not exist in the United Kingdom. Analysing the support this hypothetical option might have raises the potential for innovation in the current system of service delivery.

The third section of the report discusses the implications of the findings. It summarizes the views of parents and outlines the educational choices they would like to see. It does not attempt to be prescriptive in terms of recommending one particular school option over another. Moreover, the survey was not a referendum on the current focus of communal concern: namely, whether to build an Orthodox (United Synagogue) and/or a community (cross-denominational) secondary school in South Hertfordshire; a direct question on this was not asked. At the same time, the data do provide a remarkable and robust picture of the factors that determine how parents choose between different options and their views on how they would like to educate their children.

17 Figures in this report occasionally show slight variations from those reported in Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson. This is because, for this analysis, the sample of parents was pruned to remove a handful of cases who answered the 'grey' section of the questionnaire even though they did not in fact have children aged 16 or under. Figures are also rounded so that percentage totals add up to 100.

2 A profile of current and potential users of Jewish day schools

Included among the respondents to the London and South-east survey were 840 households with children aged 16 or under. This population provides a very large sample from which to establish the characteristics of both *current* and *potential* users of Jewish day schools. Accordingly, this report divides the sample of 840 households into two groups.

The first group consists of the 356 households that had chosen to educate *at least* one of their children in a Jewish primary or secondary school, although they may also have had other children attending general (non-Jewish) schools. These respondents are termed *Jewish day school parents* in this report. Building up a profile of these parents allows planners to understand better who are the *current* users of Jewish day schools and whether existing provision matches with the needs and aspirations of these individuals.

The second group of parents (n=484) consists of all remaining parents, i.e. those who had not educated *any* of their children in a Jewish day school, either because they had chosen other types of education or because all their children were currently aged under 5. These parents are termed *general school parents* in this report. These parents are the *potential* client base for any overall increase in the take-up of Jewish day school education, assuming that Jewish day schools accept only Jewish pupils (however defined), as is the case in Greater London.[18]

Beyond the decision to educate their children in Jewish or general schools, parents also have—in theory at least—the option of choosing between state and independent (private) schools. Within and beyond the Greater London boundary there are hundreds of general state and independent schools that parents could potentially choose. Although mitigated by a range of factors such as the costs of private education, the geographical location of schools, the availability of places, entrance examinations and requirements of *halakhah*, in theory parents can choose between the different options and may indeed make different decisions depending on the characteristics and attributes of their individual children. Table 1 charts the different choices of the 693 parents whose children attended, or had recently attended, primary schools (i.e. who had children aged 5 or over). It highlights the variety of ways that London Jewish parents educate their children. The option most adopted by parents was general independent schools, with almost a third following this route. The second most popular option was state-sector Jewish schools. Nevertheless, 16 per cent of parents either changed the schooling of their children halfway through their primary education or (more likely) opted for one type of school for one child and then chose another for subsequent children.

Table 1: Current educational choices of Jewish parents at primary level

Type of school	Choice of Jewish parents (%)
Only Jewish state-sector schools	24
Only Jewish independent schools	8
Only general state-sector schools	21
Only general independent schools	31
Combination of schools	16
Total	100

Table 2: Current educational choices of Jewish parents at secondary level

Type of school	Choice of Jewish parents (%)
Only Jewish state-sector schools	12
Only Jewish independent schools	3
Only general state-sector schools	10
Only general independent schools	27
Combination of schools	48
Total	100

18 There are Jewish schools in Birmingham, Glasgow and Liverpool that do contain a mixture of Jewish and non-Jewish pupils. Here, the Jewish populations are smaller and cannot support all-Jewish enrolment.

As regards secondary education, 445 respondents had children in this age bracket. Again, most parents who opted for one particular type of education for all of their children chose independent general schools, with the second most popular option being state-sector Jewish schools. Nevertheless, almost half the sample chose more than one option for their children. This highlights the very competitive nature of secondary schooling. Many parents are clearly choosing schools that most closely match the individual requirements of their children. However, the need to pass the entrance examinations set by most independent schools is also likely to influence the variety of institutions opted for, because of the different abilities of children from the same family (see Table 2).

Table 3 shows the proportion among Jewish and general school parents who opted for either state or independent schools (i.e. not those who chose a combination of schools) at both primary and secondary levels. This table highlights the big differences in the take-up of state and independent options between Jewish day school parents and general school parents. At primary level, Jewish day school parents were three times more likely to opt for state-sponsored schools than private schools. For general school parents, independent schools were one and a half times more popular than state schools. At secondary level, this pattern is even more pronounced. Four in every 5 Jewish day school parents opted for state-sector institutions. In direct contrast, only 1 in 4 general school parents opted for state facilities.

The differences shown in Table 3 are partly caused by the widespread availability of state Jewish schools in comparison with (mainstream) private Jewish facilities (at secondary level there is only one mainstream Jewish independent school, Immanuel College in Bushey, South Hertfordshire). Nevertheless, the pattern is also very much influenced by income levels. General school parents recorded higher average household incomes than Jewish day school parents (see Figure 3). Having higher income levels allows general school parents the option of paying for an education they consider superior to that provided by the state (of course, their children are usually required to pass an entrance examination first). Jewish day school parents had lower income levels, although the high levels of academic success achieved by Jewish state schools mean that their children can obtain a relatively good-quality general education without the expense of private school fees (which can be several thousand pounds per term).

Finally, it is worth noting the take-up of Jewish versus general schooling among parents in the sample. At primary level, almost 2 in 5 parents (who opted for only one type of schooling for their children) chose Jewish schools. At secondary level, the take-up of Jewish schooling was lower, although nearly 3 in every 10 parents chose this option (see Table 4).

Table 4: Proportion of Jewish parents opting for either Jewish or general schooling

Type of school	Jewish schools (%)	General schools (%)	Total (%)
Primary	38	62	100
Secondary	29	71	100

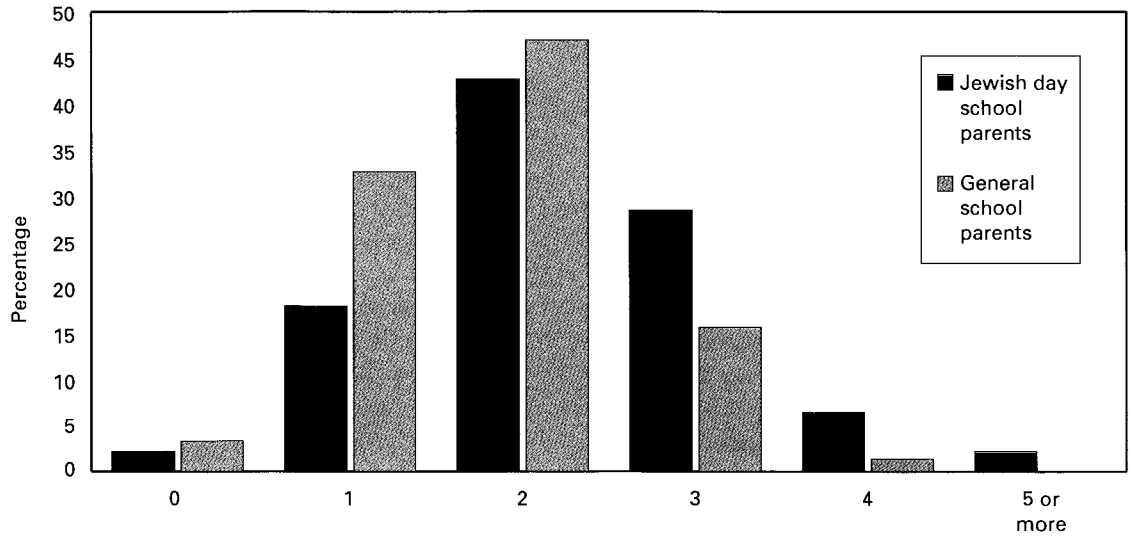
Socio-economic characteristics

Of the parents who responded to the survey, there was an almost even split between males (48 per cent) and females (52 per cent). Households typically comprised between three and five people, but Jewish day school parents were far more likely to have larger families; almost half of these respondents had five or more people living in the family home, compared with only a quarter of general school parents. This is due primarily to the

Table 3: Proportion of Jewish parents opting for either state or independent schooling

Type of school		State (%)	Independent (%)	Total (%)
Primary	General school parents	40	60	100
	Jewish school parents	75	25	100
Secondary	General school parents	27	73	100
	Jewish school parents	80	20	100

Figure 2: Number of children under 18 in household



larger number of children that Jewish day school parents have, with more than a third reporting three or more children (37 per cent), a figure which is over twice that of general school parents (17 per cent) (see Figure 2).

The vast majority of households (70 per cent) comprised two adults with children; 22 per cent were extended households with children, 5 per cent were single parents with a child and in the remaining 3 per cent children were not living in the same household as the respondent. Ninety-one per cent of the population were married, 1.5 per cent were living with a partner, 6 per cent were divorced or separated, 1 per cent were widowed and 0.5 per cent were single and had never married.

