

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

A CASE STUDY OF THE MODERN ORTHODOX AND ULTRA ORTHODOX SECTORS  
OF JOHANNESBURG JEWRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR EDUCATIONAL  
INSTITUTIONS

A dissertation  
presented in Fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

by

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## ABSTRACT

The study aims to portray the way of life and culture of the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox sectors of Johannesburg Jewry. It strives to show how this is translated into educational systems, and examines the attitudes and values of pupils at Johannesburg Jewish religiously orientated schools both towards their own education, as well as towards elements of Jewish and secular culture. An overview of Johannesburg Jewry is presented, and Jewish educational systems in Johannesburg are outlined. Although much of the study is descriptive and ethnographic, the focal point is the statistical analysis and discussion of the responses to a questionnaire which was administered to 159 pupils of four religiously orientated high schools. An overriding conclusion is that the samples exhibit a common pride in their Jewish heritage. The general level of religious practice and belief of the pupils of each school corresponds with that subgroup of Johannesburg Jewry with which the school is aligned. Thus the Ultra Orthodox are more comprehensive in religious practice than the Modern Orthodox. The level of religious practice of the pupils often exceeds that of their parents. This implies that the schools are, in certain cases, operating contra parentem.

To Riva

"An accomplished woman, who can find?" (Proverbs 31:10)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. PREAMBLE

Within the context of its host society South African Jewry has changed in composition over the last several decades. This period has witnessed the growth of the Ultra Orthodox community as well as consolidation of an already influential Modern Orthodox sector. Religious Jews have generally become more assertive within the mainstream community which, in turn, have become more receptive towards religious thinking.

Accompanying the successes of the Orthodox Jewish movements, was a mobilization of resources to create or develop schools which were aimed at inculcating traditional religious values. With the increasing acceptance of the religious community, these schools are likely to act as developers of role models of the wider Jewish community in South Africa. The values and attitudes of the students of these schools will help to preserve Jewish religious values within the country.

## 1.2. CONSIDERATIONS OF METHODOLOGY

There is a paucity of research into South African Jewish education and communities. With the exception of a comparative psychological study of cultural mediation within the Ultra Orthodox and Orthodox communities in Johannesburg(1), no research whether theoretical or empirical, has to the researcher's knowledge, been done on the religiously orientated schools in Johannesburg.

In addition, it is difficult to obtain insights from elsewhere as there is a gross lacuna in the domain of empirical Jewish education research in the Diaspora.

Cohen(2) writes:

....little empirical research has been devoted to the religious school's effectiveness in their sum area of emphasis. Though theoretical works abound, there have been few attempts to collect data and analyse the effects of parochial schools in general, much less Jewish schools in particular.

However, even if research had been conducted in the area of Jewish education in other countries, it would only have provided guidelines on the trends in South Africa. As Rivkin(3) states: "Each Jewry has its distinctive profile. Each has its specific problems of identity".

This research aims to develop an understanding of the behaviour patterns, aspirations and attitudes of the religious Orthodox communities. It will do so by a comparative study of the Modern and Ultra Orthodox communities and, in particular, by examining the respective school systems in some detail.

The study comprises two major sections. In the first section, the available information about each of the sectors and their respective schools is presented. Since few academic works are available in this area, the researcher gathered data from newspaper and magazine articles, circulars, brochures, prospectuses, school progress reports, notice-boards, minutes of meetings, graffiti and interviews of active members of the communities.

In addition, being of the Jewish religious persuasion, the researcher utilised the techniques of participant observation. He held a dual role as a neutral, detached observer and as a participant "owning a role"(4) in the community and educational system. The latter was by virtue of the fact that for most of the fieldwork he resided in Johannesburg. In addition, he was for a time a science teacher at two of the schools surveyed, namely, Yeshiva College Boys High School and Leila Bronner Girls High School(5).

This approach, which is rather eclectic, may be characterized as being largely ethnographic. Ethnography is distinguished from other types of research, in that the hypotheses, problems and issues are not formulated at the outset, but develop in the course of the study itself. It goes beyond a formalistic treatment of a social phenomenon and setting. Its perspective is eclectic and holistic in that it considers the wider array of interrelated factors impinging on the social phenomena(6).

The exploratory nature and flexibility of such an approach, is illustrated by Wolcott(7).

Ethnography is best served when the researcher feels free to "muddle about" in the field setting and pursue hunches or to address himself to the problems that he deems interesting and worthy of sustained attention.

....one is free to discover what the problem is rather than obliged to pursue inquiry into a predetermined problem that may in fact exist in the mind of the investigator.

A methodological problem was that this study could emerge as a purely subjective report(8). In order to override bias, a "convergence of evidence"(9) repeatedly confirmed the results. In the second part of the research, a more empirical measure was applied in which responses were elicited from the subjects themselves. Furthermore, the duration of time spent in the field far exceeded the minimum period of one year as participant observer as recommended by Bruyn(10). Finally, the nature of the participant observer role complied with criteria enumerated by Gans(11). The researcher not only lived in the city of the investigation, but boarded and lodged at Hillel House, the "headquarters" and prime venue of an Ultra Orthodox community's public and cultural functions. He attended public functions and gatherings of all the religious communities and conducted formal and informal interviews with pupils and members of the communities on innumerable occasions.

The second part of the study draws on insights obtained earlier. It formalises them into discrete domains of interest and describes an empirical survey of students at selected schools.

While the first part is of necessity largely descriptive, the second section is more analytic, attempting to draw inferences about the characteristics of the religious sectors.

In its entirety, this document may be thought of as using a neo-ethnographic approach(12) combining inductive qualitative methodology with a qualitative anthropological design.

### 1.3. THE STUDY- KEY TOPICS

Included in the first part of the study are references to the following key areas: The origins and emergence of contemporary Orthodox South African Jewry and the determinative legacy of its Anglo-Lithuanian forebears; The religio-cultural affiliation of the mainstream non-observant Orthodox South African Jew; The way of life, ideology and impact of the religious-Zionist Modern Orthodox subgroup and its Bnei Akiva - Mizrahi Organization; The essential characteristics of the Ultra Orthodox subgroup and its constituent communities, including the South African Lubavitch movement which follows a Chassidic approach; A survey of Jewish education systems in Johannesburg: The "national-traditional" educational systems under the auspices of the South African Board of Jewish Education, the Modern Orthodox orientated schools of the Yeshiva College campus, and the Ultra Orthodox schools loosely affiliated with the Kollel organization and the Lubavitch Torah Academy schools; The Yeshiva educational system is also discussed. Finally, curriculum, pedagogy and knowledge at the religious schools and the interrelationship between the religious and general studies curricula are investigated.

The second part of this thesis presents the findings of the questionnaire. The attitude and behaviour patterns of the pupils are grouped into the following concept areas: Jewish identity; Jewishness of immediate environment - the home and peer group; Schooling; Extra-mural leisure activities; Israel and Zionism; and South Africa. Finally, the emergent trends and findings are integrated into a concluding section.

## CHAPTER 1 NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Redhill, K.J. 1983. Cultural Mediation and Cognitive Development in Two Johannesburg Communities. M.A. dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.
2. Cohen, S.M. 1974. 'The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice'. Jewish Social Studies. Vol 36. p.316.
3. Rivkin, E. 1976. 'The Crisis of Identity in the Dynamics of Jewish Life'. Jewish Education. 45(1):11.
4. Lutz, F.W. and Ramsey, M.A. 1974. 'The Use of Anthropological Field Methods in Education'. Educational Researcher. III(10):6.
5. Since February 1982 to date the researcher has been a resident of Yeoville, Johannesburg. The researcher taught at Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner for approximately 18 months, from June 1984 to December 1985.
6. Steinberg, B. 1983. 'Ethnography and Ethnicity - The Study of a South African Greek Community'. South African Journal of Sociology. 14(2):37.
7. Wolcott, H. 1976. 'Criteria for an Ethnographic Approach to Research in Schools'. Schooling in the Cultural Context. Roberts & Akinsanya (Eds.). New York: McKay. p.25.  
Anthropology and micro-sociology are especially prominent in Chapter 8, where curriculum, pedagogy and knowledge at the Johannesburg are investigated.
8. Since the ethnographic approach is interpretative by its very nature, it is impossible to complete as a value free exercise.  
Kaplan, D. and Manners, R.A. 1973. Culture Theory. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
9. Becker, H.S. 1970. 'Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation'. Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World. Filstead, W.J. (Ed.). Chicago: Markham. p.195.
10. Bruyn, S.T. 1970. cited in Bullivant 1978b. 'Towards a Neo-Ethnographic Research Methodology for Small Group Research'. The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology. XIV(3):245.
11. Gans, H.J. 1962. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press. p.338.

12. Bullivant, B.M. 1978a. The Way of Tradition: Life in an Orthodox Jewish School. Melbourne: Australian Council for Education Research. p.229.

The approach is compatible with the view of Bechhofer who has argued that there is no best method or single method of social investigation. He follows Denzin who advocates for a variety of methods to be used in the study of a social situation. Finally, Martins considers that eclecticism is the prevalent mode of sociological research.

Bechhofer, F. 1974. 'Current Approaches to Empirical Research: Some Central Ideas'. Approaches to Sociology: An Introduction to Major Trends in British Sociology. Rex. J. (Ed.). London: Routledge, Kegan Paul. pp.70-91.

Denzin, N. 1970. The Research Act. Chicago: Aldine.

Martins, H. 1982. Cited in Bullivant 1978b. op.cit. p.249.

For a paper on Jewish educational research, see:

Chazan, B. 1983. 'Research and Jewish Education'. Studies in Jewish Education. Vol. 1. Chazan, B. (Ed.). Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University. pp.9-19.

CHAPTER 2.    THE ORIGINS AND EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY  
SOUTH AFRICAN ORTHODOX JEWRY

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

As is the universal case in the Diaspora, Jewish communal and institutional structure is influenced by the summation of conditions pertaining in the host country. The degree of acculturation will vary among different sectors of the Jewish community, but even the sector likely to be most strongly anchored in its own Jewish tradition - the Orthodox establishment - is subtly influenced at points by the prevailing norms of the majority culture(1). South African Jewry is no exception to this rule, and its educational institutions can thus best be considered within the general societal context. Apart from this setting, the Jewish community, its historical evolution and contemporary form, is the essential frame of reference for any study of its educational systems. In this respect again South African Jewry is no exception.

## 2.2. CONTEMPORARY DEMOGRAPHIC AND STATISTICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Within the unique cultural and ethnic structure of South African society, the Jewish community of some 119 000 souls occupies a special position. According to recent statistics(2), the total South African population of 24 885 960 comprises 16 923 760 blacks, 2 612 780 "coloureds" of mixed racial origins, 821 320 Asiatics and a European population of 4 528 100. Jews thus comprise approximately one half of a percent (0,48%) of the population as a whole.

They comprise less than 2,6% of the white population, a high proportion in comparison with the Jews of other lands. It compares, for example, with a similar corresponding estimate of 2,5% for the

Jewish population of the United States of America, as the highest for any Diaspora Jewish community(3).

The Yiddish of the East European immigrants has gradually yielded to English as the first language. The Jewish community is almost exclusively English speaking, although many Jews are bilingual, speaking Afrikaans as well as English. There have been some Afrikaans Jewish writers, but it is in English that Jewish South Africans have made their major contributions to South African culture. On account of Afrikaans being a compulsory subject in all grades at South African schools, including the Jewish day schools, Jewish children are growing up with at least a reasonable standard of fluency in Afrikaans. However, English is the medium of instruction in the Jewish schools in the secular subjects.

Most Jews live in the large towns. Johannesburg, the locus of this study, with a Jewish community of 63 620(4) is the centre of Jewish life in the country. When significant religious trends emerge, they tend to do so in Johannesburg as it is the germinal centre of South African Judaism generally(5). Cape Town has a Jewish population of 28 600(6). The remaining Jewish centres, for the most part, are concentrated in major urban centres, such as Durban, with 6 420 Jews, Pretoria with 4 600, Bloemfontein with 500 and East London with 420(7). The once numerous small, isolated and vibrant country communities scattered in the small towns, villages and farms of South Africa's vast platteland (rural areas) are now substantially diminished in number and many have disappeared altogether. The 1970

figure of 98,6% of the South African Jewish population who live in towns attests to the decided tendency towards urbanization during the past few decades(8).

The Jewish population as a whole has stopped increasing. In the mid-thirties it was still increasing at nearly 3% per annum. By 1970, that growth rate had shrunk to less than 0,3%(9) and has by now probably entered a negative trend(10). South African Jewry has become an increasingly geriatric group for over the last half-century the proportion of Jews aged 60 years or more has increased from 5% to 20% (11). Probably the most important factor affecting the socio-demographic character of the Jewish population since the 1970's has been emigration. Since the official statistics do not indicate religion or population group, the exact number of Jews who emigrated cannot be ascertained(12).

The South African Jewish community is both a better educated and more affluent one than its immigrant forebears. In proportion to its size, it has a larger number of university graduates than any other ethnic group. Over the last half-century the professional and administrative sector of the Jewish work force rose from 12% to more than 40%(13). The occupations of law, medicine and accountancy have proved particularly attractive(14). According to the latest census data, 28% of the economically active Jewish population are employers in contrast to only 12% of the total white population(15).

### 2.3. JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A noteworthy feature of the South African Jewish community in its relatively short history. An organized community has only existed for the past century and a half. Lack of documentation makes it impossible to ascertain the rate of assimilation or religio-communal sentiments of the first Jewish settlers who took root in the seventeenth-century(16) from 1652 until about 1800. Most of these individuals of Jewish extraction did not profess their original faith but had been converted to Christianity(17).