The parents typically had a high socio-economic status, although Jewish day school parents had notably lower household incomes than parents in the rest of the sample. These differences perhaps reflect the fact that Jewish day school parents tend to have larger families, resulting in increased requirements for one partner to remain at home and look after the children. Respondents who did not send any of their children to Jewish schools were more than twice as likely to have a household income greater than £200,000 (see Figure 3). In

Figure 3: Household income

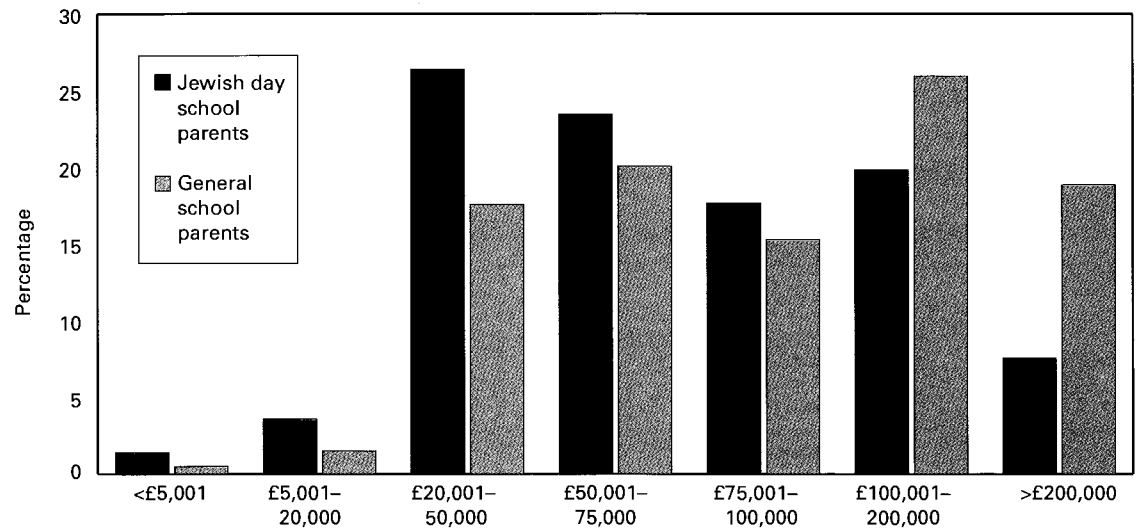
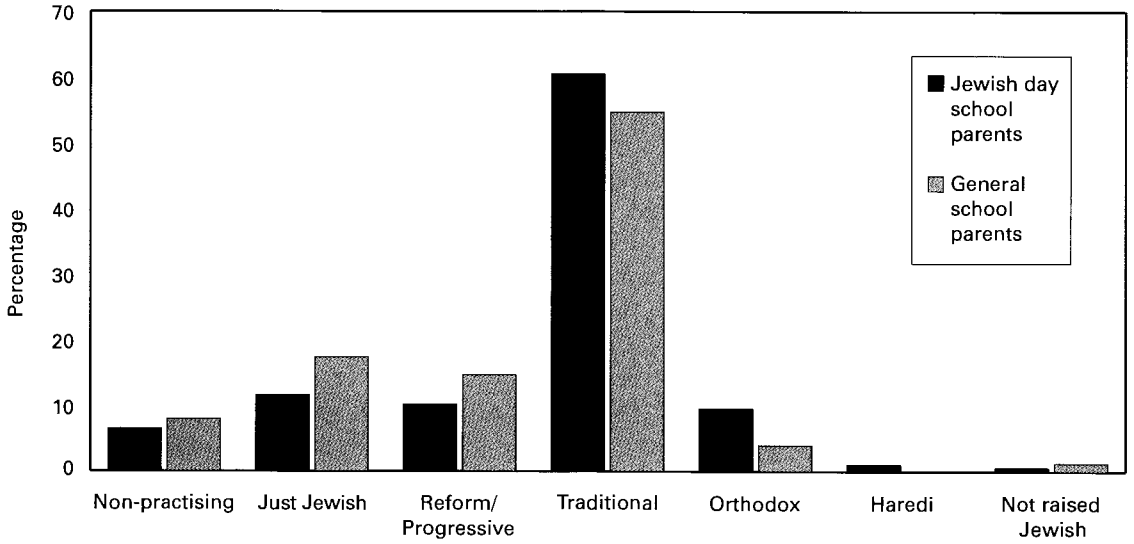


Figure 4: Jewish upbringing



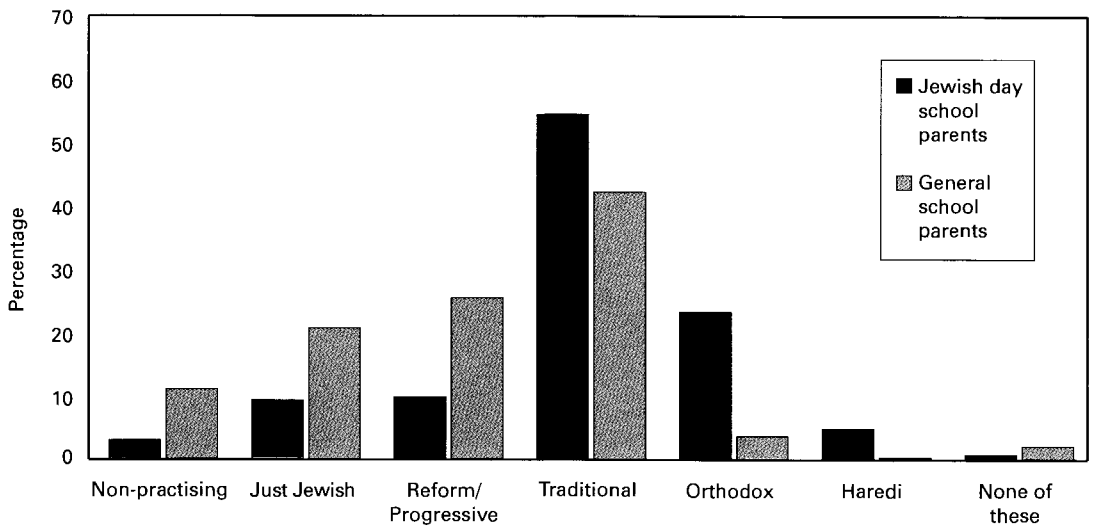
terms of general education, both sets of parents were highly qualified, although Jewish day school parents were less likely to have a first degree or diploma (48 per cent compared with 58 per cent) or a postgraduate degree (34 per cent compared with 42 per cent) than general school parents.

Jewish attitudes, practices and upbringing

The overall sample of London Jewish parents predominantly had a 'traditional' Jewish upbringing (57 per cent), although Jewish day school parents were slightly more likely to have had an Orthodox (i.e. would not turn on a light on the Sabbath) background and less likely to have been Reform/Progressive, 'just Jewish' or non-practising (i.e. secular or cultural) than general school parents (see Figure 4).

Both sets of parents were highly likely to have had some form of Jewish education before their teens (only 1 in 10 from each group said that they had not), although Jewish day school parents were more likely to have followed this through into their teens (58 per cent of these parents as opposed to 45 per cent of general school parents). Three-quarters of each group had attended part-time classes in synagogues, but Jewish day school parents were almost twice as likely to have been to both a Jewish primary school (29 per cent compared with 16 per cent) and a Jewish secondary school (23 per cent compared with 13 per cent). Four-fifths of the

Figure 5: Current Jewish practice



overall sample had attended a Jewish youth club or organization and 94 per cent of men had celebrated their bar mitzvah, while 36 per cent of women had had a bat mitzvah.

When asked about their current Jewish religious practices, Jewish day school parents showed a marked increase in levels of Orthodoxy since their childhood. Whereas 11 per cent had had an Orthodox or Haredi upbringing, 27 per cent said that they currently adhered to these practices. Indeed, they were almost seven times more likely to consider themselves either Orthodox or Haredi than those whose children did not attend Jewish day schools. This rise in Orthodoxy has been largely at the expense of those considering themselves 'traditional': that figure declined from 61 per cent to 52 per cent. Nevertheless, the majority of Jewish day school parents still described themselves as 'traditional', and, interestingly, 1 in 10 considered themselves to be non-practising or 'just Jewish'. For general school parents, the greatest changes were a decline in traditional practices (from 55 per cent to 40 per cent) and a rise in the proportion who described themselves as Reform/Progressive (from 15 per cent to 24 per cent) (see Figure 5).

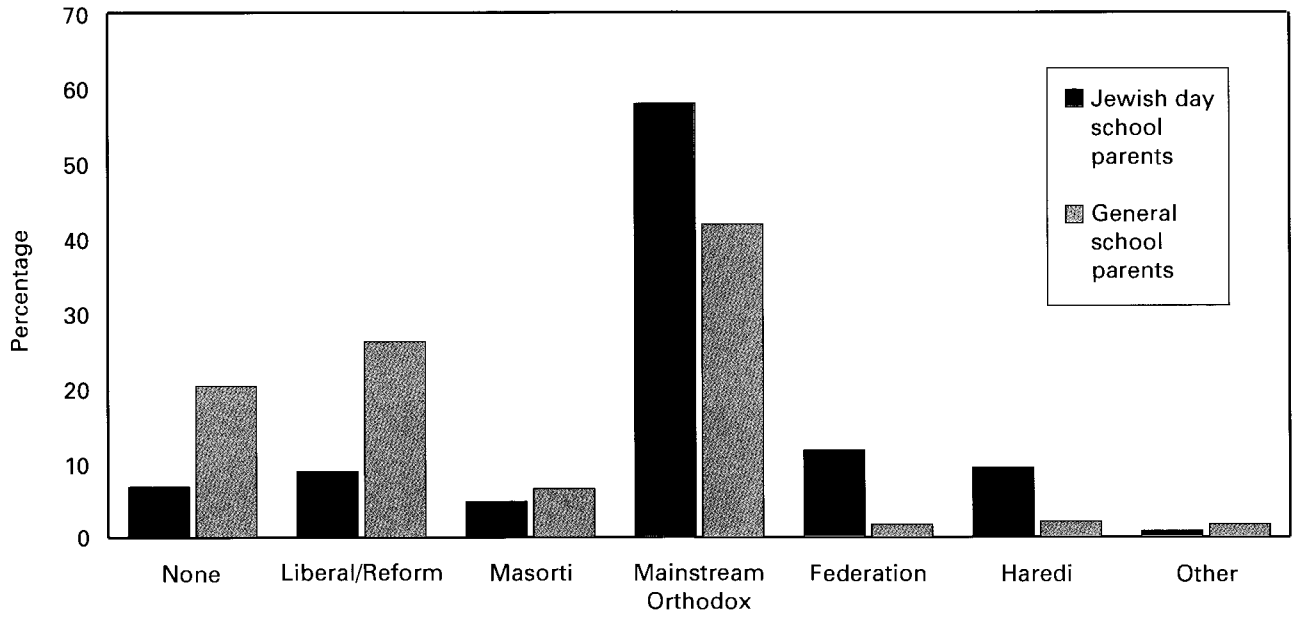
Patterns of current practices were similarly reflected in respondents' synagogue membership. Membership rates among both groups of parents were high (86 per cent overall). However, Jewish day school parents were more likely to have joined mainstream Orthodox/United Synagogue, Federation or Haredi/Independent Orthodox/Adass synagogues than general school parents, for whom membership of mainstream Orthodox and Progressive synagogues were most likely (see Figure 6).