The first authenticated records of Jewish settlers date back to the 1820's when some Jews were among the pioneers who made their way through the vast territories of the Cape of Good Hope(18). The few thousand British and other Western European Jews who immigrated to South Africa between the early 1800's and 1880 laid the foundations of organized Jewish congregational life. South African Jewry's pioneer congregation, "The Society of the Jewish Community of Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope" was established in 1841 by a group of Jews of English and German origin. In Hebrew it was appropriately called Tikvath Israel (Hope of Israel). Subsequent years saw the founding of a small number of other Hebrew congregations and the erection of synagogues in other parts of the country. Facilities traditionally associated with the synagogue came into being - for example, burial grounds were consecrated and philanthropic institutions known as Gemilut Chesed were established(19). The congregations which were established form the bedrock of today's Orthodox communities and the structure of its communal institutions. The majority of the Jewish immigrants from

Britain were anglicized prior to their arrival. They accordingly integrated well into the increasingly dominant British group, especially manifest in the Cape Colony(20). These early settlers must have assimilated fairly rapidly into the non-Jewish majority, however, since few, if any, present day descendants of these families regard themselves as Jews(21).

The forebears of today's Jewish community came in two main streams during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The first wave of immigration was triggered by the great watershed of South Africa's economic history - the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1867 and of rich gold deposits in the Transvaal in 1873(22). The resultant influx of immigrants and prospectors, particularly to the Transvaal, included a substantial number of Jews who were generally of British and Central European origin. They contributed further to the development of communal institutions. By 1890, when the population of Johannesburg was first enumerated, approximately one-tenth of a total of 10 000 white people were Jewish(23).

The second, which was also the largest and most important immigration, came from the intensely Jewish environment of the villages and ghettos of Eastern Europe. This new factor in Jewish immigration was to make a decisive impact on the development of South African Jewry from the opening decades of this century. The East European element was notably of Lithuanian Jews, especially from the provinces of Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, and northern Suwalki and from the Russian areas of Vitebsk, Minsk and Mogilev(24).

Powerfully stimulating this wave of mass emigration from Eastern Europe was an event that took place almost concurrently with the discovery of gold in South Africa, namely, the Russian pogroms(25). The exodus headed primarily for North America, a far smaller number to England, and from there to South Africa, enticed by the lure of the recently discovered gold. Subsequently, as the tale of opportunity and prospects for wealth gathered strength, a larger number of Jews came to this country directly from Eastern Europe. So numerous was this influx of Lithuanians that South Africa was described as a "colony of Lithuania"(26). A hallmark of the contemporary South African Jewish community is the pride in its ancestry. The composition of South African Jewry was considerably altered by this wave of Yiddish-speaking immigrants. During three decades (1881-1910) some 40 000 East European Jews had immigrated to this country(27). The Jewish population was swelled from about 4 000 in 1880 to 38 101 in 1940 and 49 926 by 1911, so that it totalled 3,7% of the entire white population(28). Immigration continued until the Quota Act of 1937 reduced it drastically.

#### 2.4. CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWISH SETTLERS

In order to understand how these arrivals by their weight of numbers and closeness to traditional Judaism, were to set their stamp upon the broad pattern of South African Jewish life, adapting it to local conditions and the then dominant English culture, reference must be made to their cultural characteristics. Unlike their earlier coreligionist immigrants, they brought an invaluable contribution to the existing community, for they possessed an innate devotion and a

deep attachment to Jewish learning, Jewish traditions, and generosity to charitable causes(29). Most had suffered extreme poverty and persecution of an extent exceeded only later during the Holocaust. Gitlin(30) describes some of the artifacts of the intensely traditional way of life which the immigrants had led in Eastern Europe and which they brought to South Africa:

They travelled steerage to South Africa and they presented a pitiable sight as they landed at the Cape Town docks with their cheap, shabby suit-cases or with the bundles which contained all their worldly belongings. Yet among the pots and pans and the samovars, the family photographs and the feather-beds which were seldom absent from those dreary pieces of luggage, there were invariably other things too: a pair of Sabbath candles, a kiddush cup, a chalah cloth - and books. Books in Hebrew and books in Yiddish, sacred books and secular books, copies of Hebrew journals ...

These were an indication of the future role of the immigrants in deepening and strengthening Jewish cultural and spiritual life in South Africa(31). A salient part of their "spiritual baggage" and the most enduring legacy of these immigrants was their strong allegiance to Zionism, which persists as a notable characteristic of South African Jewry.

#### 2.5. ELEMENTS OF THE ANGLO-LITHUANIAN LEGACY.

The Lithuanian Jews, or "Litvaks", as they were generically described enlarged existing communities and helped to form new ones. By 1910, when the Union of South Africa was established, the framework of the present-day network of communities had been established, with important centres in Johannesburg and Pretoria in the Transvaal, Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, Durban in Natal and Cape Town

and Port Elizabeth in the Cape. There were smaller congregations spread out across the Witwatersrand and along the south coast, while isolated Jewish traders were to be found in almost every village.

The different streams of immigration have left indelible marks on South African Jewry. To understand how the Lithuanian influence came to manifest itself in South African Jewish life, it is necessary to refer to the previous patterns of authority and communal organization. As a result of the virtual monopoly of the English element in controlling leadership positions, the character of the most communal institutions had tended towards the British model. The synagogues too, like the charitable organizations, the South African Board of Deputies and the Zionist societies, bore the stamp of the Anglo-Jewish forms rather than those of the self contained Lithuanian hamlet. This was because the foundations had already been laid before the influx of the East European Jews. Thus, the pulpits of the major synagogues were occupied mainly by ministers trained in Britain or who had gained their formative experience there. Moreover the mode of prayer in the major synagogues was based on that of the United Synagogue in London(32). The Chief Rabbi of Britain was initially regarded as the spiritual head of South African Jewry.

In the early days of the twentieth century, an amalgam of the Orthodox tradition of the Eastern Europeans and the English pattern of Orthodoxy could be discerned. An example of this mélange was evident in the Yeoville synagogue in Johannesburg, which as early as 1924, had men and women together in its choir(33). This was but one practice

which did not conform to the standards with which the East European Jews were familiar.

In its stress on the building of imposing synagogue edifices, South African Jewry does not differ from other middle class western Jewish communities(34). The English influence persists today in some of the larger synagogues where it is customary for the honorary officers to wear pin striped suits and top hats. The sermon is delivered in English during the Sabbath and festival services(35).

By the 1930's, children of the East European settlers had emerged into the leadership echelons of the community. The passing of the religious congregational lay leadership into their hands resulted in the integration process in the East European synagogues which had separated themselves from the Anglo-Jewish synagogues, leading inexorably back to resemble the Anglo Jewish mould. The "Litvaks" gradually became so acculturated to the Anglo-Jewish pattern that by the 1930's the synagogue warden's place of honour in front of the prayer platform was usually occupied by a tophatted Litvak in true Anglo-Jewish style(36).

The adaptation however was not always smooth. The arrival of the Eastern Europeans ushered in a period of communal conflict. The spirit of rivalry and overt hostility can be ascribed to the juxtaposition of different streams of immigrants with different languages, cultural backgrounds and religious traditions. The East European immigrants regarded the English as heathenish and ignorant, while the English

considered the "Litvaks" rude and unmannerly(37). Institutionally, the communal conflict ushered in by the Eastern European immigration was first reflected in the religious sphere(38). A large number of independent congregations with a homogeneous membership of immigrants and with strong parochial ties with their home towns and villages came into existence(39).

The establishment of separate institutions catering for cultural and religious differences took place in many of the major centres such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban. Sometimes, Jews from Eastern Europe differed in terms of what constituted Orthodox practice. Many of the newcomers were acutely unhappy with the atmosphere in the established synagogues of the Yahudim(40) and founded new ones of their own(41). A noteworthy example could be seen in Johannesburg at the turn of the nineteenth century. The Johannesburg Orthodox Hebrew Congregation was founded in 1891, only four years after the establishment of the Witwatersrand Hebrew Congregation. The "modernist and reform tendencies" of the J.O.H.C's minister was the apparent cause of the dissension(42). Parts of the ritual differed from that of the Russian immigrants - for example, they could not understand the sermons which were delivered in English(43). The new synagogue in Fox Street became known as the Greener Beth Medrash(44).

Thus, while the flavour of Jewish life in the community was profoundly influenced by the "Litvak" background, the forms remained essentially Anglo-Jewish. The process and consequences of the super position of a

solid "Litvak" ethos upon the Anglo foundations has been described as a "case of pouring the Litvak spirit into the Anglo-Jewish bottles"(45). This unique blend, resulting from the interaction of "Litvak" and English elements, is reflected today in the corporate character of mainstream South African Jewry in the following examples: the institution of a Chief Rabbi(46), the Anglo-Jewish patterns of worship, the structure of its communal institutions, the predominance of Orthodox congregations, the pre-eminent influence of Zionism within the country and the strong attachment to East European piety and respect for traditional Jewish scholarship.

The predominantly Lithuanian background of South African Jews, and their consequent identification as Mitnagdim(47), accounts for the almost total absence of Jews of Chassidic background coming to South Africa(48). It was only in 1972 that the congregation of the Chassidic synagogue came to constitute a Chassidic sub-community.

Similarly, the East European's lack of involvement with Reform Judaism, which was a central and western European manifestation, meant that Reform or Progressive Judaism was established far later in South Africa than in many other western countries. When it finally emerged in 1933, the mode of Reform Judaism was more moderate than that practiced in America. Furthermore, from the outset, South African Reform adopted a completely Zionist approach (49).

## 2.6. THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEW: THE PRE-EMINENCE OF ZIONISM

The impact of the Zionist movement has probably been greater on the South African Jewish community than upon any other of the English-speaking communities(50). An ever-increasing proportion of South African Jews have expressed their identity in Zionist rather than conventional Orthodox religious forms(51). Zionism in its South African context has served as an "anchor for Jewish ethnicity"(52). How can this deep involvement of South African Jews in their national liberation movement be explained?

A common explanation of Zionist strength within the community is to postulate that it is a function of the insecurity of living in a potentially anti-Semitic and volatile multiracial society(53). This could very well be the subliminal motivation underlying South African Jewry's pre-disposition to Zionism. However, this theory does not take into account the apparent preference of South African Jewish emigrants for the U.S.A., Canada and Australia, above Israel as a place of residence(54).

The unique strength of Zionism in South Africa can be more accurately ascribed to the following factors and circumstances:

### 2.6.1. The Anglo-Litvak Legacy

The allegiance of the Lithuanian settler to Zionism is illustrated by the fact that the establishment of the local Zionist society, in many instances, preceded the formation of the local congregation(55).

Many were members of the Chovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) societies which mushroomed after 1881 in Russia(56). The life and imagination of East European Jewry was inspired by the first Zionist congress held in Basle in 1897(57). The remarkable precedence of Zionism in South African Jewry can be explained, in part, in terms of the East European legacy.

#### 2.6.2. The Broader Environmental Context

A clearly defined ideology of Zionism providing an expression for Jewish life was also a function of the socio-political environment which encouraged a national mode of identification for the Jews.

- (i) The Dutch-Afrikaner sector of the white population was particularly close to the Old Testament. They felt that their own historical experience and travails was analogous to that of the Jew's history of chosenness and suffering(58).
- (ii) Zionism was also fostered by the legitimacy and endorsement of nationalism by the Afrikaner(59).
- (iii) Somewhat in contradiction to (i), local xenophobic tendencies harboured by the host society(60) were instrumental in encouraging the Zionistic orientation of South African Jewry. Helping to produce an environment conducive to Zionist endeavour was the conspicuous absence, in the country as a whole, of any pervading doctrine of homogeneous South Africanism. On the contrary, external labelling was imposed on each ethnic entity

by a plural conscious Afrikaner - "the Jew was a Jew, not an Englishman and certainly not an Afrikaner"(61). The Afrikaner, in carefully and militantly defending his own eiesoortigheid (cultural distinctiveness) respected that of the Jew(62).

It is noteworthy that the Zionist Federation was the first body to achieve a country-wide organization framework and is today without doubt the largest Jewish organization of the African continent(63).

CHAPTER 2. THE ORIGINS AND EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICAN  
ORTHODOX JEWRY. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Lipset, S.M. 1963. 'The Study of Jewish Communities in a Comparative Context'. Jewish Journal of Sociology. 5(2):157-166.
2. Population Census 1980: Sample Tabulation Social Characteristics Report No. 02-80-02, Pretoria: Republic of South Africa Central Statistical Services. p.122.
3. American Jewish Year Book 1984. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.
4. Population Census 1980. op.cit.
5. Hellig, J. 1985. 'South African Jewish Orthodoxy: A Model for Survival?' Paper delivered to Council for the World's Religions. August 25-29, 1985. Hotel Hertenstein, Hertenstein, Switzerland.
6. Population Census 1980. op.cit.  
No figure is given here for Port Elizabeth. The 1970 figure for the Port Elizabeth metropolitan area is 2954.  
Population of Cities, Town and Rural Areas. 1970. Pretoria: Government Printer.  
There has been the virtual halting of Jewish immigration since the outbreak of World War II. Indeed, there has been a certain amount of emigration, particularly to Israel and Britain. Since 1960 a small-scale two-way migration has continued, with some immigration from Central Africa and more especially from Israel. In 1982 the number of permanent Israeli settlers were estimated to be between 15 000 and 30 000.  
de Lange, N. 1984. Atlas of the Jewish World. Oxford: Phaidon Press, p.223.
7. Population Census 1980. op.cit.
8. Dubb, A.A.; Della Pergola, S. 1978. 'Geographical Distribution and Mobility'. South African Jewish Population Study Advance Report No. 9, Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University.  
A classic example is the town of Oudtshoorn which at the height of its boom due to the ostrich feather industry had such a colourful and flourishing Jewish community that it was called "the Jerusalem of South Africa". Kimberley and Witbank are also cases in point.  
Saron, G. 1965. 'The Making of South African Jewry'. South African Jewry 1965. Feldberg, L. (Ed.). Johannesburg, p.21.
9. Dubb, A.A.; Della Pergola, S. and Tal, D. 1978. South African Jewish Population Study. Advance Report No. 3. 'Demographic Characteristics'. Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University.