After taking a closer look at some of the elements that constitute Jewish practices and beliefs, further differences between 'current' and 'potential' users of Jewish day schools emerged. For example, 82 per cent of Jewish day school parents said that they lit candles every Friday night, whereas only 56 per cent of general school parents said they did so. Similarly, 80 per cent of Jewish day school parents always fasted on Yom Kippur and 94 per cent attended a seder meal every Passover, compared with figures of 56 per cent and 76 per cent respectively for general school parents. Nevertheless, only a third of current Jewish day school parents said that they never travelled on the Sabbath (see Table 5).

Table 5: Travelling on the Sabbath

'Do you travel on the Sabbath?'	Jewish day school parents (%)	General school parents (%)
Never	33	5
Occasionally	13	8
Frequently	54	87
Total	100	100

Figure 6: Synagogue membership



In terms of attitudes towards kosher food, 45 per cent of Jewish day school parents were willing to eat non-kosher meat outside the home, compared with 78 per cent of the rest of the sample. A quarter of general school parents were also willing to buy pork products, whereas only 6 per cent of Jewish day school parents would do so. There were also marked differences in synagogue attendance levels, with Jewish day school parents almost three times more likely than non-Jewish day school parents to attend most Sabbaths or more often (see Table 6).

Interestingly, both sets had a very high proportion of close friends who were Jewish, with fewer than 1 in 10 having a majority of non-Jewish friends. For those whose children attended a Jewish day school, a massive 81 per cent had all or nearly all of their close friends as Jewish (see Figure 7).

The divergence between the sets of parents was also revealed in two final questions that sought to ascertain individuals' 'feelings' about being Jewish. The first asked respondents about how conscious they were of their Jewishness. None of the parents said that they 'do not think of themselves as Jewish in any way'. However, Jewish day school parents were almost twice as likely as general school parents to describe being Jewish as 'very important to me at all times' (see Table 7). When asked about their overall outlook, almost two-thirds of Jewish day school parents considered themselves religious or somewhat religious, compared with only a third of general school parents (see Figure 8).

Table 6: Synagogue attendance

Synagogue attendance	Jewish day school parents (%)	General school parents (%)
Not at all	5	14
Only on High Holy Days	19	30
Some other festivals	13	19
About once a month	21	21
Most Sabbaths or more often	42	16
Total	100	100

Figure 7: Proportion of close friends who were Jewish

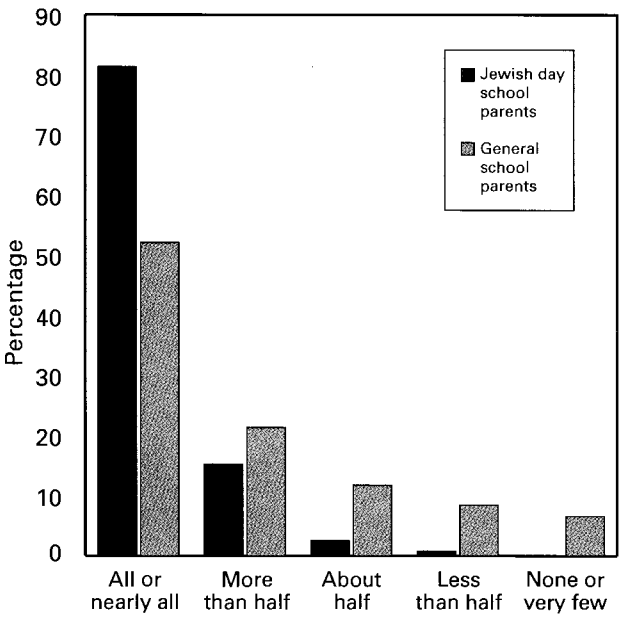


Table 7: Consciousness of being Jewish

Consciousness of being Jewish	Jewish day school parents (%)	General school parents (%)
Although I was born Jewish I do not think of myself as being Jewish in any way	–	–
I am aware of my Jewishness but I do not think about it very often	3	13
I feel quite strongly Jewish but I am equally conscious of other aspects of my life	48	60
I feel extremely conscious of being Jewish and it is very important to me at all times	48	27
None of these	1	–
Total	100	100

Figure 8: Religious outlook

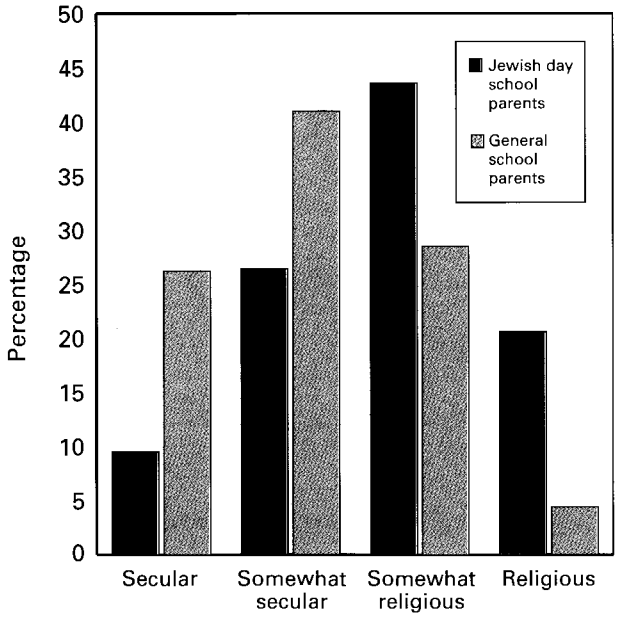
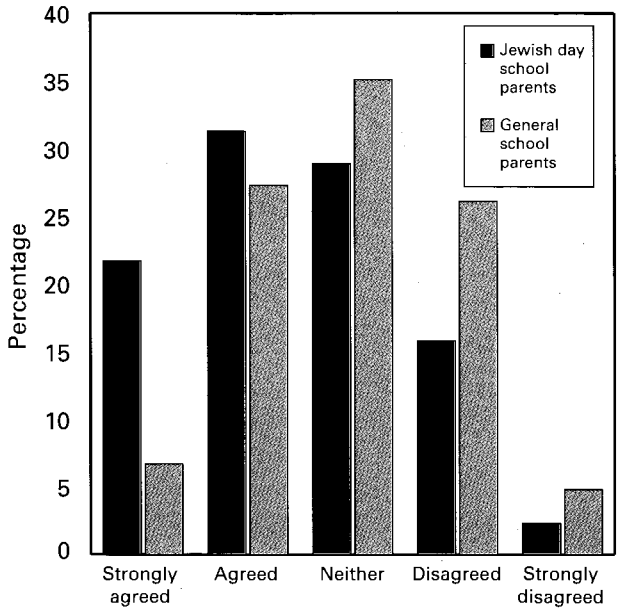


Figure 9: 'More Jewish education means less inter-marriage'

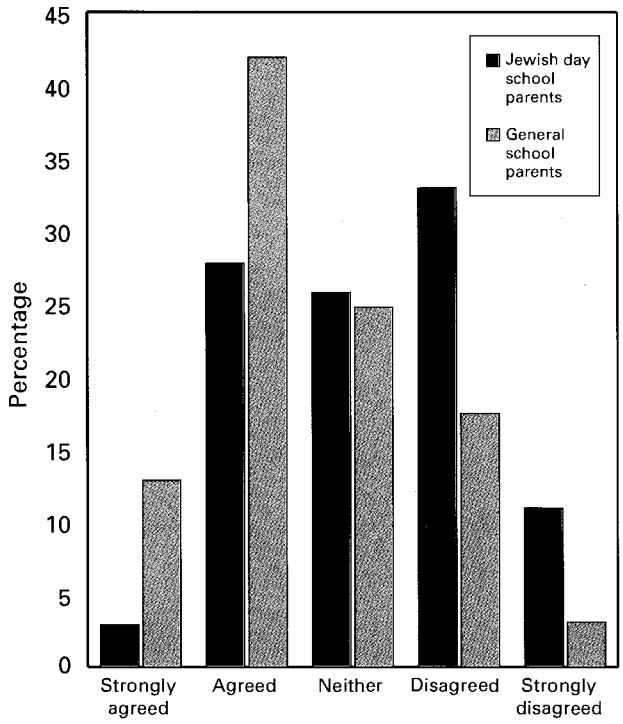


Attitudes towards Jewish education

Unsurprisingly, attitudes towards Jewish education—as with overall attitudes towards being Jewish—differed according to how parents had chosen to educate their children. The vast majority (87 per cent) of London Jewish parents wanted some formal Jewish education for their children: 95 per cent of Jewish day school parents and 82 per cent of general school parents. Similarly, 92 per cent considered it important that their children mixed in Jewish social groups (98 per cent of Jewish day school parents and 87 per cent of general school parents).