10. Arkin, M. 1984b. 'The South African Zionist Federation and Our Community Today - Problems and Priorities'. 38th S.A. Zionist Conference August/September 1984. Conference brochure. Based on the text of an address to the Executive Council, S.A. Zionist Federation, 14 May 1984.
11. Dubb, A.A. Della Pergola, S. and Tal, D. op.cit.
12. Although, with other sections of the population, there has been a steady stream of Jewish emigrants since the late 1940's, an emigration of an especially high magnitude occurred after the 1976 unrest in Soweto and other black townships.  
See: de Lange, N. 1984. op.cit. p.223.  
Dubb, A.A. 1984. 'Demographic Picture'. South African Jewry - A Contemporary Survey. Arkin, M. (Ed.). 1984. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. pp.38-41.  
Sunday Times. 30 August 1981. p.5.
13. Arkin A. cited in Arkin, M. op.cit. pp.2-3.
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.*
16. Shain, M. 1983. Jewry and Cape Society. Cape Town: Historical Publication Society, *passim*.
17. Saron. op.cit. pp.9-18.
18. See: Herrman, L. 1955. 'Cape Jewry before 1870'. The Jews in South Africa - A History. Saron, G. and Hotz, L. (Eds.). Cape Town; London; New York: Oxford University Press. pp.1-16.
19. See: Abrahams, I. 1968. 'The First Century of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation'. Pathways in Judaism. Cape Town: Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. pp.287-291.  
Saron, M. op.cit.
20. See: Elazar, D.J. 1983. 'Jewish Frontier Experiences in the Southern Hemispheres. The Cases of Argentina, Australia and South Africa'. Forum. Spring 1983. 48:76-90.
21. Casper, B.M. 1981. 'The Beginngs of Jewish Life in South Africa'. Jewish Life. Adar 5742. Winter 1981/1982. pp.27-37;  
Dubb A.A. 1977. Jewish South Africans: A Sociological View of the Johannesburg Community. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.
22. Especially the main reef at Roodepoort in 1818.  
See: Muller, C.F.J. (Ed.). 1981. 500 Years: A History of South Africa. Pretoria, pp.244, 283.

23. Hotz, L. 1955. 'Contributions to Economic Development'. The Jews in South Africa: A History. Saron, G. and Hotz, L. (Eds.). 1955. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. p.358.
24. Shimoni, G. 1980. Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. p.7.
25. With the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, a wave of pogroms spread in the general reactionary and repressive policy adopted by the Russian government on the accession to the throne of Alexander III.  
Gershater, C. 1955. 'From Lithuania to South Africa'. Saron & Hotz, (Eds.). op.cit. p.65.
26. Sokolow, N. cited in Gershater. op.cit. p.61.  
Sokolow was the famous Zionist leader and historian.
27. Gershater. op.cit. p.61.
28. Shimoni. op.cit. p.5.
29. Gershater. op.cit. pp.61, 64.
30. Gitlin, M. 1950. The Vision Amazing. Johannesburg: The Menorah Club. p.12.

For explanations of the Hebrew and Yiddish words used in this study, please refer to the glossary (Appendix I). In addition, non-English words are occasionally translated in the main text or in the notes at the end of a chapter.

31. The East European Jew's closeness to traditional Judaism is highlighted by Chief Rabbi Casper:  
However much they toiled for worldly goods, they found their real contentment in following the advice of the Sage Rabbi Meir, to "be busy in the Torah". Thus the synagogue was for them not only a House of Prayer but, much more, the House of Study, - the Beth Hamedrash, and evening by evening, after a hard day's work, they eagerly foregathered to hear The Blat expounded, - and taste the intellectual bliss of Talmudic argument and discussion.  
Casper, B.M. op.cit. p.30.
32. Aschheim. op.cit. p.202;  
Shimoni. op.cit. p.12.
33. Hellig, J. 1984. 'Religious Expression'. South African Jewry - a Contemporary Survey. Arkin, M. (Ed.). 1984. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. p.99.
34. Aschheim. op.cit. p.216.
35. Hellig. op.cit.

36. Shimoni, M. op.cit. p.18.
37. Herrman, L. 1935. A History of Jews in South Africa. Cape Town, Johannesburg: South African Jewish Board of Deputies. p.262.
38. Aschheim. op.cit. pp.202-203.
39. Saron, op.cit. pp.21.  
Aschheim, op.cit.
40. A perjorative Yiddish term connoting assimilationist Jews.
41. Shimoni. op.cit. p.13.
42. Rabinowitz, L.I. 1955. 'The Transvaal Congregations'. Saron & Hotz (Eds.). op.cit. pp.168-169.
43. Katz, M.E. 1980. The History of Jewish Education in South Africa 1841-1980. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Faculty of Education, University of Cape Town. Vol I. p.87.
44. See: Sowden, D.L. 1955. 'In the Transvaal till 1899'. Saron & Hotz (Eds.). op.cit. pp.149-164.
45. Saron, G. 1963. 'The Organization of South African Jewry and its Problems'. The Jewish Journal of Sociology. 5(1):35.
46. The community originally turned to the British Chief Rabbi for assistance and guidance. His opinions were largely respected and in his authority real. The authority of the Chief Rabbinate in London gradually diminished in the course of the years. In 1915, Rabbi Dr Judah Leib Landau was appointed as the first Chief Rabbi of the Johannesburg United Hebrew Congregation. This newly instituted position was directly modelled on the British system. However, unlike the situation in England, the Office of the Chief Rabbi possesses neither legal nor statutory force. The authority of the South African Chief Rabbi does not depend, to a large extent, on the institutionalized prestige of his office. In the South African case, the incumbent can determine his authority over religious and communal affairs through his ability, personality and charismatic presence. It is to be noted that the Cape Town community, because of its seniority and geographical distance from Johannesburg (1 400 km) previously never totally acknowledged this position and till recently had its own Chief Rabbi.  
Aschheim. op.cit. p.216.  
Newman, J. 1968. 'Jewish Religious Life in South Africa'. South African Jewry. (Second Edn. 1967/68). Johannesburg: Fieldhill, p.49.  
Casper, B.M. 1983. 'Reflections see the Past and the Future'. Federation of Synagogues of South Africa. Golden Jubilee 1933-1983. 10th National Conference. A commemorative brochure. Johannesburg. 1983. p.8.  
Aschheim, op.cit. p.216.

- See: Liebman, C.S. 1975a. 'Dimensions of Authority in Community'. Understanding American Judaism. Neusner, J. (Ed.). New York: Ktav and Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith. Vol. 2. pp.131-140.  
Hellig 1985. op.cit. p.4.
47. From the time of Rabbi Elijah the Gaon eminent religious leader, of Vilna, "Litvak" Jewry was the stronghold of the traditionalist Mitnagdim (literally opponents) who vigorously opposed the Chassidic social and religious trend in Judaism.
48. Shimoni. op.cit. p.18.
49. Shimoni. *ibid.* cited in Cohen, S. 1984. 'The Historical Background'. Arkin (Ed.). 1984. op.cit. p.4.  
By a peculiar coincidence both Rabbi I. Kossowsky whose appointment was designed to strengthen the right wing of the Orthodox community, and Dr. M.C. Weiler who came to found the Reform Movement in South Africa, reached its shores within a month of one another, and the pattern which the religious activity of the community now provides was established.  
Rabinowitz L. 1960. 'On the Religious Scene'. Jewish Affairs. 15(5):48.
50. In a personal memoir, Reform minister David Sherman, originally from America, notes:
- From the moment of my arrival [Cape Town, 1946] I became aware of the strength of local Zionist sentiment. South African Jewry is the most devoutly Zionist community in the Western World. Indeed, it has been said that the religion of the South African Jew is Zionism.
- Sherman, D. 1984. Pioneering for Reform Judaism in South Africa. Cape Town: Temple Israel. p.9.  
See: Arkin, M. 1984a. 'The Zionist Dimension'. Arkin, M. (Ed.). 1984. op. cit. pp.79-83.
51. Saron, G. 1963. 'The Organisation of South African Jewry and its Problems'. Jewish Journal of Sociology. V(1):39.
52. Dubb, 1977. op.cit. pp.1-6.
53. Sachar has articulated this "insurance policy" theory: "Zion was more than a cultural centre for World Jewry; for the threatened Jews of South Africa it was nothing less than a reserve homeland!"  
Sachar, H.M. 1958. The Course of Modern Jewish History. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. pp.509-510.
54. See Aschheim, 1970. op.cit. p.210.
55. Dubb, A.A. 1984. op.cit. pp.38-41.

56. Rabinowitz, L.I. 1977. 'How South African Jewry has Helped to Build Israel'. South African Jewry 1976-1977. Feldberg, L. (Ed.). p.479.
57. Shimoni, 1980. op.cit. p.19.  
It should be noted that the origins of South African Zionism cannot be exclusively ascribed to the East European immigrants. Many of the English Jews were also Zionists and had developed Zionist organizations and societies.  
Gitlin, M. 1950. op.cit. p.14.
58. See: Laqueur, W. 1972. A History of Zionism. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. p.60.
59. General J.B.M. Hertzog wrote the following to a Jew in his constituency during the 1924 elections which brought the Nationalist Party into power with him as prime minister:
- As to the question of Zionism, you know that we Nationalists look at it as the cornerstone of all true nationalism. I cannot, therefore, but rejoice at the great national movement amongst the Jewish people, which would ensure to them their ancient heritage and inspire them with that national pride to which they are so justly entitled.
- Gitlin, op.cit. p.294.
60. See: Shain. op.cit. passim.
61. Cited in Abrahams, I. 1968. Pathways in Judaism. Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. p.257.
62. Shimoni, G. 1971. 'The Future of the Jewish Community in South Africa'. Jewish Affairs. 26(1):8.  
This was in stark contrast to the melting pot expectation of American society of that era. In that society the shedding and undermining of educational and cultural differences was a pre-requisite for the cultivation of an emergent composite American dominant culture.  
Chaim Weizmann, first president of Israel, noted the resultant of the "Litvak" legacy and a societal environment militating against assimilation. On his visit to South Africa in 1932, he was to observe:
- I found myself in an unusual Jewish community scattered over a wide subcontinent in small groups, but united in Zionist spirit South African Jewry was singularly free from the so-called assimilationist taint ...I met many types of modest, quiet working workers to whom Zionism was the whole of their existence.
- Weizmann, C. 1949. Trial and Error. London: Hamilton pp.427-428.
63. Arkin, M. 1984a. op.cit. p.81.

CHAPTER 3

ORTHODOXY IN JOHANNESBURG

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

Jewish Orthodox religious expression in Johannesburg is not uniform. It manifests in an entire continuum of belief, commitment and practice. Until the 1970's, South African synagogal institutions were characterized by the predominance of the non-observant Orthodox Jews. While not maintaining the practical observance of Jewish ritual, they are certainly traditional in sentiment. The arrival in 1969 of a contingent of English rabbis from Gateshead, and the founding of a Chassidic movement by an American rabbi in 1972, has resulted in the emergence of an Ultra Orthodox sector of Johannesburg Orthodoxy. In addition, the resurgence of Orthodoxy in the Jewish world, especially since the 1970's is manifest in the proliferation of a Modern Orthodox sector. These two observant sectors must be considered within the wider context of the South African Jewish community.

### 3.2. AN INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

In 1933, the Johannesburg-based Federation of Synagogues was formed. It had jurisdiction over the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal(1). In 1982, the Federation had 76 affiliated congregations with a total membership of approximately 13 000 families(2). In 1984, the Federation had approximately 70 synagogues, country-wide, affiliated to it(3). In March 1986, the Federation of Synagogues and the United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of the Cape amalgamated to become the major governing body of Orthodox religious affairs(4). Today, the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa represents the most extensive form of synagogal organization in the country(5). The Federation might well have started as "a loose coalescence with little

sense of collective purpose"(6) but today the organization into which it has merged has a decisive programme for regulating much of the local Orthodox religious life. It provides essential services for its affiliated congregations and attends to the needs of the many dwindling outlying communities whose inhabitants are translocating to the large centres or emigrating(7).

The founders of the Federation of Synagogues were particularly concerned about creating an ecclesiastical court whose status and authority would be accepted as the supreme rabbinic authority of South African Jewry. Today the Beth Din enjoys international status and prestige. Although the rabbinic judges are appointed by the Federation of Synagogues, they function with complete autonomy and without interference in their religio-legal decisions(8).

The Beth Din is concerned with all matters falling within the scope of Jewish religious life. The supervision of dietary services is one of the most exacting and demanding aspects of its work. The Federation has set up a vast organization to administer, control and supervise ritual slaughtering, the production of a plethora of manufactured foods, and kosher catering for functions. This attests to the dietary laws being an essential factor in the preservation of Orthodox Judaism.

The Beth Din also conducts adjudication and arbitration of private disputes. Besides seeking religio-legal rulings, those who bring litigation to the Beth Din are motivated by an aversion to having to resort to the civil courts. They feel it out of place for the gentiles

to be privy to any conflict or strife between Jew and Jew. Another main function of the Beth Din is the granting of bills of divorce. In 1981, the Beth Din granted 104 bills of divorce(9). The processing of divorces involves much painstaking and time consuming work, and contact with Beth Dins and rabbinic authorities throughout the world. The Beth Din is also responsible for the performance of conversions to Orthodox Judaism.

### 3.3. THE NON-OBSERVANT ORTHODOX

The East European basis of religious life does not mean that the present generation is even nearly as observant as its forebears. In South Africa, as in the United States(10), Britain and other western countries, the social context within which the immigrant Jews had to eke out a living, was at variance with traditional values and practices. By contrast, within the communities of Eastern Europe, the masses had managed to attain employment without desecrating the Sabbath. In the new environment where Sunday was designated as the day of rest, full participation of those seeking gainful employment was demanded during the other days. The self-employed justified the desecration of the Sabbath by their fears of economic insolvency. A consequent shedding of Jewish religious practices developed, causing many Jews to become alienated from the observance of Orthodox Judaism. The abandonment of many religious practices was further aggravated by the lack of ritual slaughterers and circumcisers as well as as exposure to new frequently appealing cultural influences(11).

Today, six decades and two generations removed from Eastern Europe, South African Jews are highly acculturated to the host society. Yet many customs and religious practices persist. Dubb holds the view that the persistence of these customs is not an expression of religious commitment and feeling, but rather an expression of Jewish identity. He maintains that there is little congruence between religious beliefs and practices. Thus people who observe few taboos, rituals or other rules, may have strong religious feelings, while conversely, those who believe very little will tend to observe at least some practices(12). Herman, in his study of American Jewish students in Israel arrives at the same judgement - namely, that religious observance is motivated primarily by a desire to identify as Jews, rather than by religious considerations(13).

Officially, the term Orthodoxy is a label for those Jews whose way of life is based upon the principles of Torah Judaism. The rank and file of South African Jewry, with the exception of a small minority comprising the Rabbinate and a small observant stream, do not subscribe to the norms of the Halacha. The average observance is more aptly classified as fitting into a "conservative" pattern(14). In this study, the criterion for a Jew being Orthodox, is a nominal affiliation to an Orthodox synagogue. This accords with Liebman's definition of Orthodox Jews in his study of Orthodox Jews of America(15).

In order to evaluate the scope of religious practices among the rank and file of South African Jewry, the expressive symbols and prescribed

activities of the "ritualistic dimension"(16) of Orthodoxy must be examined. The following statistics(17) governing this aspect supports the view of religion having a central role as a means of identification for South African Jews.

### 3.3.1. Synagogue Attendance

In 1974, 77,1% preferred the Orthodox type of synagogue, while 16,6% supported Reform temples. The ratio Orthodox to Reform was computed at 82,1%(18). The importance attached to synagogue affiliation is reflected in the fact that in 1973, 74% of South African Jews were actually members of a synagogue(19). However, synagogue membership and attendance ratios are not to be interpreted as an expression of the religiosity of South African Jews. In fact, there was a considerable discrepancy between synagogue affiliation and service attendance. Dubb(20) has suggested that synagogue affiliation is considered as the minimum expression of formal structural identification with the community. Furthermore, the religious motivation may, in many cases, be subordinate or even totally absent. Nevertheless, his statistics point to the centrality of the synagogue as being the core of community identification. The synagogue is the sole institution in South African Jewish life to elicit such a wide following(21).

The pattern of synagogue attendance was related to the major Jewish holydays: An absolute majority of the Jewish population aged 15 and above appeared at synagogue functions at least a few times a year. At the two extremes of this spread, 17,4% of Jews did not attend at all while 16,5% attended at least every sabbath, besides all festivals(22).

The frequency of synagogue attendance was affected by demographic characteristics of the population. It was higher among males than among females: 20% of males against 13% of females attended at least weekly, while 15% against 20% never attended(23). Variation by age was affected by the fact that the older generation were more traditionally orientated, but there was also a higher number of disabled persons among them(24). The median number of the yearly attendances at synagogue increased consistently from the 15-29 age group to the 45-64 age group, and decreased among older people(25). Similar patterns of synagogue attendance have been recorded in America(26).

Even sharper differentials in synagogue attendance appeared with regard to town of residence. There was an inverse correlation between Jewish community size and synagogue attendance - for example, the median yearly attendance in Bloemfontein (12,6) was nearly twice that of Johannesburg (7,0). This apparent contradiction can be reconciled when considering that the synagogue does not fulfil an exclusively devotional role in Jewish community life, but represents to some extent, an occasion for social encounter. In the larger more complex and diversified communities, the wider and richer Jewish institutional infrastructure has several alternative channels for expressing Jewish identity besides the synagogue(27).

### 3.3.2. Household Rituals

Together with the synagogue, the home has traditionally been a stronghold of Judaism. In fact, many religious practices associated

with Judaism are focused on the home and the everyday life of Jews rather than on synagogue worship. In attempting to assess the nature of religiosity along the ritualistic dimensions, inquiry into Jewish ritual practices of the home is essential(28).

In the realm of household rituals, there were sharp differences in the perception of the importance of single practices on the part of the Jewish households. The overwhelming majority of South African Jews travelled to synagogue by motor car on the Sabbath, festivals and High Holydays. Concerning Sabbath observance, on a Friday evening 84% lit candles, 71% had a festive meal and 36% attended synagogue. Only 9% observed the day fully and abstained from work, travel, smoking, sport, etc. Concerning kosher food, 59% of Jewish homes at least use it sometimes and of this figure, 27% eat it exclusively. The remainder, 14%, were not interested in the dietary laws. 90% of households appeared to observe the Day of Atonement, and even higher proportion (94%) commemorated Passover in one way or another: 86% of households ate unleavened bread while 67% conformed to at least some other traditional dictates concerning food during the Passover week, 67% performed the full ceremonial reading of the Exodus narrative and another 23% performed it partially(29).

#### 3.4. DISCUSSION

From the above statistics and trends, it is evident that to a large extent, South African Orthodoxy is more a widely accepted form of identification than a matter of disciplined observance. There is a vast scale of individual differences of religious observance. The majority of South African Jews feel no anomaly in belonging to fully Orthodox synagogues, travelling there by car on Sabbaths and Festivals and generally selecting which religiously prescribed acts they prefer to observe or neglect(29). The Rabbis deplore the situation but have come to terms with it. Orthodoxy has been challenged by the statement alleging that the only difference between Orthodox Judaism and Reform is that Reform are not hypocrites. The Rabbinate retorts that in Orthodox Judaism there is at least an ideal towards which its adherents can aspire, an ideal which it asserts, is conspicuously absent from Reform observance(30). Reform, they claim, have satisfied their consciences by rejecting the Halacha. Thus, despite the apparently dislocated appearance of general Orthodox observance, it is regarded as a preservative rather than as a destructive factor(31).

CHAPTER 3: ORTHODOXY IN JOHANNESBURG. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. The Cape Town community never acknowledged the authority of the Federation's Av Beth Din. In the same year that the Federation was formed, Cape Town established its own ecclesiastical court and subsequently the Western Province Council of Synagogues. The latter was later known as the United Council of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of the Cape and was to some extent a counterpart of the Federation.  
By mutual agreement, the sphere of jurisdiction of the two Beth Dins was defined so as to prevent overlapping, the Cape assuming responsibility for the Cape Province and Namibia and the Johannesburg Beth Din for the other three provinces. The authority of the Cape Beth Din over the Eastern Provinces of the Cape was not however firmly established.
2. The Federation Chronicle. January 1982. p.7.
3. An approximation is used since with the general upward mobility of the Jewish population some of the synagogues in the older suburbs are closing, or have closed down. Countering this trend is the establishment of new synagogues to cater for the needs of the more affluent middle-class suburbs to which Jews are moving. Overall a dynamic equilibrium is in operation.  
Hellig. 1984. op.cit;  
See: Dubb and Della Pergola. South African Jewish Population Study. op.cit.
4. Interview with Mr I Reznik, Executive Director of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa. 8 April 1987.
5. Today the majority of Orthodox synagogues in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape are affiliated to it.
6. Aschheim. op.cit. p.216
7. Hellig. 1985. op.cit. p.4.
8. The Federation Chronicle. op.cit.
9. *ibid.*
10. See: Rothkoff, A. 1972. Bernard Revel: Builder of American Jewish Orthodoxy. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication of America. p.4.
11. Dubb, 1977. op.cit. p.103.
12. Dubb. *ibid.* pp.103-126.
13. Herman, S.N. 1970b. Israelis and Jews: The Continuity of an Identity. New York: Random Books. pp.41-51.

14. Elazar. 1983. op.cit. p.86.  
Hellig. 1984. op. cit. p.103.
15. Liebman, C. 1973. 'American Jewry: Identity and Affiliation'. The Future of the Jewish Community in America. Sidorsky, D. (Ed.). New York: Basic Books. pp.127-152.
16. This is one of five dimensions of religiosity in general as outlined by Glock, L.Y. and Stark, R. 1965. Religion and Society in Tension. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co. pp.20-38.
17. The statistics are extracted from Dubb. 1977. op. cit.  
The figures for South African Jewry are not entirely up to date as they are based on a survey undertaken in 1974. One should also keep in mind that the statistical material is based on very few cases.
18. Della Pergola, S. and Tal. D. 1978. 'Religion and Religious Observance'. South African Jewish Population Study. Advance Report No. 11 Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. p.7.
19. Dubb. 1977. op.cit. pp.58.
20. ibid. pp.58-59.
21. Aschheim. op.cit. p.26.
22. Della Pergola and Tal. op.cit. p.8.
23. ibid.
24. ibid.
25. ibid.
26. Goldstein, S. and Goldscheider, C. 1968. Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. p.191.
27. Della Pergola and Tal. op.cit. pp.8-10.
28. Hellig, 1985. op.cit. p.5.
29. Della Pergola and Tal. op.cit.
30. See Aschheim. op.cit. pp.219-220.
31. Hellig, op.cit.

For an insight into the relationship between Reform and Orthodoxy, refer to Appendix A. p. 295.

CHAPTER 4

THE MODERN ORTHODOX

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In 1955, a reporter furnished the following profile of South Africa's "New Jew". It would seem that he had prophetic insight that the world view of the handful of "new Jews" he encountered at the Bnei Akiva Yeshiva in Parktown, Johannesburg, established in 1952, would later constitute the way of life of a formidable sector of South African Orthodoxy. The "new Jew" is labelled with the researcher's Modern Orthodox category.

If you look long enough at this home [the Bnei Akiva Yeshiva, precursor of Yeshiva College] and think deeply enough of what is taking place within its walls, I think you will agree with me that here is to be found the richest possibilities of tomorrow's new Jew. And you'll come upon a surprising discovery: that tomorrow's new Jew is as old as the hills, but that in addition to his deep knowledge of Exodus he can play a good game of rugby; that in addition to the ability to say the proper Jewish blessing before eating his meal he plays a good game of tennis; that in addition to his ability to write a Purim play, he can turn out a lively jazzy tune on the piano; and that engineering promises to be his favourite secular study.

Your new Jew then turns out to be a Jew true to his past and traditions, yet completely at home with all the offerings, challenges and enterprises of the 20th century(1).

The level of religious observance by the South African Modern Orthodox ranges from lax and compromising to strictly observant. The liberal sector of Modern Orthodoxy are observant in that they eat kosher foodstuffs, refrain from working on the Sabbath and Festivals, and their men don phylacteries. However, the balance they maintain between the outside world and Jewish religious tradition, at times results in a dilution of certain observances, concessions and codal compromises -

for example, swimming or dancing together with members of the opposite sex, women not wearing hair cover, and cinema attendance.

In contrast, the strictly Orthodox sector of Modern Orthodoxy are probably just as fastidious in religious observance as the Ultra Orthodox. The strictly Orthodox, wearing black instead of crotched skullcaps, not participating in mixed swimming or dancing, selective about choice of "clean" movies or abstaining altogether, and whose women keep their hair covered, would label their liberal coreligionists as radicals.

In identifying the Modern Orthodox, religious observance is consequently not a particularly accurate yardstick. The following two essential characteristics of Modern Orthodoxy proposed by the researcher are more valid criteria in demarcating this subgroup from the Ultra Orthodox. The first unique feature of Modern Orthodoxy is its acquaintance with modern thought and with trends and developments in modern life. The second critical point of departure from Ultra Orthodoxy is Modern Orthodoxy's positive disposition towards Israel and Zionism, a stance which confers distinct Messianic overtones upon the Jewish State.

The Bnei Akiva Youth Movement in Johannesburg, its parent body the Mizrachi Organization and Modern Orthodoxy have an inextricable relationship. This became evident in the course of personal interviews with Modern Orthodox adherents. The researcher discovered that the overwhelming majority of these interviewees were:

- (i) "graduates" of the Bnei Akiva, and/or
- (ii) members of the Mizrachi organization, and/or
- (iii) had children at Yeshiva College, a school having a religious-Zionist ethos, and/or
- (iv) supported and sympathised with Bnei Akiva - Mizrachi ideals.

Since Modern Orthodox and Mizrachi are virtually synonymous, reference to the Mizrachi organization is essential for a sound understanding of the subgroup.

#### 4.2. ELEMENTS OF IDEOLOGY

The Mizrachi stabilized as a small but cohesive organization during the 1930's, supported by many of the community's rabbis(2) and stimulated by the visits of World Mizrachi Union leaders, Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan (then known as Berlin) in 1937 and Rabbi Wolf (Ze'ev) Gold in 1938(3). The name of the organization is a combination of the first and final letters of two Hebrew words, Merkaz Ruchani, meaning "spiritual centre". This focuses attention on the organization's purpose of transforming Israel into the centre of religious Judaism. Its objectives are summarised in the slogan, "The Land of Israel for the People of Israel according to the Torah of Israel". The fundamental belief of the movement is that the Torah and Jewish nationalism are indissolubly linked(4).

The Modern Orthodox are positively disposed towards secular knowledge and tolerate cultural forms and values that are not confined to the religious tradition. Their ranks comprise doctors, lawyers, engineers,

dentists and other professionals, who are committed to and openly identify with Modern Orthodoxy. They do not hesitate to expose themselves and their children to the mass media. The Modern Orthodox do not pursue a conscious policy of social isolation, avoiding contact and distancing oneself from outsiders. These elements, especially the idea of engagement with the outside world are all implicit in the following extract taken from the official organ of the Mizrachi. Rabbi A.H. Tanzer, spiritual head of Yeshiva College in Johannesburg has written:

Torah study is not geared to a cloistered life. The concept of Holiness in the philosophy of the Torah is not detachment from active living, it is rather the sublimation of the mundane to its spiritual source. Torah life is therefore a life of service to G-d by bringing to man the blessings of the Divine. It is therefore an all encompassing life experienced through a unique perspective gained through the Torah(5).

#### 4.3. THE IMPACT OF THE MIZRACHI

While on an ideological level, the movement advocates the liquidation of the Diaspora through the repatriation of every Jew to his Homeland, the movement has always been very practical and realistic in its approach to the Diaspora. The movement has since its inception channelled its energies and resources to two often intersecting ends, namely, propagating religious-Zionism and aliyah (emigration to Israel), and intensifying traditional Jewish values among South African Jewry.