When it came to assessing the effectiveness of Jewish education, those who had chosen Jewish day schools were generally much more positive than general school parents. For example, only 14 per cent of general school parents strongly agreed with the statement 'the more time spent in Jewish education, the greater the knowledge about Judaism', whereas 37 per of Jewish day school parents agreed with it. Similarly, fewer than 1 in 10 general school parents believed strongly that 'the more time spent in Jewish education, the stronger the Jewish identity', compared with a third of current users of Jewish day schools. General school parents were also much more likely to question the effectiveness of Jewish education in limiting inter-marriage rates, and to consider that Jewish schools insulated children from the wider world (see Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 10: 'Jewish education insulates children from the real world'



In order to understand further the motivations of parents who had made the decision to educate at least one of their children in a Jewish primary school, several questions aimed only at these individuals were asked (n=270). These parents incorporated a large number of elements in the decision-making process, although a clear

Table 8: Factors influencing parental choice among users of Jewish primary schools

Factors	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Total (%)
Insufficient Jewish education at a general school	33	42	13	9	3	100
Logical follow-on from a Jewish nursery	25	41	21	12	1	100
Jewish day schools are protective	22	48	19	9	2	100
No practical or philosophical alternative	22	21	26	24	7	100
Jewish school is close by	18	40	21	16	5	100
Educational standards higher than alternative non-Jewish schools	10	33	34	18	5	100
Educational standards at state schools too low, and could not afford private education	6	18	29	34	13	100
Child expressed a preference	6	14	38	30	12	100
Educational demands at private schools too high	3	7	30	39	21	100
Fees at non-Jewish schools too high	1	7	35	35	22	100

hierarchy still emerged. As Table 8 illustrates, the idea that elicited most support (75 per cent) was the view that there was insufficient Jewish education at general schools. The second most important was that attending a Jewish primary school was a logical follow-on from being at a Jewish nursery. The third was that these schools were seen as protective. Interestingly, the view that Jewish primary schools have higher educational standards than general schools was only sixth on the list (although 43 per cent still agreed that this was important). The factors that were given least weight were the wishes of children themselves, the educational demands of private schools and the cost of paying for private education.

In regard to secondary education, the survey asked all respondents how far they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements about Jewish secondary education. For Jewish day school parents, the strongest support was expressed for the statement that Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost. Seventeen per

Table 9: Attitudes towards Jewish secondary education among Jewish day school parents

Statements	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Can't choose (%)	Total (%)
Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost	17	24	32	20	7	–	100
A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook	7	42	25	20	6	–	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils	7	41	22	19	11	–	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish Studies are on the curriculum	3	31	31	24	10	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if a child attended a Jewish primary school first	3	24	32	28	12	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society	3	16	32	29	19	1	100

Table 10: Attitudes towards Jewish secondary education among general school parents

Statements	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Can't choose (%)	Total (%)
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils	14	48	23	9	5	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society	13	36	29	17	4	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish Studies are on the curriculum	9	42	25	17	5	2	100
A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook	5	47	28	13	6	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if a child attended a Jewish primary school first	2	13	39	31	13	2	100
Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost	1	2	18	37	40	2	100

cent said that they strongly agreed with this, although more than a quarter disagreed or strongly disagreed. Interestingly, almost half of Jewish day school parents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that a Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook. This is the only option not currently available to parents, and a profile of those who supported such a concept is provided in the following section. Finally, only a fifth agreed with the statement that 'a non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society' (see Table 9).

General school parents once again differed in their priorities for their children (see Table 10). The statement they agreed with most strongly was that non-Jewish secondary schools would be fine if there were 'sufficient' Jewish pupils. Similarly, half these parents agreed or strongly agreed that for older children non-Jewish schools were desirable to help them prepare for contemporary society. Strong support was also expressed for the statement that non-Jewish schools were fine if they had Jewish studies on the curriculum. Note that this is already partly offered in twenty-nine general secondary schools in London and the South-east that run the JAMS (Jewish Activities in Mainstream Schools) programme organized by the United Jewish Israel Appeal and the Association of Jewish Sixth Formers. In addition, the United Synagogue Agency for

Table 11: Factors influencing choice of secondary education among Jewish day school parents

Factors	Very important (%)	Important (%)	Neither (%)	Un-important (%)	Very un-important (%)	Total (%)
School ethos	50	43	4	1	2	100
Number of other Jewish children at the school	27	49	17	3	4	100
Quality of teaching and academic standards	26	44	21	5	4	100
Chances of getting in	25	49	19	4	3	100
Views of friends	24	52	18	4	2	100
Fees	15	32	28	16	9	100
Geographical location of school	11	44	26	13	6	100
Quality of special educational needs provision	10	20	24	25	21	100
Multicultural nature of pupil body	4	28	42	19	7	100

Jewish Education runs a similar programme called Schools' J-Link that provides assemblies and classes in non-Jewish secondary schools. General school parents also expressed support for the idea of Jewish schools with a secular or cultural outlook; only 20 per cent disagreed in any way. In direct contrast with the views of Jewish day school parents, there was almost no agreement with the statement that Jewish children should attend a Jewish school irrespective of cost.

Finally, all Jewish parents whose children attended (or had recently attended) secondary schools were asked a battery of questions to discover the factors that influenced how they made their decisions. Table 11 details the responses of those who had educated their children at Jewish day schools (n=234). For these respondents, by far the most important factor was school ethos, with 93 per cent describing this as important or very important. The second most important factor was the number of other Jewish children, with quality of teaching and academic standards third. Interestingly, three-quarters considered both the chances of getting in and the views of friends as important or very important. Only 11 per cent considered geographical location to be very important (although a further 44 per cent stated that it was important). Bottom of this list was the multicultural nature of the pupil body, with only 4 per cent considering this to be very important and 28 per cent rating it as important. However, it should be noted that there was no question on whether parents preferred their children to be educated in a single-sex or co-educational environment. This may be an important factor in the parental decision-making process and contribute to the popularity of independent schools (see Tables 1–2), which tend to be single-sex.

Those parents who stated that their children were, or had recently been, only in general secondary schools (n=226) revealed a quite different set of priorities from those with at least one child in a Jewish school. General school parents rated quality of teaching and academic standards as by far the most important factor, with 98 per cent describing this as important or very important. Second was school ethos (91 per cent stated this was important or very important), followed by what parents had heard from friends (79 per cent). The multicultural nature of the pupil body was the sixth most important factor, with 11 per cent regarding this as very important and a further 56 per cent as important. Of interest is that only 10 per cent considered the number of other Jewish children as very important, although a further 47 per cent considered it important. The factors considered least important by general school parents were fees and special educational needs provision (see Table 12).

Table 12: Factors influencing choice of secondary education among general school parents

Factors	Very important (%)	Important (%)	Neither (%)	Un-important (%)	Very un-important (%)	Total (%)
Quality of teaching and academic standards	78	20	1	1	–	100
School ethos	51	40	8	0	1	100
Views of friends	23	56	17	3	1	100
Chances of getting in	18	58	19	4	1	100
Geographical location of school	17	60	16	4	3	100
Multicultural nature of pupil body	11	56	28	4	1	100
Number of other Jewish children at the school	10	47	30	11	2	100
Fees	10	26	32	18	14	100
Quality of special educational needs provision	10	17	24	26	23	100

3 A profile of Jewish parents by geographical location

The previous section outlined the characteristics and attitudes towards education of Jewish parents of school-age children living anywhere in the sampled areas of Greater London and the South-east. Inevitably, this picture is weighted towards the views of those living in Outer North-west London because more than half of the respondents came from this location. Nevertheless, London Jews are homogeneous in neither their economic and social characteristics nor their attitudes towards Jewish and general education. Because school education is still a place-based service, teasing out the differences between parents living in different geographical locations is of crucial importance to community and government planners. This section focuses on characteristics and attitudes towards Jewish *secondary* school education of parents living in three distinct geographical sectors of Greater London and the South-east: Outer North-west London, Inner North-west London and North-east London.

The Outer North-west area (n=443) includes places such as Borehamwood, Edgware, Radlett, Stanmore and Totteridge. This is the potential catchment area for any secondary school located in South Hertfordshire. Of this sample, 337 were living within the Greater London boundary and 106 were in South Hertfordshire. The Inner North-west area (n=225) includes Hampstead and

Figure 11: Areas sampled in Outer NW, Inner NW and NE London

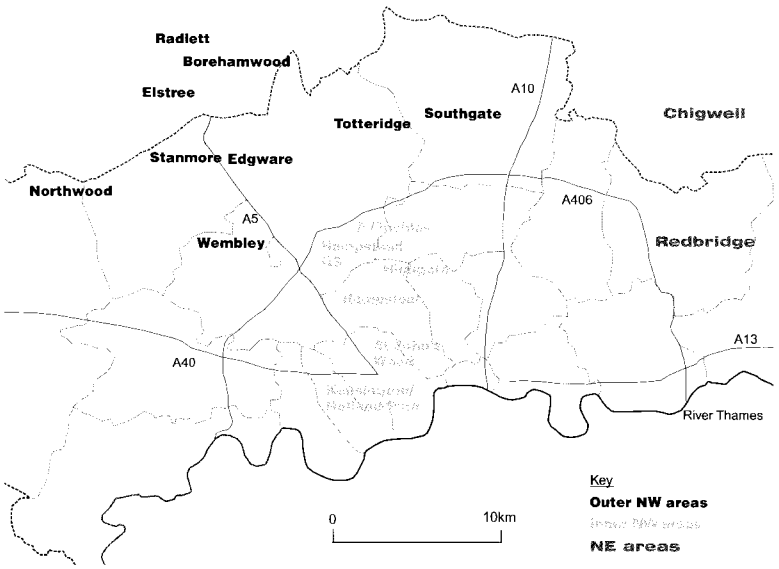


Table 13: Current educational choices of Jewish parents at primary level, by geographical location

Type of school	Outer NW London (%)	Inner NW London (%)	NE London (%)
Only Jewish state schools	33	7	36
Only Jewish independent schools	5	15	6
Only general state schools	18	14	27
Only general independent schools	26	49	14
Combination of schools	18	15	17
Total	100	100	100

Highgate, Holland Park and St John's Wood. The North-east area (n=115) covers Redbridge and South Essex (see Figure 11). Note that South London is not included in this breakdown because the response rate from parents in this area was too low to allow meaningful conclusions to be drawn. The response from North-east London was large enough to extrapolate some measure of this population, but the relatively low number of respondents means that the findings for this area are indicative rather than definitive. The number of responses from Outer North-west and Inner North-west London was large and robust enough to establish an effective profile of these populations and to gauge their attitudes towards education and schooling. Nevertheless, as with all samples, it is impossible to ascertain the views of those who decided not to respond to the survey, whose 'voices' remain unheard. However, it might reasonably be assumed that those who responded are more likely to be interested in communal Jewish affairs than those who failed to return their questionnaires and thus may be more likely to respond to appropriate community initiatives.

In terms of the current and recent primary schools attended by the children of the respondent parents, those in Inner North-west London were by far the most likely to choose general independent schools (twice as many opted for these than in Outer North-west London and three times more than in North-east London). In contrast, around a third of parents in Outer North-west and North-east London opted for Jewish state schools, compared with only 7 per cent in the Inner North-west sector (see Table 13).

At secondary level the picture is similar, although here there was far more likelihood of parents from each of the geographical locations choosing a combination of schools for their children (see Table 14). Nevertheless, of those who did stick to one type of schooling, parents from Inner North-west London were the most likely to choose independent general schools for their children, while those in the other two areas typically opted for Jewish state-sector secondary schools (most likely King Solomon for those in the North-east and JFS or Hasmonean for those in the Outer North-west). How the move and enlargement of JFS (formerly known as the Jews' Free School) from Camden in Central London to Kenton in Outer North-west London will affect this picture is not known; the questionnaire for this survey was sent out in February 2002, before the move took place.

Table 15 shows how the overall take-up of either state or independent options (i.e. excluding those who chose a combination of schools) was highly determined by geographical location. Only a quarter of parents in Inner North-west London sent their children to state schools, compared with over three-quarters of parents in North-east London. As Figure 12 shows, this pattern parallels income levels, with those parents in

Table 15: Proportion of Jewish parents opting for either state or independent schooling, by geographical location

Type of school	London area	State (%)	Independent (%)	Total (%)
Primary	Outer NW	62	38	100
	Inner NW	25	75	100
	NE	76	24	100
Secondary	Outer NW	49	51	100
	Inner NW	14	86	100
	NE	77	23	100

Table 14: Current educational choices of Jewish parents at secondary level, by geographical location

Type of school	Outer NW London (%)	Inner NW London (%)	NE London (%)
Only Jewish state schools	15	4	18
Only Jewish independent schools	4	5	2
Only general state schools	9	4	15
Only general independent schools	21	43	8
Combination of schools	51	44	57
Total	100	100	100

Figure 12: Annual household income, by geographical location

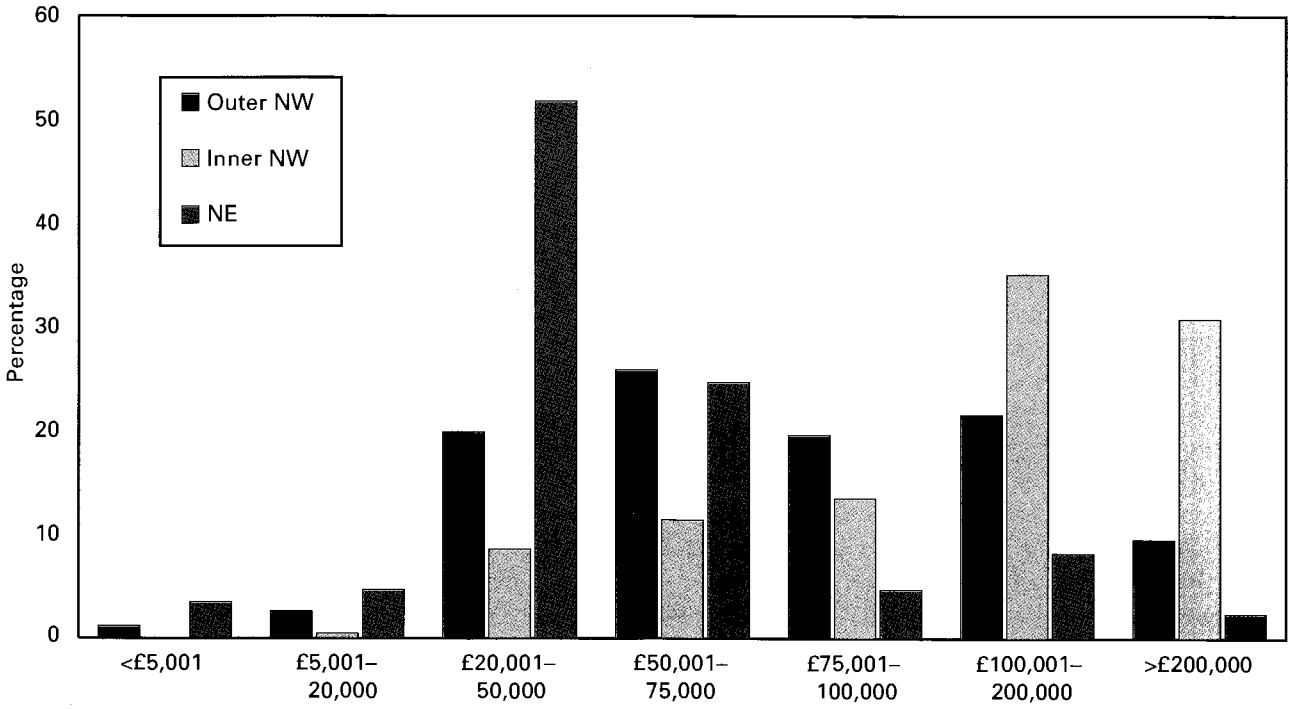


Table 16: Proportion of Jewish parents opting for either Jewish or general schooling, by geographical location

Type of school	London area	Jewish (%)	General (%)	Total (%)
Primary	Outer NW	46	54	100
	Inner NW	26	74	100
	NE	51	49	100
Secondary	Outer NW	39	61	100
	Inner NW	16	84	100
	NE	47	53	100

Inner North-west London the most likely to be able to afford the often-considerable costs of private education.

Table 16 highlights the geographically contingent nature of the decision to opt for either Jewish or general schooling. At both primary and secondary levels, around half of parents in North-east London opted for Jewish schools. In Outer North-west London just under half chose Jewish schools at primary level and two-fifths at secondary level. In Inner North-west London the take-up of Jewish education was markedly lower, with only a quarter choosing Jewish schools at primary level and only 1 in 6 at secondary level. The very low take-up of formal Jewish education in Inner North-west London suggests, on the one hand, a possible market for a Jewish-oriented secondary school. However, on the other hand, the very low take-up of state schooling highlights how parents here have the financial means to choose between different schools, and thus any Jewish school would have to survive in a highly competitive marketplace.

Socio-economic characteristics

In terms of household size and number of children, the three areas showed no statistical differences. With regard to marital status, the differences were also small, although parents in Outer North-west London had slightly lower rates of divorce or separation (5 per cent) than those in Inner North-west (9 per cent) and North-east London (7 per cent). However, economic status did vary greatly between the three sectors, with parents in Inner North-west London considerably wealthier than those in North-east London. Indeed, almost 80 per cent of those sampled in Inner North-west London had a combined household income greater than £75,000, compared with just over 50 per cent in Outer North-west London and only 15 per cent in North-east London (see Figure 12). Similarly, as regards general education, parents in Inner North-west London were almost twice as likely to have had at least a first university degree (68 per cent) compared with those in North-East London (37

per cent), while those in Outer North-west London were in between (although still highly educated), with 52 per cent having such a qualification.

Jewish attitudes, practices and upbringing

The Jewish upbringing of parents living in the three areas showed little variation, although those living in North-east London were slightly more likely to have had a 'just Jewish' childhood and less likely to have been brought up Orthodox. Similarly, parents from the different geographical locations showed relatively little variation in their own Jewish education, although those in Outer North-west London were slightly more likely to have been to a Jewish primary school (24 per cent) compared with respondents in Inner North-west London (21 per cent) and North-east London (19 per cent). At secondary level the pattern was more pronounced, with 21 per cent in Outer North-west London having attended a Jewish school as opposed to 16 per cent in Inner North-west London and only 10 per cent in North-east London.