Unlike the Ultra Orthodox who follow a policy of isolation, the Modern Orthodox collaborate with the institutions and organizations of

mainstream Jewry. In particular, the Mizrachi movement has played a major role within the South African Zionist Federation and Israel United Appeal.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Mizrachi Movement and Bnei Akiva Youth Movement to South African Jewry was in the domain of education(5). Its distinctive preoccupation in the late 1930's and during the 1940's was in pressing for deeper Orthodox-religious content in Jewish education(7). A major achievement was the establishment in the mid 1950's of the Yeshiva College(8). This religiously orientated school offers a "middle of the road" Orthodox education. The home backgrounds of its pupils vary in degree of practice and commitment(9). Yeshiva College has brought about a change in the religious climate of the community and will, undoubtedly, be one of the most important preservative factors for traditional authentic South African Orthodoxy(10).

Yeshiva College has in turn given rise to the Glenhazel Area Hebrew Congregation. This flourishing community has a large group of committed Modern Orthodox Jews and a very active youth. The constitution of the synagogue states all office bearers must be Sabbath observant.

The Bnei Akiva-Mizrachi and Yeshiva College have formed the germinal centre of South African Modern Orthodoxy and have over the years propagated this religious trend. The vitality of the Modern Orthodox is especially remarkable when one takes into account the spiritual and

cultural condition of South African Jewry at the time of emergence of Yeshiva College. Orthodoxy was an "outlandish creed"(11). South African Jewry had undergone a process of religious and cultural decline which left traditional Judaism "flabby and insubstantial, though statistically preponderant, while Zionism—resting on its laurels - amounted to little more than an efficient fund-raising machine"(12).

The combined impact of Bnei Akiva-Mizrachi and Yeshiva College was augmented by the appointment to key positions of rabbis trained in western institutions and attuned to the needs of an enquiring age(13). The new generation rabbis began to exert a more decisive influence on their congregants(14).

As has been noted, Mizrachi is concerned with the physical viability of the Jewish State, the welfare of its people, and the maintenance of its religious character. In the realm of aliyah, Mizrachi provided some of the first pioneer settlers from South Africa(15). The Bnei Akiva-Mizrachi has a sister movement in Israel. Members of the Mishmeret Tzeira which is the Young Guard of the Mizrachi have formed nuclei of prospective settlers.

In Johannesburg, the Mizrachi together with the Bnei Akiva run three of their own synagogues: at Mizrachi headquarters in the West Street Houghton, at the Isaac E Goldberg Centre (Beth Din) in Raleigh Street, Yeoville and at the Hebrew Order of David premises in Orchards. The format of the service and decorum contrasts with the typical South

African Orthodox synagogue and its Anglo-Litvak characteristics. The edifices are far from imposing, the chairman does not have any seat of honour, there are no membership fees and many worshippers dress casually without a tie and jacket. There is no official cantor as in the Orthodox synagogues; instead one of the worshippers leads the service. In contrast to the typical South African synagogue where the congregation passively listens to the cantor and choir, at the Bnei Akiva synagogues they join in actively. These who lead the service and read from the Scroll of the Law do so without remuneration. The Sephardi pronunciation is used, a prayer for the soldiers of the Israeli Army is recited as well as a prayer for the State of Israel. This prayer incorporates a phrase alluding that the inception of the State is the "beginning of the flowering of the Redemption"(16). On all religio-legal matters Bnei Akiva-Mizrachi and Modern Orthodoxy recognise the Chief Rabbinate of Israel as the ultimate religious legislative authority.

CHAPTER 4. THE MODERN ORTHODOX NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Zionist Record. 8 May 1955. 'Will South Africa's "New Jew" come from here?'
2. Shimoni, 1980. op.cit. p.181.
3. Leventhal, M. 1984. 'A Short History of the Young Mizrahi Organization in South Africa'. 8th Anniversary Brochure. South African Mizrahi 1933-1983. p.39.  
By 1935 it had a Women's section, a Young Hapoel Hamizrachi (Religious Labour Movement) group and a junior section, Hashomer Hadati (The Religious Guard). This latter movement was the forerunner of the Bnei Akiva Youth Movement of today. In the early 1950's there was a joining of forces between Hapoel Hamizrachi and the Mizrahi, to form the United Mizrahi Organization of today. South African Mizrahi falls under the Mercaz Olami, the central authority of the world movement. This executive body is elected by delegates of the World Mizrahi Conference which assembles periodically and confirms the ideological principles and work programme of the movement.  
Shimoni, op.cit.  
Sacks, S. 1984. 'Mizrahi at 80'. Jewish Times. 6 April 1984. p.44. ibid
4. The State is seen as crucial and pivotal to Jewish concerns. Nationalism is not, however, a substitute for Judaism nor a total explication of Jewishness. It is but one component of Jewish identity of which an essential core-feature is a covenantal relationship between the Jewish people and their Creator.  
See: Spero, S. 1984. Is there a Crisis in Religious Zionism? Forum. 50:49-57.
5. South African Jewish Observer 1976. 19(3):8.
6. A separate account of the development of educational systems follows later in this chapter.
7. Shimoni. op.cit. p.181.
8. The school is not officially connected with the Mizrahi Movement, but a sub-committee of the Mizrahi brought it into being and Mizrahi has been responsible for its progress.
9. A statistical analysis will be given in a later section dealing with the impact of education.
10. Hellig, J. 1985. op.cit. p.6.
11. Sivan, G. 1975. 'Pathways to Jewish Revival in South Africa'. Hamidrasha. p.128.

12. *ibid.*  
For background see: Gitlin, M. *op.cit.* *passim*.
13. Sivan. *op.cit.* pp.129-30.
14. For personalities and their contribution see: 'Torah Growth in South Africa'. Jewish Tribune 13 March 1970. p.6.  
Sivan, *ibid.*
15. Shimoni, *op.cit.* p.181.
16. The above information was obtained by the researcher in his capacity as a participant observer at Bnei Akiva Shul, Yeoville (1982 - date). These prayers are conspicuously absent from the Ultra Orthodox services, attesting to the subordinate if not completely absent focus on Zionism.  
For further information of the Bnei Akiva Synagogues, see: Segal, M. 'Youth Shuls Stress Religious Zionism'. Zionist Record and S.A. Jewish Chronicle. 10 October 1980. p.3.

CHAPTER 5    THE ULTRA ORTHODOX

## 5.1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most surprising trends in South African Jewish life has been the emergence of Ultra Orthodoxy as a "fourth force" competing with Reform, Orthodoxy and Modern Orthodoxy. In less than one and a half decades, Ultra Orthodoxy has transformed its image from that of an exotic creed with a handful of loyalists to a vibrant stream of Johannesburg Jewry. A theory, not yet investigated, why there has been a turning inwards, is that it may be a response to the growing state of insecurity and political instability in South Africa(1). Facilitating the taking root of Ultra Orthodox rabbis and trends of overseas import, has been the Anglo-Lithuanian legacy of respect for religious learning inherent in today's non observant Orthodox. In the course of interview, former Chief Rabbi Casper related:

I think that it is because of this that it has been possible for groups of more Orthodox people to take root. They were taking root in a comfortable and in an accommodating environment. There was no real hostility to them as there may have been in some communities elsewhere(2).

## 5.2. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The following three essential characteristics have been proposed by Liebman(3) as dimensions of religious extremism, each of which is deemed applicable to the Ultra Orthodox community.

### (a) Expansion of Religious Law:

The Ultra Orthodox community possesses the drive to expand the halacha. This extremist orientation to the code of law has the following three components:

(i) Expansion of the scope of halacha:

The Ultra Orthodox seek to extend the scope of the religious law to include the public as well as the private realm, and to matters of collective as well as private behaviour within that realm.

(ii) Elaboration of details of the law:

An example of this second component and one which is particularly noticeable to the observer, is modesty of women's dress. The Ultra Orthodox aver that the law is detailed requiring sleeves to cover the elbow and the hemline to cover the knee(4).

(iii) Strictness as opposed to leniency in halachic interpretation:

The Ultra Orthodox welcomes the imposition of greater restrictions and hardships. He practises chumras which are practices which exceed the letter of the law. He interprets Jewish law rigorously and is intolerant of deviations from Jewish law.

(b) Social isolation:

In its attitude towards the rest of South African Jewry, the characteristic approach of the Ultra Orthodox is one of isolation within a self imposed cultural ghetto. However, this isolation is coupled with efforts to convert or persuade other individuals(5).

(c) Cultural Rejection:

The Ultra Orthodox reject cultural forms and values that are not perceived as compatible with tradition. This goal is pursued by

avoiding the secular channels for cultural transmission, and avoiding exposure to the mass media(6).

(d) Ambivalent attitude to Israel and Zionism:

Liebman, whose account refers to American Jewry does not mention the strong anti-Zionist tendency and expression of these communities(7). The researcher has expanded Liebman's criteria with this fourth dimension of Ultra Orthodoxy. The Diaspora orientated nature of the subgroups will become evident in the following pages.

### 5.3. THE ADATH JESCHURUN

The suburbs of Yeoville, Bellevue and Observatory, adjoining the central business district of Johannesburg, have been fertile ground for the development of Ultra Orthodox communities. Until 1969, when the proliferation of Ultra Orthodoxy in Johannesburg commenced, the Adath Jeschurun community with its handful of staunch loyalists tenaciously adhering to scrupulous religious practice, was virtually the sole element of Ultra Orthodoxy. This community was established by a small group of German immigrants who arrived in Johannesburg from the end of 1935 onwards(7). In 1938 the congregation accepted a constitution and adopted its present name.

The rabbinic leader of the separatist Ultra Orthodox community in Frankfurt, to which many of the immigrants belonged, saw secular education as an asset. The dislocation between the outlook of the original Frankfurt community towards secular knowledge, and that of the Johannesburg community is referred to in appendix B(9).

The community is strictly separatist in orientation, and has therefore never been affiliated to any country-wide communal religious Jewish organization(10). While opting out from the organized Jewish polity and maintenance of its own complete religious framework has a noteworthy precedent in Frankfurt, the South African community's secessionist policy was prompted more by local conditions than a conscious desire to emulate the German prototype. Motivating the establishment of the congregation were: Firstly, dissatisfaction with the local level of Orthodoxy - for example, the low standards of dietary law observance and Sabbath practice. Secondly, there was the desire of the founders to model their communal and devotional life on the Ultra Orthodox spirit and principles they were used to in pre-Hitler Germany. Coupled to this was the problem of adaptation facing the group in an alien environment and the need for a cohesive group to face common challenges(11).

As in the original German setting, hats and jackets are worn even during weekday services, the Ashkenazi pronunciation is retained, the Sefat Emet prayerbook is used as are the German liturgical music and cantellations. The decorum during services and the concern for punctuality are uncompromising.

### 5.3.1. Religious Facilities and Practice

The Adath organizes its own ritual supervision for kosher meat, milk and other products. The seal of approval has a reputation for extremely stringent standards. The meat is glatt kosher, which indicates that special precautions are taken to exclude the use of any

meat about which there may be doubt as to its usability. The butchery under its auspices, "Bolnicks Addassia", provides special ritually slaughtered and supervised meat and fish. The milk is processed under the supervision of an observant Jew. The community offers a service to examine garments and render them shaatnes proof(12). For many years it had the only ritual bath available to Johannesburg Jews. In keeping with the community's punctilious interpretation of the law, special unleavened bread is imported for Passover. The community considers the kosher standard of such matza to be more stringent than other locally available matzas. For the festival of Tabernacles, non grafted citrons are imported from Israel each year.

Until 1966, the Adath community did not have its own day schools and its children attended government schools, receiving intensive Torah education from the Adath cheder system in the afternoons(13). The congregation developed and consolidated into a tightly-knit community under the spiritual leadership of late Rabbi Yaakov Salzer who came from Israel to assume duties in 1953(14). The Rov as he was known, was educated in Pressburg, Czechoslovakia and in Jerusalem(15) and was acclaimed as an authority in Jewish law. Today, his son Rabbi Yossie Salzer is the spiritual leader.

It is significant that since its inception, the rigor with which the community has practised the commandments has remained as intense. The second, third and fourth generations of the founding fathers are as strictly observant and rigidly disciplined as their forebears. The cohesiveness and absence of any generation gap is underlined by the

absence of children's services. The child, when mature enough, attends the main service and after bar-mitzvah is entitled to lead the prayers.

#### 5.4. THE KOLLEL

In 1969, the first adult Torah education organization and post-graduate institute of advanced Jewish studies was formed in Johannesburg. The full name of the institution is the Kollel Yad Shaul named in memory of Shaul Bacher whose family decided that his home be used for Torah learning.

It was founded at the instigation of rosh yeshivas and rabbis from Israel as well as rabbis of the South African community. It did not arise only from the ranks of the Adath Jeschurun but also interestingly enough through the involvement and support of the Bnei Akiva Youth Movement(16). With the founding of this institution, South Africa now ranked with Israel, England, the United States, Australia and other countries which also have kollels(17).

The Johannesburg Kollel is an institute for the advanced study of the Talmud and a graduate school of Torah. It is made up of a small group of about a dozen men, all graduates of yeshivas who study Torah with intense commitment and dedication. Most of the students are married and some have delayed entry into their various callings to devote themselves for a number of years to the advancement of their mastery of Jewish learning. Study is pursued full-time and with greater intensity than in the yeshiva. The students, being adults, are

afforded little or no supervision. They are maintained by contributions from various sections of the community.

The original aims of the Johannesburg Kollel were(18):

- (i) to awaken the idea of higher Talmudic studies among South African Jewish youth and to raise the standard of religious learning and observances;
- (ii) to enable yeshiva graduates and young rabbis to further their studies and deepen their knowledge with full and part-time post graduate courses. This would be in preparation for their future calling as rabbis, teachers and communal leaders to the South African Jewish community;
- (iii) to enable young heads of family, students and men from all walks of life, to enhance their Jewish education through courses for adult studies;
- (iv) to disseminate literature furthering the aims of the Kollel;
- (v) to erect a beth midrash and library;
- (iv) to allocate bursaries to suitable students so that they may continue their studies.

The Kollel has far exceeded these original aims. According to the Talmud, for a town to achieve the status of a city, the qualifying basis to change its name is a function of the presence of ten batlanim. These professional scholars spend the whole day learning Torah in depth(19). With the emergence of the Kollel, "the status of the whole community on the spiritual map of the world changed - Johannesburg became a Torah city"(20).