While Jews across London seemed to have grown up in a similar range of backgrounds (primarily 'traditional', but also sizeable percentages of Progressive, 'just Jewish', non-practising and Orthodox), current practices were notably different. Across a whole range of indicators, Jews in Outer North-west London showed greater levels of attachment to traditional and Orthodox Jewish ways of life than those in Inner North-west and especially North-east London. This said, the vast majority of Jews across the three areas still performed many traditional Jewish practices, but they were not overly committed to following more exacting Orthodox requirements.

Seventy-eight per cent of respondents in Outer North-west London fasted every Yom Kippur; 74 per cent in Inner North-west London and only 48 per cent in North-east London. Similarly, only 11 per cent of Jews in Outer North-west London said that they would eat pork products at home, while the figure was 16 per cent in Inner North-west London and 23 per cent in North-east London. The majority of Jews described themselves as equally conscious of being Jewish and having other aspects to their life. However, almost two-fifths of those in Outer North-west London described themselves as extremely conscious of being Jewish, compared with less than a third in North-east London. When it came to travelling on the Sabbath, however, most Jews were willing to break this Orthodox prohibition (see Table 17).

Table 17: Willingness to travel on the Sabbath, by geographical location

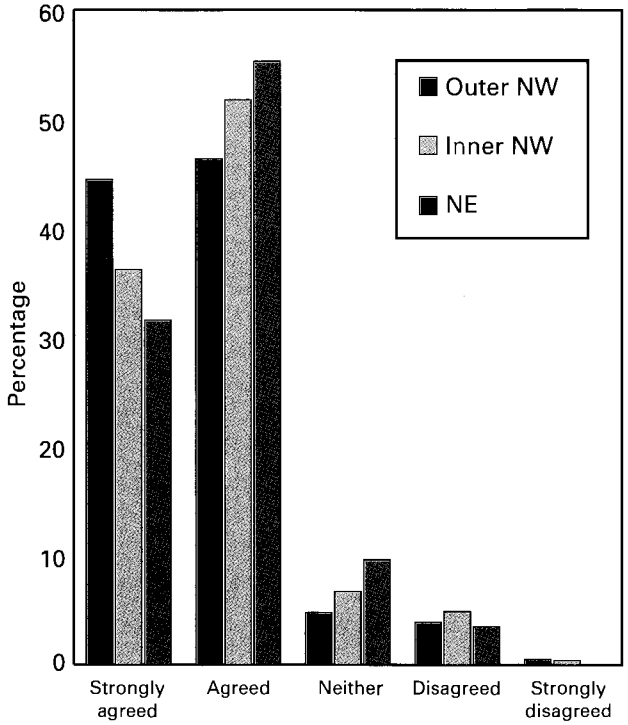
'Do you travel on the Sabbath?'	Outer NW London (%)	Inner NW London (%)	NE London (%)
Never	21	16	9
Occasionally	10	10	9
Frequently	69	74	82
Total	100	100	100

These variations are reflected in two further indicator tests that are worth noting. Table 18, which shows current Jewish practice, demonstrates that most Jewish parents across the three sectors described themselves as traditional, although those in Outer North-west London were more likely to be Orthodox and less likely to be Reform/Progressive, 'just Jewish' or non-practising than those in North-east London. Table 19 shows that Jewish parents across North London were most likely to be members of traditional, United Synagogue-style synagogues, although those in North-east London were more likely to be members of Progressive synagogues than parents in the other two areas. Note that the proportion of Jews who were members of Liberal/Reform synagogues in North-east London was at odds with known membership rates in this area and

Table 18: Current Jewish practice, by geographical location

Current practice	Outer NW London (%)	Inner NW London (%)	NE London (%)
Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	3	6	7
Just Jewish	14	13	20
Reform/Progressive	15	20	20
Traditional	50	48	44
Orthodox	15	10	5
Haredi	2	2	2
None of these	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100

Figure 13: 'Some formal Jewish education is important'



indeed with the profile of the non-parent population in the rest of the Greater London and South-east sample. This may reflect a higher proportion of Liberal/Reform synagogue membership among younger members of the North-east London Jewish community. However, it is more likely to indicate sampling bias associated with the relatively low number of respondents in this sector.

Table 19: Synagogue membership, by geographical location

Synagogue membership	Outer NW London (%)	Inner NW London (%)	NE London (%)
None	11	13	11
Liberal/Reform	15	17	30
Masorti	4	11	3
Mainstream Orthodox	55	49	41
Federation	8	2	9
Haredi	6	4	6
Other	1	4	–
Total	100	100	100

Attitudes towards Jewish secondary school education

As the previous section of this report detailed, parents were, in general, concerned that their children had some formal Jewish education. Figure 13 shows this data for all Jewish parents living in the three sectors, and indicates that parents in Outer North-west London had the strongest support for this concept.

Table 20: Attitudes towards Jewish secondary education among parents in Outer NW London

Statements	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Can't choose (%)	Total (%)
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils	11	44	21	15	9	–	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society	9	25	27	25	14	–	100
Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost	9	8	21	35	26	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish studies are on the curriculum	6	35	27	22	10	–	100
A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook	5	44	25	18	8	–	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if a child attended a Jewish primary school first	3	19	33	30	15	–	100

Table 21: Attitudes towards Jewish secondary education among parents in Inner NW London

Statements	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Can't choose (%)	Total (%)
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils	12	52	19	10	6	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society	9	32	32	19	6	2	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish studies are on the curriculum	8	41	29	16	3	3	100
A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook	7	46	30	12	3	2	100
Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost	3	3	21	35	37	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if a child attended a Jewish primary school first	2	21	38	29	7	3	100

As regards attitudes towards Jewish secondary school education, responses to the battery of questions asked of respondents revealed little diversity between the three sectors. For Outer North-west London the statement that elicited most agreement was that non-Jewish schools would be fine if there were sufficient Jewish pupils; more than half agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, while only a quarter disagreed in any way. Over half of these parents also agreed or strongly agreed with the idea that attending a Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook (although just 5 per cent strongly agreed) and only a fifth rejected this statement (see further discussion on this later). The statements attracting least support were that Jewish children should attend Jewish schools irrespective of cost (17 per cent agreed or strongly agreed with this statement) and that it would be fine for children to attend a non-Jewish secondary school if they had previously been to a Jewish primary school (22 per cent agreed or strongly agreed with this) (see Table 20).

As was the case with respondents living further out, parents in Inner North-west London registered the strongest support for the idea that non-Jewish secondary schools would be fine if they had sufficient Jewish pupils (almost two-thirds agreed or strongly agreed with this and less than a fifth disagreed or strongly disagreed). Support was also expressed for Jewish schools with a secular cultural outlook; more than half agreed in some way with this, although only 7 per cent strongly agreed. Parents in this sector also had little sympathy with the idea that Jewish children should attend a Jewish school irrespective of cost (6 per cent agreed or strongly agreed) and that a non-Jewish secondary school would be fine if a child had attended a Jewish primary first (see Table 21).

The pattern in North-east London again showed little variation from that reported in the other two sectors. The statements that gained most support were, once again, that non-Jewish secondary schools were fine if there were enough Jewish pupils and that attending a Jewish school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook (see Table 22).

Finally, only those parents with children aged 11–25 (i.e. whose children were attending or had recently attended secondary schools) were asked how a series of potential factors had influenced their decision-making. In Outer North-west London 228 parents had children of this age; in Inner North-west London the figure was 119, but in North-east London the number of respondents

Table 22: Attitudes towards Jewish secondary education among parents in NE London

Statements	Strongly agreed (%)	Agreed (%)	Neither (%)	Disagreed (%)	Strongly disagreed (%)	Can't choose (%)	Total (%)
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if it has sufficient Jewish pupils	13	47	22	14	4	–	100
A Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook	7	44	29	15	5	–	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is desirable to prepare a child for contemporary society	7	23	40	19	9	2	100
Jewish children should attend a Jewish secondary school irrespective of cost	5	7	28	36	23	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if Jewish studies are on the curriculum	4	38	29	24	4	1	100
A non-Jewish secondary school is fine if a child attended a Jewish primary school first	2	14	40	31	12	1	100

was too low to draw meaningful conclusions. Nevertheless, from a policy perspective, there is a realistic possibility of constructing a new secondary school with a Jewish ethos only in either Outer or Inner North-west London.

Table 23 shows the views of parents living in Outer North-west London, and here the importance of quality of teaching was paramount; only 3 per cent believed that this was not an important factor when choosing a secondary school. Second was school ethos (94 per cent believed this was important or very important) and third was the number of other Jewish children attending (25 per cent stated that this was very important and 49 per cent important). The

Table 23: Factors influencing choice of secondary education among parents in Outer NW London

Factors	Very important (%)	Important (%)	Neither (%)	Un-important (%)	Very un-important (%)	Total (%)
Quality of teaching and academic standards	72	25	2	0	1	100
School ethos	53	41	4	0	2	100
Number of other Jewish children at the school	25	49	17	5	4	100
Views of friends	24	52	17	5	2	100
Chances of getting in	23	54	16	4	3	100
Fees	18	33	26	13	10	100
Geographical location of school	12	51	23	9	5	100
Multicultural nature of pupil body	8	34	38	14	6	100
Quality of special educational needs provision	8	19	24	22	27	100

Table 24: Factors influencing choice of secondary education among parents in Inner NW London

Factors	Very important (%)	Important (%)	Neither (%)	Un-important (%)	Very un-important (%)	Total (%)
Quality of teaching and academic standards	78	19	1	–	2	100
School ethos	59	37	4	–	–	100
Views of friends	25	55	16	3	1	100
Chances of getting in	15	56	24	3	2	100
Number of other Jewish children at the school	15	51	27	5	2	100
Geographical location of school	14	55	20	8	3	100
Quality of special educational needs provision	13	14	23	31	19	100
Multicultural nature of pupil body	8	55	29	7	1	100
Fees	6	21	32	28	13	100

message from this data is therefore clear in its support for schools (either Jewish or general) that have sizeable numbers of Jewish children and are capable of providing a high quality of education. Interestingly, geographical location and the multicultural nature of the pupil body were given less emphasis, although 63 per cent viewed the former, and 42 per cent of the latter, as important or very important.