The Kollel espouses a strictly Mitnaged tradition, emphasizing the study and practice of Torah. Its major concern is, through Torah learning, inculcation of Jewish values and a sincere Torah way of life to fight the battle against assimilation(21). Most of its members are penitents who grew up and lived outside the framework of traditional Jewish belief, practice and community. The Kollel has reached out with an evangelical fervour to these formerly "lost souls" The penitent who acquires a religious frame of reference, is said to undergo a transformation akin to a conversion(22).

The Kollel has achieved its goals through widespread adult education activities(23). It provides post-graduate full and part-time Talmudic studies for married men. In the same premises, the Yeshiva Ohr Yisrael scholars of the nearby Ultra Orthodox Nathan and Betty Kahn Torah Emeth Boys High School pursue extra mural Talmudic studies. The Kollel and yeshiva share the study hall which is also used as an informal synagogue. This simple and modest room stands in contrast to the ornate edifices of the mainstream South African congregations. It resembles a conventicle and has, in addition to tables and chairs, lecterns used during prayer. The Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew is used in study and in religious services. These elements evince a return to the tradition of the East European shtetl(24).

The Kollel Bookshop is particularly well stocked and is run on a non-profit basis. The wide range of Jewish literature conforms with Orthodox ideology. The administrator liaises personally with the majority of rabbis in Johannesburg to secure their approval of all

material to be exhibited and sold(25). The bookshop also sells records and cassettes, magazines for children and adults and a variety of religious ritual objects. The library, located inside the bookshop lends books as well as cassettes of local and overseas shiurim.

Within the same building is an affiliated institution called Hillel House which provides board and lodging facilities for young men and visiting fund raisers from overseas Ultra Orthodox centres. The Kollel runs shiurim at Hillel house, on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand and its medical school, shabbatons where an authentic sabbath atmosphere is recreated, seminars, programmes for country communities, and hosts national servicemen(26). In close proximity to the Kollel headquarters are a small group of "independent" schools, loosely affiliated to the Kollel and known generally as the Kollel schools. They are: The Sha'arei Torah Primary School and nursery school, the Beth Jacob Girls High School, and the Torah Emeth Boys High School.

#### 5.5. THE VILNA GAON TORAH CENTRE

The "Torah Centre" as it is known, was established in 1982 by Rabbi Moshe Sternbuch. Its establishment caused a stir within the Kollel as most of the ten founding families had originally belonged to the Kollel. The centre's study cum prayer hall is modelled on the Lithuanian type conventicle. It is conducive to informal modes of worship. Most of the present members joined the centre due to Rabbi Sternbuch's dynamic and charismatic personality. His followers have bestowed the title Gaon to him on account of his Talmudic genius.

Rabbi Sternbuch commutes every six months between Bnei Brak in Israel and Yeoville. In his absence, his son deputises for him.

The objectives of the centre, are "propagating the love of one's fellow Jew, and the imparting of Torah education"(27). To this end, the centre organizes public lectures and question and answer sessions. Several lectures have been given in Hebrew, specially designed for Israelis resident in Johannesburg. The centre produces its magazine Roots and conducts the daf yomi shiur at which participants join Jews in other countries in daily study a page of Talmud concurrently(28). By August 1985, over one thousand pages of Talmud were studied at the centre(29).

## 5.6. THE LUBAVITCH

### 5.6.1. Introduction

Lubavitch South Africa asserts that the Rebbe, Menachem Mendel Schneersohn, is their leader, and also the leader of all Jewish people. Under his guidance and inspiration, the Lubavitch movement has become a vital, pulsating, expanding missionary movement within world Jewry. The Rebbe's charisma, vision and leadership has made the movement into "one of the most intense religious brotherhoods in the modern world"(30). In fact, the spread of Lubavitch since the war has been called "one of the great success stories of Jewish life in the twentieth century"(31).

### 5.6.2. Elements of Chabad Ideology of the Lubavitch Movement

The early Chabad(32) thinkers developed many doctrines found in the mystical kabbalistic sources of the sixteenth century. One such theme was that deep in the recesses of every Jewish soul, there is a spark of Divinity. This spark may be imprisoned in shells of darkness, and weighed down by impurity and profanity, but nevertheless yearns to be released from its shells in order to return to its Divine essence(33). The function of the Lubavitcher emissaries who are sent to countries throughout the world is to cultivate that spark. From the performance of a seemingly minor Biblical injunction, they argue, great observance may follow, culminating in complete repentance. Consequently, every Jew is recognized as inherently good and sacred and no matter how far he has strayed from the Torah.

Motivating Chabad's missionary thrust, is the concept of ahavat Yisrael, a complete and unconditional love of a fellow Jew including the stranger(34). Chabad believe they are forging the unity of the Jewish people and hastening the Messianic Redemption. Lubavitch has adopted the slogan "U'faratzta", meaning, "and thou shalt spread abroad"(35).

### 5.6.3. Chabad South Africa

The South African Lubavitch Foundation, like its international counterparts, implements a highly effective outreach programme. There has been a Chassidic congregation in South Africa since the turn of the century(36). The Lubavitch Foundation of South Africa was founded by Rabbi Mendel Lipskar, an emissary from the U.S.A., in 1972. Its headquarters has a library, lecture rooms, and a bookshop.

The main Chabad synagogue is in Yeoville, with branches in Sandton and Orchards (in the Torah Academy). The atmosphere is one of informality and joyous prayer, with Chassidic songs and melodies, including a number composed by the previous Rebbs. Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew is used for reciting the liturgy.

Lubavitch men usually wear a narrow-brimmed hat, a dark suit and a beard. Sidelocks, if grown at all, are tucked behind the ears. During the week the men may wear coloured shirts and patterned ties, while on the Sabbath and festival days they don black suits. A ritual sash is worn during prayers, to symbolize the separation the lower animal instincts from the higher, intellectual and spiritual pursuits.

One of the keys to success of the Lubavitch movement generally, is the enthusiasm and zeal of its adherents. Chabad in South Africa as well as elsewhere has adapted modern commercial methods to "sell" Judaism(37) and project an image of extreme fundamentalism tempered with modernity. For example, in public thoroughfares Jewish passersby would be invited to enter a mobile "Mitzvah tank" and view the displays, sample the books and generally experience a Chabad atmosphere. This vehicle used to travel throughout the Republic(38).

There are two Lubavitch day schools in South Africa, the Torah Academy in Johannesburg and the Hebrew Academy in Cape Town, and one afternoon school for pupils from the primary to barmitzvah level. A Lubavitch

yeshiva is situated at the Torah Academy in Johannesburg, and also a yeshiva for senior citizens(39). A unique feature of the programme is that students who enrol are actually remunerated, as in the kollel system where married men pursue their studies full time and receive stipends.

Lubavitch activities are directed to all Jews of the community. Ailing Jews in hospitals and prison inmates are visited. Lubavitch's outreach program has been successful in involving alienated Jews, many of whom had formerly turned to drugs, cults, and other religions.

#### 5.7. OTHER ULTRA ORTHODOX CONGREGATIONS

Several groups hold services in private homes in the Sydenham vicinity. It appears to the researcher that they formed as a result of charismatic rabbis whose congregants seek a life of intense Torah study and worship. The principal spiritual leaders and location of their community are as follows:

Rabbi D Lapin	-	Sydenham
Rabbi A Pfeuffer	-	Sydenham
Rabbi E Chrysler	-	Percelia
Rabbi D Greenberger	-	Orchards

#### 5.8. ORTHODOX - MODERN ORTHODOX - ULTRA ORTHODOX: INTER-RELATIONSHIPS

Modern Orthodox Johannesburg Jews are critical of Ultra Orthodoxy, which they see as disrupting communal unity. The Ultra Orthodox argue that their Ultra Orthodoxy does not require explanation since it is entirely consistent with basic religious tenets. They maintain that

it is religious moderation or religious liberalism that requires explanation. They cannot understand the willingness of the other sectors to accommodate themselves to their environment and adapt their behavioural and belief patterns to prevailing cultural norms. The Ultra Orthodox in Johannesburg feel unable to affiliate with the mainstream establishment, the Federation of Synagogues, since most office bearers openly desecrate the Sabbath and do not observe Jewish religious law, such as the ritual dietary laws. To quote Rabbi Sternbuch: "I believe the Torah is unchangeable and those who represent Orthodoxy must themselves be Orthodox"(40).

In Johannesburg, all the Torah true subgroups strive ultimately for the same goal, but differ in their approach to tradition. This has led to rivalry and low key friction between them(41). The rivalries between the Kollel and Lubavitch reflects, in a microcosm, the original conflict between the early Chassidim and Mitnagdim(42): the Kollel represents a Mitnagdic ideology, whilst the Lubavitch is part of the Chassidic tradition. The Mitnagdim question the infallibility of the Rebbe and his judgement. This became evident to the researcher in the course of informal interviews. Some even equated veneration of the Rebbe by his followers with idol worship. They were also critical of the apparent subordinated function of Torah learning in the Chassidic approach. The Lubavitch, in turn, look upon the Mitnagdim as incomplete Jews, who have not adopted the Lubavitch approach. "It [Lubavitch] recognizes only two types of Jews, the fully observant and devout Lubavitcher Jew and the potentially devout and observant Lubavitcher Jew"(43). Lubavitch are also critical of the sober

demeanour of the Mitnagdim and their inability to attain heights of joyful ecstasy.

The Modern Orthodox, trying to reconcile modernity and traditional religious practice, stand between two extremes: The non observant Orthodox who consider Modern Orthodoxy an anachronism, and the Ultra Orthodox who look upon their modernity with disapproval(44) and suspect the Modern Orthodox of compromising the halacha. The Ultra Orthodox are a constant reminder to the Modern Orthodox of the extent to which they fall short of being truly religious, at least according to Ultra Orthodox criteria. At stake is their view of themselves as a legitimate Torah subgroup. Since the proliferation of Ultra Orthodoxy in Johannesburg, the Modern Orthodox found themselves to be no longer the "acme of Johannesburg froomkeit"(45) (religious tradition and piety). In the other hand, there is a real fear of becoming "black"(46), of moving too far to the right.

The Modern Orthodox are especially critical of Ultra Orthodoxy's ambivalent and hostile attitude towards Israel and Zionism. Two highly publicised incidents illustrate this attitude. Firstly, there was the refusal of a Kollel rabbi to recite the Prayer for the State of Israel when he was a guest preacher at the mainstream Orthodox Oxford synagogue in Johannesburg(47). The second incident took place at a Jews for Jesus meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand. When several hundred Jewish student demonstrators from all walks of life began to sing Israel's national anthem, students of the Kollel "demonstratively sat down"(48). Consequently, the Modern Orthodox consider the Ultra Orthodox to be betraying the Jewish people(49).

CHAPTER 5. THE ULTRA ORTHODOX. NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See: Mervis, J.R. 1985. The Role of Religious Symbols in the Identity of the Jewish Community of the Western Cape. Thesis presented in fulfilment of the M.A. degree. Faculty of Social Sciences. U.C.T. pp.116-118.  
Cape Town has been comparatively resistant to religious change despite the presence of full-time Lubavitch workers and Johannesburgers who are periodically "imported". The two religious institutions which were established in Cape Town, namely, the Hebrew Academy, a religious primary school, and The Mercaz for Torah Learning, a centre for adult education, have succeeded in attracting interest but not many "converts".  
ibid. p.117.  
It ought to be noted that the return to religion among young people is not unique to the Jews. The researcher believes that the motivation of non religious Jews to seek an alternative to their given reality is not very far from that of all those religious seekers and converts, a large proportion of Jews among them, who have undergone some form of religious conversion in the past two decades. They share a common dissatisfaction with secular society and with the material prosperity and pursuit of enjoyment of the post World War Jews era.  
See: Cohen, E. 1979. 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experience'. Sociology. No. 13. pp.179-201.  
For a description of the spiritual malaise and subsequent vigorous reappraisal of values and a search for meaning among sections of Jewish youth, see:  
Segal, M 1979. 'Return to Orthodoxy'. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 29 June 1979. pp.8-9.  
For an insight into the attitude of Ultra Orthodoxy towards western culture as a source of confusion and false ideologies, "a world of vanity", see:  
Glazerson, M. 1975. Sparks of the Holy Tongue. Johannesburg: Pacific Press. Foreword written by late Rabbi J Salzer of the Johannesburg Adath Jeschurun Congregation.
2. Date of interview 14 June 1984.  
The reader is advised to refer back to Chapter 2. Section 2.5. pp. 16-20.
3. Liebman, C.S. 1983b. 'Extremism as a Religious Norm'. Journal for Scientific Study of Religion. 22(1):75-86.
4. The above two points in the Ultra Orthodox adherent's orientation to halacha share a common characteristic. They stress the objective, the ordained, and restrict the authority of the subjective, optional and personal interpretation.
5. Consequently, special safeguards are erected to mitigate the dangers which the inevitable contact with outsiders invites. This is especially evident among one particular Johannesburg community which will be discussed in more detail in the following pages, namely the Lubavitch.

The Lubavitch movement has a particularly pronounced conversionist orientation, aimed at other Jews. This involves them in certain aspects of intense relations with the non religious in which they themselves avoid emotional involvement. See: Shaffir, W. 1978. 'Witnessing as Identity Consolidation: The Case of the Lubavitcher Chassidim'. Identity and Religion. International Cross-Cultural Approaches. Mol. H. (Ed.). London, Beverly Hills: Sage. pp.37-57.

6. For example, radio, television, newspapers and cinemas. As we will see in the case of the Lubavitch, they use the media to convince others of their cause. However, they, and the other Ultra Orthodox subgroups protect their own adherents by occupying them with all kinds of activity - for example, study of the sacred texts so that they have no leisure time for exposure to the mass media.
7. See: Lamm, N. 1976. 'The Ideology of the Neturei Karta-According to the Satmerer Version'. Tradition. 13(1): 38-53.
8. Sichel, F. 1966. From Refugee to Citizen: A Sociological Study of the Immigrants from Hitler-Europe who settled in Southern Africa. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p.85.  
For a discussion of comparable groups, see:  
Liebman, C.S. 1974. 'Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life'. The Jewish Community in America. Sklare, M. (Ed.). New York: Behrman House, Incl. pp.159-160.
9. Elements of Adath Jeschurun Philosophy p. 298.
10. See: Aschheim. op.cit. p.219.
11. Sichel. op.cit. p.85.  
For details of the circumstances in London which prompted the opting out of the sister Ultra Orthodox Machzike Hadath Congregation from Anglo-Jewry, see:  
Homa, B. 1952. A Fortress of Anglo-Jewry: The Story of the Machzike Hadath. London: Shapiro, Vallentine & Co. pp.9-10.
12. The wearing of any item of clothing which contains wool and linen, sewn or woven together is prohibited by Biblical injunction. Deuteronomy 22:10.
13. A separate account of educational systems follows later in the study.
14. Sichel. op.cit. p.86.  
His appointment was delayed by the Second World War and its consequences. *ibid*.
15. South African Jewish Times. 8 May 1959.

16. It arose through the combined efforts of late Rabbi Salzer, the first presiding head, and his brother-in-law, Mr Lieberman, the first executive director. The Kollel became established after Mr Lieberman's return with a group of young students, from a recruiting drive in England.  
Interview with Mr I Ziskind, chairman of the Kollel. 5 February 1984.  
Hakollel 1968. Halachic periodical. March 1968. Adar 5728. 1(1):23. Johannesburg: Kollel.  
Casper, B.M. 1968. *ibid.* p.22.  
The present presiding head is Rabbi B Grossnass. He succeeded Rabbi M Shakowitzki who has settled in Israel.
17. New York and Jerusalem each have over seventy-five kollels, England, a handful; Sao Paulo and Melbourne one each.  
'The Kollel Phenomenon and its Significance', supplement to Sternbuch, M. 1982. Halachic Discourses on Masechte Beitza. Johannesburg, Bnei Brak: Kollel Yad Shaul.
18. South African Jewish Chronicle. 22 August 1969. p.17. These aims are not written verbatim in the main text.
19. In the literal sense, however, the meaning of a batlan is uncomplimentary and means an idler, unemployed man or dreamer. In modern folk usage the term frequently connotes an impractical, clumsy person who can't earn a living or face reality. For a perspective on the educational context, see:  
The Kollel Yad Shaul. Newsletter No. 109. Johannesburg. (editorial).
20. *ibid.*
21. Hellig, 1984. *op.cit.* p.107.
22. See: Shaffir, W. 1983. 'The Recruitment of Baalei Teshuvah in a Jerusalem Yeshiva'. Jewish Journal of Sociology. 25(1):33.  
Many of these "returnees", in their quest for meaning, direction, and order in their lives, had hitherto delved into alternative patterns and systems of belief as intermediate stations in their transit to Judaism. These previously distanced "hippie culture" Jews had previously sought salvation and existential meaning in the psychedelic drug scene, exotic religious cults, evangelical and quasi-religious movements - for example, Krishna, Zen Buddhism, Transcendental Meditation, the Rhema Church, the Unification Church, Satan worship and Jews for Jesus.  
For a case study of one particular penitent, refer to Appendix C. p. 304.
23. The headquarters of Kollel Yad Shaul at 22 Muller Street, Yeoville, is named the Chaim Wolf and Sarah Rebecca Seeff Torah.
24. There is a Kollel sister community with its own synagogue cum study hall at 26 Frances Street. Its spiritual leader is Rabbi M.L. Rogosnitzki.

25. The researcher came across, stored out of reach of the clients, books written by liberal authors, which diverge from Orthodox perspectives, and have consequently been removed from the shelves.  
It should be noted, that the bookshop caters for all the various sectors of the Orthodox community. For example, it stocks books on Chassidic philosophy as well as publications by American Modern Orthodox rabbis such as N. Lamm and J.B. Soleveitchik.
26. Towards mid-1983, the Kollel initiated two "Seed" programs of small adult study groups at the Waverley synagogue, Johannesburg, and in Germiston.
27. Zionist Record. 21 January 1983. p.2.
28. The idea was originally introduced by Rabbi Meir Shapiro of Eastern Europe who said:
- Aforetime prayer was considered a personal mitzvah. So, until the saintly Rabbi Isaac Luria taught that before commencing to pray one should say: For the sake of G-d... in the name of all Israel. This recital succeeded in so affecting the individual that his prayer merged with that of all Israel. One prays with and for all. Hitherto, each individual studied a different folio of Talmud. Now, with all studying the same folio we shall succeed in welding together the entire people. For, if the Holy One, blessed be He, the Torah and Israel are one, how much more will this be so when the Holy One, blessed be He, the Torah and Israel are together in the same Tractate, the same folio on the same day!
- Cited in Rabinowitz, A.H. 1978. The Jewish Mind. Jerusalem: Hillel Press. p.xvi-xvii.
29. The researcher attended a Melaveh Malka celebration on 24 August 1985 at the centre, to commemorate the learning of 1000 pages of Talmud.
30. Epstein, L. 1959. Judaism: A Historical Presentation. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. p.281.  
For an overview of the role of the Rebbe, refer to Appendix D. p.307.
31. Greenberg, I. cited in Jewish Herald Rosh Hashanah Supplement 1982. p.89.
32. This term is explained in Appendix D. p. 306.
33. See: Schneersohn, M.M. 1979. Letters by the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Brooklyn: Kehot Vol. 1. Tishrei-Adar. passim;  
Schneersohn, M.M. 1978. On the Essence of Chassidus. (Trans.). Brooklyn: Kehot. pp.97, 102;

Unterman, A. Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp.101-108;  
Bergman, S.H. 1961. Martin Buber. 'Life as Dialogue'. Faith and Reason: Modern Jewish Thought. Jospe, A. (Ed. and Trans.). New York: Schocken Books. pp.84-85.

34. See: Translator's preface to Schneersohn, op.cit. p.xiv.
35. This is based on G-d's promise to Jacob:  
And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south, and in these and in thy seed shall the families of the earth be blessed.  
Genesis. Chapter 28, verse 14.  
For an account of the attitude of Lubavitch towards Israel and Zionism refer to Appendix D. p. 309.
36. The Hebrew Congregation "Chabad" which was originally in Buitenkant Street, Cape Town (before moving to Arthurs Road, Sea Point) was consecrated by Rabbi Bender on 15 August 1897.  
Saron and Hotz (Eds.). op.cit. p.40.
37. See: Berger, P.L. 1963a. 'A Market Model for the Analysis of Ecumenicity'. Social Research. Vol. 30. pp.77-93.
38. For the Chanukah festival, Lubavitch hold public candle lighting ceremonies in Cape Town and Johannesburg. The candlabrum used in Johannesburg in 1984 stood over thirty foot tall and took candles one foot high. For the festival of Tabernacles the Lubavitch Foundation built a central city ritual booth at the Carlton Centre, Johannesburg, in which Jewish businessmen, shoppers and tourists could eat their lunches. A Lubavitch mobile booth visited Jewish School, neighbourhoods and South African Defence force bases. For Purim, Lubavitch distributes Purim packets containing two different types of sweets which the recipient will exchange with a friend thus observing a Purim religious injunction. The parcel also contains two coins for charity, in order for the recipient to perform another Purim injunction. These parcels are distributed free to Jewish day schools, afternoon schools and national servicemen. Chabad also offers a twenty four hours telephone service, called DATA, standing for Dial a Torah Thought anytime. Callers hear a one-minute recorded message on a Torah thought. Every Sunday evening, the Lubavitch presents a sixty minute radio programme entitled "The Jewish Sound". The format is magazine style and presents popular Jewish-Israeli music, interviews, discussions, dramas. These are interspersed with "mitzvah spots" or "kosher commercials" which are short, often humorous advertisements for a variety of Jewish practices.  
The following Orthodox practices receive special emphasis in the South African Lubavitch mitzvah campaigns: Less religious Jews are urged to don phylacteries daily, to attach a mezuzah to the doorpost, to keep a charity box, and to bring prayer books into

their homes. They are also made aware of the religious laws of family purity.

See: 'Jewish sound' supplement to the South African Jewish Times. 21 June 1985. pp.12-15.

39. The name of this programme is "Collel Tiferes Zkeinim Levi Yizchok" named after the revered late father of the incumbent Rebbe, Rabbi Levi Yitzchok Schneershon, former Chief Rabbi of Yekatrinslav, the Ukraine. Two parallel programmes are operated: a morning session at Chabad House on Fridays, and an afternoon session at the Witwatersrand Jewish Aged Home in Sandringham (Sandringham Gardens) from Monday to Thursday.
40. South African Jewish Times. 25 October 1985. p.1. 'Shul Leaders Violate Sabbath Says Rabbi'.
41. See: Casper, B.M. 1982. 'The Real Unity of South African Jewry'. The Federation Chronicle. January 1982. p.1.
42. Hellig. 1984. op.cit. p.110.
43. Liebman, 1974. op.cit. p.165.
44. See: Heilman, S.C. 1976. Synagogue Life: A Study in Symbolic Interaction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: p.266.
45. See: Sivan. op.cit. p.131.
46. Informal interviews with members of the Johannesburg Bnei Akiva Youth Movement and Mizrachi.
47. South African Jewish Times. 'Oxford Synagogue Shabbat Hagadol Incident'. 21 April 1972.  
In the opinion of the researcher, the phrase he had "some reservations about" was almost certainly the words referring to the State of Israel as "the beginning of the flowering of our redemption".
48. Goodman, H. 1981. 'Cry the Beloved Countries'. The Jerusalem Post Weekend Edn. 4 September 1981.
49. South African Jewish Observer. 'Chief Rabbi in Stirring Mizrachi Call to Electorate'. November 1971. p.4.

CHAPTER 6. THE EMERGENCE OF JEWISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS  
IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

## 6.1. THE STRUCTURE UNTIL WORLD WAR TWO

By the early decades of the twentieth century, a large proportion of Jewish pupils in the Transvaal and other provinces were enrolled at non-Jewish denominational schools. Such schools even included those run by the Anglican and Catholic religious orders. This gave rise to considerable anxiety among the religious and lay leaders of the Johannesburg Jewish community(1). It was reported in 1910 that more than half of the Jews of Johannesburg sent their sons to the Jesuit institution of Marist Brothers(2). The well established Catholic schools offered facilities which were beyond the means of the Jewish day schools(3). They were also thought to provide a better secular education(4).

As the South African public system of education evolved, so the existing Jewish day schools declined and the limited Hebrew instruction dwindled. The schools finally made their exit from the Jewish educational scene(5). Simultaneously, Jewish education became relegated to the afternoon schools, the Talmud Torahs or chadarim, as well as to the growing private sector of melamdin, private teachers mainly from Lithuania(6). Those South African Jews of the pre-1948 era who received any Jewish education, generally received it as a part time activity in the Talmud Torah or cheder(7).

In the tiny communities of the platteland, the religious functionary was invariably the teacher for the children and leader for the adult Talmud circles(8). The man was usually competent as a ritual slaughterer and also trained to perform ritual circumcisions. Due to

the country minister being untrained and unqualified, levels and achievement were in most cases low(9).

All the features described formed the pattern of the structure of Jewish educational systems that was set at the beginning of the twentieth century and persisted until the end of the Second World War. The effectiveness of transmission of the Jewish heritage was reduced on account of the absence of a discrete organizational framework. There was a conspicuous lack in educational planning, supervision and institutions. The accreditation of teachers was "sporadic and in a sense arbitrary"(10). On the other hand, the home remained the formative educational agency. Through its environment the child informally learned many Jewish concepts. Impeding this was a generation gap which proved to be "barrier of communication" between the immigrants and their South African born children(11). On account of the lack of structure facilitating the effective transmission of Judaism of their descendants, when the East European settlers died they took their considerable Jewish knowledge with them(12).

As the organizational structure evolved, the cause of Jewish education became more pressing. Initially educational priorities were stressed by a small determined minority emanating mostly from the influential Zionist movement. They called for improvements, co-ordination of efforts and united endeavour(13). In 1928, the first major step was taken to co-ordinate the disparate supplemental afternoon schools. On the initiative of Chief Rabbi Dr J.L. Landau, the Zionist Federation invited the Jewish Board of Deputies to join it in a special

conference on Jewish education(14). This eventually resulted in the creation of Boards of Jewish Education in the Transvaal and in the Cape on which the Zionist Federation was represented(15). Although these Boards became autonomous communal institutions, the Zionist organization exerted a paramount influence through their representatives(16). Furthermore, the ideological premises of Jewish education which the Boards fostered were distinctly Zionist(17). The conception of Jewish education was a reflection of the normative mode characterizing South African Jewry as a whole - namely, the Zionist and traditional components of Jewish identity. Even after the creation of Boards of Education, progress was undramatic and did not exceed the co-ordination of networks of supplemental afternoon schools(18). Such was the structure of South African Jewish education until the Second World War.

## 6.2. POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH EDUCATION

The next stage of development were the radical changes in organization and communal attitudes since 1945. The following pages will attest to the war providing the great watershed in the development of Jewish education in South Africa.

Significant developments have included the effective implementation of a co-ordinated administrative structure, the pervading influence of Zionism on Jewish education and the emergence of a system of day schools. Progress was so dramatic that within two decades, South Africa was regarded as a model of Jewish educational institutions from which Diaspora communities could take example and encouragement(19).

Coupled with the proliferation of the day schools, was the rapid eclipse and decline of the Talmud Torah. Parents and children were no longer prepared to grant it parity with the secular school or even with non-academic extra-mural activities. It became an "inconvenience, an interference or an unbearable burden"(20). Talmud Torah tuition became expendable and relegated to a transitory and fragmentary experience. Days of attendance were reduced and post bar or batmitzvah(21) instruction vanished(22).

A key figure in laying the foundations which form the basis of the mainstream community's present day educational structure was Rabbi Judah Leib Zlotnik (later called Avida) (1887-1962). In 1938, he arrived from Canada to become first director of the South African Jewish Board of Education. While a Jewish scholar and folklorist of international renown, achievements in the domain of organization and planning in South Africa, under his energetic leadership included the following: systematic inspections of Talmud Torahs were performed and a unified syllabus instituted; the establishment of a Hebrew Teachers Training College; the planning of refresher courses for teachers; the crowning achievement of the opening of the first South African Jewish day school, namely, the King David School, in Linksfield, Johannesburg(23).