In Inner North-west London the support for schools with a high quality of education and a strong school ethos was stated even more emphatically than in Outer North-west London. Third on the list was what parents had heard about schools from their friends (80 per cent thought this important or very important). Very few parents thought that the multicultural nature of the school body was very important (8 per cent), although most considered it important (55 per cent). The impact of fees was given relatively little prominence, perhaps reflecting the affluence of parents in this area (see Table 24).

Potential for innovation?

The responses recorded in Tables 20–2 show the strength of agreement and disagreement for a series of statements about Jewish and non-Jewish schooling. All but one of these statements relate to choices available to parents and were designed to gauge attitudes to current forms of provision. However, the question as to whether or not parents agreed with the statement that 'a Jewish secondary school would be fine if it had a secular cultural outlook' relates to a type of schooling not currently provided in the United Kingdom. It was asked as a speculative question to gauge parental attitudes to options not currently available; all Jewish schools in this country are under the auspices of one or more of the synagogue bodies, and thus have (nominally at least) an Orthodox or Progressive religious educational approach. While the ethos of Jewish schools varies widely, no institution is currently designed to be secular cultural. Such schools do exist in Argentina, Canada and Israel, and emphasize language, culture and traditions rather than a particular religious approach. When asked about their views on such a school, around half of parents in all three geographical sectors agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that these schools would be fine (and between only 5 and 8 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed).

The following part of the report presents a profile of parents in both Outer North-west and Inner North-west London who stated that they agreed or strongly agreed with the idea of a secular cultural Jewish school. This profile is contrasted with the rest of the parents in these two sectors, who disagreed with the notion, were unable to give an opinion or (the vast majority) stated that they neither agreed nor disagreed. This last group of parents can arguably also be seen as potential clients of a secular cultural Jewish school since they did not reject such an option, although they did not record support for it either. However, they may

equally well have had no strong feelings about such a school, may have considered this type of education fine for other people's children but not their own, or perhaps have had no reference to express their support or otherwise because no such institution currently exists in this country. This final point is important to stress. The responses recorded in the following tables relate to a *hypothetical* situation in the United Kingdom. Parents were unlikely to have any personal experience of secular cultural schools and thus their opinions were not based on any direct evidence. Nonetheless, the high response rate (less than 2 per cent did not answer this question) indicates that parents did want to register an opinion and suggests the need for further investigation in this area.

Outer North-west London

Parents in Outer North-west London who agreed or strongly agreed with the idea of a secular cultural school (n=215) had an income profile that is almost identical to the other parents in the sector (n=221[19]). Nevertheless, supporters of these schools were less likely to follow Orthodox practices than the rest of the sector's parents, and were more likely to consider themselves to be traditionally Jewish.

Of parents supporting secular cultural schools, 26 per cent had been to a Jewish primary school when they themselves were children (compared with 23 per cent for the rest) and 21 per cent had been to a secondary school (the same as the rest of the sector). Every year on Yom Kippur 74 per cent always fasted (compared with 81 per cent) and only 15 per cent never travelled on the Sabbath (compared with 28 per cent). This pattern was repeated when respondents were asked to describe their current Jewish practice. This highlights how those who supported such a concept were very likely to consider themselves 'traditional' (54 per cent), Reform/Progressive (17 per cent) or 'just Jewish' (14 per cent). In contrast, those who did not register their support were more than twice as likely to be Orthodox or Haredi (see Table 25).

This profile is confirmed by analysing two of the questions asked about Jewish education. When

Table 25: Current Jewish practice in Outer NW London, by support for secular cultural Jewish schools

Current practice	Parents who agreed with secular cultural schools (%)	Other parents (%)
Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	3	4
Just Jewish	14	13
Reform/Progressive	17	14
Traditional	54	45
Orthodox	10	20
Haredi	1	4
None of these	1	0
Total	100	100

asked whether some formal Jewish education was important, around 9 in 10 of both sets of parents agreed or strongly agreed that it was. Nevertheless, those who supported secular cultural Jewish schools were less likely to state they strongly agreed with this idea (40 per cent) compared with the rest of the parent sample in this sector (48 per cent). When asked whether they thought Jewish day school education insulated children from the real world, 48 per cent of secular cultural Jewish school supporters agreed or strongly agreed that it did, compared with 41 per cent of the rest of the sample. Finally, it is important to note that 54 per cent of those who agreed with the idea of a secular cultural Jewish school were not currently sending their children to Jewish schools (the figure for the rest of the sample was 47 per cent). This suggests that a sizeable proportion of Jews in Outer North-west London who were not currently educating their children in Jewish schools might, under the right circumstances, be persuaded about the merits of this type of education.

Inner North-west London

In Inner North-west London, 108 parents stated that they agreed or strongly agreed with the idea of secular cultural Jewish schools and 92 did not. This relatively low number of respondents means that the following analysis is less reliable than that for Outer North-west London, but the data are still included as a guide to parental characteristics and attitudes. Those who supported the idea of a secular cultural Jewish school had lower household incomes than the

19 Excludes those parents who did not answer the question.

Table 26: Current Jewish practice in Inner NW London, by support for secular cultural Jewish schools

Current practice	Parents who agreed with secular cultural schools (%)	Other parents (%)
Non-practising (i.e. secular/cultural)	6	7
Just Jewish	12	14
Reform/Progressive	22	19
Traditional	50	44
Orthodox	10	11
Haredi	–	2
None of these	–	3
Total	100	100

rest of the parents in this sector; 54 per cent of the former earned £100,000 or more, compared with 74 per cent of the latter group. In terms of their Jewish characteristics, supporters of secular cultural schools were more likely to have been educated in a Jewish school themselves and to follow traditional practices at home.

When asked about their own education as a child, 25 per cent of secular cultural school supporters had attended a Jewish primary school and 18 per cent a Jewish secondary school. The respective figures for the rest of the parents in the sector were 19 per cent and 13 per cent. Similarly, 78 per cent of secular cultural supporters fasted every year on Yom Kippur and 14 per cent never travelled on the Sabbath, compared with figures of 70 per cent and 15 per cent for the rest of the sample. When asked about their current Jewish practices, the first group of parents were slightly more likely to describe themselves as 'traditional' (50 per cent) compared with the second group (45 per cent), although there was a slightly higher proportion in this latter group who described themselves as Orthodox or Haredi (see Table 26).

On the question of whether or not some formal Jewish education was important, 92 per cent of those supporting the idea of secular cultural schools agreed or strongly agreed that it was, with the figure for the rest of the sample being 83 per cent. In terms of whether or not Jewish day school education insulated children from the real world, 46 per cent from the first group agreed that it did, compared with 48 per cent from the second. When asked to record the type of education their children were currently receiving, 69 per cent of those who supported the notion of a secular cultural school were not opting for Jewish schools, with the figure for the rest of the parents in the sector being 73 per cent. This again indicates that a school with a non-denominational ethos could draw in children from families who may not otherwise consider education in a Jewish day school.

4 Discussion

The data collected by the JPR national survey include a large and robust sample of Jewish parents living in Greater London and the South-east. Analysis of the questions on demography, Jewish characteristics and attitudes towards education provides an extremely detailed picture of their needs and wants. Arguably for the first time, educational planners in the Jewish community now have much of the information they require to be able to plan services that meet the needs and wants of their current users, as well as to attract potential new 'clients'.

Following the educational reforms introduced by the Conservative Party in the 1980s and 1990s—and continued apace by the current New Labour government—formal schooling is, more than ever, predicated on a market model. Parents are positioned as consumers, with schools supposed to be competing to attract them through their ability to provide appropriate and high-quality services. Recently, the government has (not without considerable controversy) extended its support for increased state funding for faith-based schools, which it sees as being able to deliver good academic results in a context that is valued by many parents.[20] Nevertheless, the educational landscape is anything but a perfect market. Schools—especially primary schools—deliver their services at the local level, which means that parents are effectively able to choose only those facilities that can be reached within a reasonable length of time. Another factor is that, despite the presence of league tables and OFSTED reports into school performance, parents still often base their judgements on the views of close friends and relatives rather than on any objective assessment of the available 'facts'. Schools with the best reputations are also very often oversubscribed, with little scope to extend their provision without a costly move to new premises. Many Jewish schools in London report being oversubscribed, with parents facing difficulties in gaining places for their children in their preferred school unless they already have a sibling present.[21] Moreover, most Jewish schools in London operate according to *halakhic* entrance criteria, thus ruling out children who are not considered to be 'authentic' Jews by Orthodox authorities. Finally, parents generally have to accept schools as an entire package: for example, while they may be impressed with a school's academic record, they may be less sure about how it caters for children with special educational needs or the effectiveness of its multicultural education.[22] Nevertheless, parents cannot pick and choose different elements from schools and, as such, there may be parts of school policy that they do not like but have little power to change.

Formal education is as much about supply as it is about demand, especially in an uneven market. In Greater London, the supply of Jewish schools has increased dramatically since the 1950s, with the number of schools (and the amount of children attending them) doubling every generation. The vast majority of these schools have been established under the auspices of Orthodox synagogues, although more recently three Progressive primary schools have been set up (in Finchley, Redbridge and South Hertfordshire). The increase in the number of Jewish day schools, together with localized pressure for more schools—especially a secondary school to cater for pupils attending the two new primaries (one Orthodox, one Progressive) in South Hertfordshire—has led to plans for the construction of more facilities. Nevertheless, at a time when Jewish education is largely seen as being at a crossroads, and where demographically there may be a decline in the number of Jewish children available to attend such schools,[23] it is important to take stock of what is

20 See Department for Education and Employment, *Schools: Building on Success* (Norwich: Stationery Office 2001); Department for Education and Science, *Schools Achieving Success* (Norwich: Stationery Office 2001); Oliver Valins, 'Defending identities or segregating communities? Faith-based schooling and the UK Jewish community', *Geoforum* (forthcoming 2003).

21 See Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg. However, not all Jewish schools are oversubscribed. For example, the Ilford Jewish Primary School has recently changed from being a three-form to a one-form entry due to competition from the recently constructed Progressive school, Clore Tikva. The consequences of a falling roll have led to the government education inspection unit, OFSTED, placing it in 'special measures' to try and improve standards ('Ilford school fails ministry inspection', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 September 2002, 3).

22 For an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of multicultural education in Jewish day schools, see Short.

23 Rona Hart, Marlena Schmool and Frances Cohen, *Jewish Education at the Crossroads* (London: Board of Deputies of

currently being provided. The demographic shift from a 'seller's' market for Jewish schools to a 'buyer's' market for parents is likely to have profound implications for the landscape of Jewish day schools. Especially at secondary level, parents reveal a great capacity to choose between different schooling options and to make choices that most suit the individual aspirations and abilities of their children. As such, it is important to consider how and why current provision is structured as it is, and how any future provision should be focused.

The first empirical section of this report painted a picture of two quite different sets of London Jewish parents. The first comprised those who had chosen to educate at least one of their children in a Jewish primary or secondary school. These parents were well educated, with reasonable earning levels, although a third of households had joint incomes of less than £50,000 a year. Similar to all London Jewish parents, households were predominantly composed of a married couple with between one and three children. Most of these parents had a traditional upbringing, but there was also a marked rise in those who considered themselves Orthodox or (less so) Haredi. Nevertheless, despite very high levels of synagogue membership and the following of traditional practices, such as attending a seder meal or lighting candles on a Friday night, most did not adopt the more exacting Orthodox standards. For example, two-thirds were willing to travel on the Sabbath, just less than half said that they ate non-kosher meat outside of the home and only 4 in 10 attended synagogue most Sabbaths or more often. Perhaps the most revealing piece of information concerning this population is the 50–50 split between those who described themselves as quite strongly Jewish but were equally conscious of other aspects of their lives and those who felt extremely conscious of being Jewish, which was very important to them at all times.

Jewish day school parents were generally positive about the effects of Jewish schools on the Jewish identity of their children, although a sizeable minority accepted that these institutions insulated children from the real world (not necessarily a pejorative judgement). In terms of primary education, their principal motivations were the lack of Jewish education in general schools, the follow-on from nursery schools and the protective environment provided. With regard to secondary education, they valued most of all the ethos of schools and the number of other Jewish children in attendance. This latter point is supported by the fact that almost half agreed with the idea that 'non-Jewish secondary schools are fine if there are sufficient Jewish pupils'.

The second set of parents comprised those who had chosen not to educate their children in Jewish schools or had children aged under 5. They generally lived in smaller households, were more likely to have a degree or diploma and earned more than Jewish day school parents. Their backgrounds were not dissimilar to Jewish day school parents, but they were more likely to describe their current position as non-practising, 'just Jewish' or Progressive, although the majority still categorized themselves as 'traditional'. They were very likely to attend a seder meal every year and most lit candles on a Friday night, but the vast majority were willing to travel on the Sabbath and were unlikely to be regular synagogue attendees (although they were likely to be synagogue members). Most described themselves as being equally conscious of being Jewish and of other aspects of their lives, although just over a quarter considered that being Jewish was very important to them at all times.

As regards attitudes towards education, the vast majority of general school parents wanted their children to have some formal Jewish education and to mix with other Jewish children. They tended to be fairly sceptical about the effects of Jewish schools on Jewish identity and levels of inter-marriage, with most believing that they insulated children from the wider world. They prized quality of teaching and academic standards when choosing secondary schools for their children, followed by school ethos and information gleaned from friends. Together, the views of both sets of parents reveal much that is extremely relevant to community planners. From the first group, it is clear that while they were mostly positive about the effects and

British Jews 2001). This report projected that, because of a decline in the birth rate of the Jewish community, by 2015 in Greater London there would be an equal number of (non-strictly Orthodox) Jewish children and actual places for them in Jewish day schools. In other words, London Jewish schools would remain full only if every single (non-strictly Orthodox) Jewish child in the capital chose to attend one of them. Nevertheless, this report did not factor in the effects of immigration—anecdotally, there has recently been an increase in the number of Israelis moving to London—nor did it determine which geographic areas in the capital are likely to witness growth and which may suffer decline.

effectiveness of Jewish day schools, for a majority the mostly Orthodox ethos of these institutions was out of kilter with their day-to-day lives. Many of the Jewish practices taught and promoted by these schools, such as observing Sabbath laws and eating only kosher food, did not tally with the children's experiences at home. It appears that parents predominantly chose these schools—at least at primary level—because they wanted their children to have a better Jewish education than they could receive in informal Jewish synagogue classes and because they wanted them to mix with other Jewish children. They also saw these schools as the next step on from nursery schools, emphasizing the value to Jewish community planners of promoting early-years education.

From the second group, it is clear that while many simply wanted their children to go to school with other Jews and perhaps to have some formal Judaic element while they were there, there was also support for Jewish schools as long as they could be shown to satisfy certain requirements. This is important because it shows that many parents currently sending their children to general schools do not regard the Jewish 'brand' as problematic. If their children were to attend Jewish schools they would need to have very high academic standards and top-quality teaching. Parents would also need to be convinced that these schools were capable of providing an education that could adequately prepare pupils for contemporary society. With Jewish schools having a somewhat patchy record on this latter point,[24] the data suggest *possible* opportunities for a school (or schools) in sympathy with these needs and wishes. The success or otherwise of such schools would depend on convincing enough parents of their value, attracting the overall numbers to make them viable and having the financial support to ensure that they could provide the highest quality of academic, sporting and other facilities to meet the aspirations of parents and pupils.

The second empirical section of the report focused on the characteristics and views of parents living in three geographical sectors of Greater London and the South-east: Outer North-west, Inner North-west and North-east London. The findings from each sector stand alone in terms of profiling the potential constituent markets for any community educational planning. Nevertheless, there are interesting comparisons. On average, parents in the Inner North-west sector were the wealthiest and had the highest levels of secular education, while those in the North-east had the lowest socio-economic status (although findings from the North-east need to be viewed with some caution because of the smaller size of the sample). In response to a whole range of Jewish practice indicators—from willingness to travel on the Sabbath to avoiding pork products—there was a clear trend, with parents in Outer North-west London being more likely to follow traditional and Orthodox ways than those in Inner North-west London, who in turn were more likely to observe these ways than parents in North-east London. Nevertheless, even in Outer North-west London only a fifth of Jewish parents were *shomer shabbat* (fully observed Orthodox rules of the Sabbath).

As regards secondary education, the views of parents in the three geographical locations did not vary a great deal, with responses tending to fall in between those reported for Jewish and general school parents detailed in the previous section. Parents agreed most strongly that non-Jewish secondary schools were fine if there were enough Jewish pupils. Interestingly, however, around half of the parents in each of the three sectors agreed or (less likely) strongly agreed with the idea of Jewish schools with a secular cultural outlook. Constructing a profile of these parents shows that in Outer North-west London they had similar income levels to other parents living in the same geographical sector, but that they were more likely to consider themselves 'traditional' and far less likely to be Orthodox. In Inner North-west London supporters of secular cultural Jewish schools had lower household income levels, were more likely to have attended a Jewish school when they were children and were more likely to be 'traditional' (but less likely to be Orthodox) than other parents in the sector. Arguably of most interest, however, is the fact that, of those parents in Outer North-west London who suggested they might support a secular cultural school, only 46 per cent were currently sending at least one of their children to a Jewish day school. In Inner North-west London only 31 per cent of such parents were currently sending at least one of their children to a Jewish school. This further suggests that parents who send their children to general schools might

24 See Short.

be tempted by a Jewish school that they felt was closer to their personal level of Jewish beliefs and practices. In any case, the response of parents to this question highlights the need for further investigation.

Overall, this report has attempted to provide detailed attitudinal data on what Jewish parents want for their children. It has sought to access their 'voices' in order to gain a clearer picture of how community planners can best meet the needs and wants of current and potential 'clients'. As with all surveys, it is limited in that it registers the views only of those who chose to complete the questionnaires. It is also unable to translate people's *stated* desires into what they would actually be willing to *do*. It offers no information on the total numbers of parents who may be willing to choose a particular schooling option, that is, on whether there is the critical mass of parents necessary to make any potential educational establishment viable. This said, the survey does provide, arguably for the first time, information that is directly relevant to communal planners to help them more effectively meet the educational needs of the London Jewish public.

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