The supporters of the Jewish day school, as opposed to the afternoon supplemental Talmud Torah school, faced a long arduous uphill struggle for recognition. Among the obstacles was parental opposition to such a venture. For instance, some alleged that Jewish studies were

old-fashioned and obsolete. Others feared that the school would make their offspring into rabbis. Some felt that the educational proposals were tantamount to ghettoisation of their children, segregating them from their non-Jewish neighbours. They felt isolation an unthinkable and unwise policy to pursue in a multi-ethnic society, where the child would have to associate with all races and linguistic groups(24). There was also opposition on practical grounds - namely, the vast financial burden that the community would have to bear(25).

With the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in 1948, Jewish identification was enhanced and the concept of a Jewish day school became more widely appreciated. The establishment of Jewish day school was indirectly favoured by reaction to the Calvinist doctrine of Christian National Education (C.N.E.) implemented by the state in the government schools. The primary intention behind C.N.E. is the preservation of Calvinism(26). The explicit emphasis on a dogmatic and fundamentalist Christian education may well have been a deterrent for some Jews, making the option of a private Jewish day school more appealing. Other factors stimulating growth of the day schools included: the fear of assimilation, and its remedy by confining their child's peer associations to other Jewish children by sending them to the day school; avoiding any anti-Semitic behavioural patterns prevalent in the government schools; the attraction of parents to the high academic standards; social pressure inducing them to conform to the "in vogue" trend of attending the Jewish day schools.

### 6.3. JEWISH EDUCATION IN JOHANNESBURG IN THE 1980's

#### 6.3.1. Educational Systems Under the Auspices of the South African Board of Jewish Education

##### 6.3.1.1. Hebrew Nursery Schools

One special feature of the post-war development of Jewish education in the country as a whole has been the proliferation of Hebrew nursery schools and the importance attached to them as potential "feeders" to the day schools. Under the jurisdiction of the Board there is a widespread network of Hebrew nursery schools. In 1984 there were a total of 63 affiliated nursery schools in the Transvaal, Eastern and Northern Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Zimbabwe(28). These figures do not include the religiously orientated nursery schools of Johannesburg as well as the Hebrew nursery schools of Cape Town, Western Cape and district, all of which are independent of the South African Board of Jewish Education. The greater majority of students and schools are thus found in Johannesburg. In 1984, 50% of all Jewish nursery schools in South Africa and Zimbabwe were located in Johannesburg(30)

##### 6.3.1.2. Hebrew Part-time Schools.

In Johannesburg and its environs a network of Talmud Torahs which are afternoon or early morning schools are located on the premises of the various Orthodox congregations. They are organized under a regional body called the United Hebrew Schools, which works in collaboration with the South African Board of Jewish Education. The board subsidises

these schools. In order to promote educational progress, exercise a certain amount of control, as well as to introduce the most recent teaching methods, education officers from the Board regularly visit the Talmudei Torah(31). The tuition is provided during the early mornings, afternoons or Sunday mornings. By 1958, 2280 children were attending the United Hebrew Schools in Johannesburg(32). Thus despite the growing popularity of the day school movement, the United Hebrew Schools played an important role in the transmission of Jewish culture and tradition to Jewish children(33). Furthermore, the Jewish day schools could not physically accommodate each Jewish pupil. By 1975, the Talmudei Torah catered for approximately the same number as in 1958(34). The static enrollment figures can be ascribed to the opening of more day schools in Johannesburg and parental preference for the day school form of education. The part-time system has to contend with many disadvantages. Besides irregular attendance, the main problem is that the pupils cease their Hebrew Studies after the bar or bar mitzvah age. In 1980, the first Transvaal Talmud Torah candidate in a number of years wrote Hebrew in the matriculation examination(35). The total enrollment in the 23 schools under the United Hebrew Schools at the end of 1979 was 974, divided into 109 classes taught by 64 teachers(36). Of these schools 10 comprised early morning classes, 12 had less than 25 pupils per class.

#### 6.3.1.3. Religious Instruction in Government Schools

Involved in supplementary Orthodox religious education, is the Religious Education Department of the Office of the Chief Rabbi. In 1975, a program of religious instruction to Jewish pupils in the

government high schools was launched by Chief Rabbi Casper as a "positive alternative to the Christo-centric religious instruction which is presented in the government schools"(37). By 1978, nearly 2100 students of 12 government high schools in the Johannesburg area were taking part in the program. By the same year, a parallel program which started in 1977 catering for government primary school pupils had some 3500 participants(38). The office of the Chief Rabbi provides the teachers with source material contained in handbooks on the Biblical texts, festivals and prayers. Printed assignments are supplied to the pupils.

#### 6.3.1.4. The King David Schools

These schools are under the auspices of the South African Jewish Board of Education. In 1947, amid opposition of many communal leaders and organizations, and from certain religious quarters, the Board purchased a site in the suburb of Linksfield and immediately began to prepare for the opening of the first Jewish day school. In January 1948 enrollment was 44 pupils. Thereafter, enrollment grew steadily and in 1951 its first headmaster was appointed. In 1955 a post primary group of 92 pupils warranted the establishment of the King David High School, Linksfield. In 1960, in order to answer the needs of the burgeoning Jewish population in the western and north-western regions of Johannesburg, a second King David Primary School opened in Victory Park. Due to geographical factors, a third King David complex of schools was planned in the northern Johannesburg satellite town of Sandton, with the primary school opening in 1982(39). The numerical strength of the King David schools is reflected in Table 6.1. below:

TABLE 6.1. ENROLLMENT AT KING DAVID SCHOOLS(40).

	1985	1986	1987
King David Junior Linksfield	296	273	285
King David Senior Primary Linksfield	544	481	436
King David High Linksfield	1114	1084	1164
King David Primary Victory Park	624	536	475
King David High Victory Park	582	572	559
King David Sandton	324	337	374

The aims of these schools and the "national traditional" ideology which form the ideological and educational underpinning of these schools are embodied in the constitution of the Jewish Board of Education(41). Largely the brainchild of Rabbi Isaac Goss, the Board's director from 1949 to 1979 this ideology authentically reflects the South African Jew's normative code of identity. The "traditional" facet of the formula aims to expose the pupil to a modicum of observance and knowledge of basic texts such as the prayer book and Bible, concepts, rituals and values of Orthodox Judaism. A distinctive educational implication is that an uncoercive and tolerant attitude must prevail towards the actual observance of religious precepts, thereby reflecting recognition of the lax mode of observance in most pupils' homes(42). The "national" facet with which the "traditional" elements are synthesized, aims to foster identification with the Jewish national revival epitomised by the Zionist movement and Israel. Hebrew is taught in the modern idiom as manifest in the secular cultural renaissance of Zionism.

Goss' education credo consciously acknowledges its rootedness in "the existential reality" which the "broadly national-traditional" formula reflects(43). He avers that "in order that he may become a well integrated happy and creative personality", the Jewish child needs "to be fortified by a religious tradition" and "to feel that he belongs in a group which accepts him as a legitimate member and which concerns itself with him as a legitimate member and which concerns itself with him as a human being". He argues further that the renaissance of the Jewish people in Israel is a "potent educational factor repairing the psychological sabotage to which Jews had been relentlessly exposed to the past"(44).

#### 6.3.1.5. Teacher Training.

The Rabbi Avida Seminary, previously known as the Rabbi Judah Leib Zlotnik Seminary, in Johannesburg, is today the main source of trained South African Hebrew teachers for the community. From the year of its foundation in 1944 until 1984 it has produced over 300 teachers(45). A mid-1982 survey showed that some 50% of the Hebrew teachers in the Transvaal Jewish day schools under the auspices of the South African Board of Jewish education as well as Yeshiva College, were graduates of the Hebrew Teachers' Training College(46). It has been asserted that without these local teachers, the Jewish day schools would have had to close their doors(47). The Hebrew teaching diploma is recognised by the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture(48). While being trained as teachers, many students study concurrently for a Bachelor of Arts degree through the University of South Africa (UNISA)(49).

#### 6.3.1.6. Tertiary Education.

In 1977, the seminary amalgamated with the Jewish Students University Programme(JSUP). Both are under the auspices of the South African Board of Jewish Education, share the same premises on the grounds of Arcadia in Parktown and have the same principal in the person of Rabbi M.A. Kurtstag. JSUP serves a different purpose to the seminary. It was designed to fill a lacuna at the tertiary educational level in the community's educational structure(50). It aims at filling the need of the community for a cadre of laymen who have a business or profession but are ill informed about Judaism(51). JSUP provides a solid, intellectual and Jewish foundation for the student, whilst preparing him or her for the career of their choice. The student is able to read for any under or post-graduate degree that is offered by UNISA(52). This includes degrees in business, commerce, arts, law and theoretical science (excluding B.Sc.'s which require laboratory work). The intensive Jewish studies course includes Bible, Talmud, Jewish philosophy and related subjects. All levels are catered for, from beginners to advance. For both the secular and sacred fields of study, personal guidance and supervision is provided. Character and personality development is a prime role of the staff. JSUP regards itself as a "mini Jewish University" and as an alternative to the general universities. While the staff concede the university's role as a forum for the attainment of academic knowledge, they see it as unsuccessful in moulding a generation imbued with moral values, in addition to Jewish values.

Prompting this perception, is the general alienation of Jewish students from Jewish communal and spiritual life and their delving into alien sects and cults without knowledge and appreciation of the Jewish perspective. JSUP regards itself as the remedy to this and the natural and logical culmination of the Jewish day school system(53).

### 6.3.2. The Religious Day Schools.

#### 6.3.2.1. The Yeshiva College Complex.

Ever since its inception, Mizrachi's distinctive preoccupation was with constructive involvement in Jewish education. In the late 1930's and during the 1940's it vigorously pressed for deeper Orthodox religious content in Jewish education. Under the leadership of Rabbi I. Kossowsky, it attacked what it considered as the lax approach to Orthodox observance which had characterized the Transvaal Jewish Board of Education under the directorship of Dr David Mierowsky from the time of the Board's establishment in 1928(54). Whereas Mierowsky's supporters on the Board's executive conceived the Board's role to be essentially co-ordinative and all-embracing, providing guidance to all Jewish schools which sought it, including those of Reform, Kossowsky insisted that the Board should "guide, direct and control"(55) a Jewish education that was unequivocally committed to Orthodox observance. Kossowsky demanded that "whatever the degree of Jewishness in the South African community, its teachers and educationalists must be religious men"(56).

Without abdicating from its role as guardian of the Orthodox-religious component of education in the Jewish day schools, Mizrachi did not consider these adequate in the religious sense. Mizrachi had aspirations for an ideological content based on "strict national-traditional" lines and was not content with the educational implications of the "broadly national-traditional" formula which was incorporated into the Board's constitution(57). Hence Mizrachi set itself the task of creating a Jewish day school of its own which would provide an integrated curriculum of Orthodox religious studies and the government school syllabus.

The aim of the Yeshiva College schools is "to develop a generation that would reflect a harmonious blend of Jewish learning and tradition with the best western thought and culture"(58). In addition, the school seeks to make available to South African students the cultural and spiritual heritage of the academies of learning that were destroyed in Europe during the Holocaust(59).

\ The Yeshiva College had a modest beginning in 1952 when afternoon classes were held for a group of Bnei Akiva members of high school age at the Corona Lodge in Berea. As the quality of these lessons began to attract more pupils, the afternoon school became known as Bnei Akiva Yeshiva. The school was soon confronted with financial problems and the absence of a permanent site. Threatened with imminent closure, the Mirkin Seeff families allowed their large house and grounds in Parktown to be used as premises from 1952 to 1956(60). In 1955, Rabbi David Sanders, an American born graduate of the Telshe Yeshiva in

Cleveland, Ohio, was appointed as the first dean. His task was to create a full-scale yeshiva ketana on the lines of the American day schools which would include an intensive religious program and a secular curriculum. Rabbi Sanders silenced the many skeptics in the mainstream community and quickly consolidated the school which became a full-time school and moved to larger premises rented from a congregation in the city(61). It assumed the name by which it is known today, Yeshivat Beth Yitzchak, in memory of the late Rabbi I. Kossowsky.

Rabbi Kossowsky launched and directed a major fund-raising drive for the purpose of establishing a permanent school. In 1961, the Yeshiva moved to its own quarters in a pleasant 15 acre campus in the then new northern suburb of Glenhazel. Included in the facilities was a modern dormitory catering for out of town students and a beth midrash for prayer and study. Throughout these pioneering years the guiding force behind all endeavours and the inspiration to both the student body and faculty alike was Rabbi Kossowsky. He retained the position of rosh yeshiva until his death in 1964. The greatest problem facing the Yeshiva at the time was that pupils were entering the school with only a modicum of religious knowledge. It also lacked a feeder school.

In 1964, in order to contribute towards the religious and educational development of the Yeshiva College student, and simultaneously foster cohesion among the Jews of the Glenhazel community, the congregation established a synagogue(62). This was followed by the establishment of a kindergarten as a feeder school for the complex(63). In 1967, the

co-educational Menorah Primary School opened its doors with an enrollment of 100 pupils from pre-primary or nursery school to standard four(64). In 1970, the Menorah Girls' High School opened its doors. It is known today as the Leila Bronner Girls' High School in honour of Professor Bronner, former professor of Hebrew at the University of the Witwatersrand. Today the complex is completely autonomous but maintains representation on the executive council of the Board of Education and is very active in its fund-raising activities. In 1984, the grand total of pupils in the entire complex was 692. This consisted of 344 boys and 348 girls. Table 6.2 below reflects the enrollment figures for the high schools(65).

TABLE 6.2. ENROLMENT AT YESHIVA COLLEGE BOYS HIGH SCHOOL AND LEILA BRONNER GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL.

	1985	1986	1987
Yeshiva College Boys High	140	155	130
Leila Bronner Girls High	115	110	120
TOTAL	255	265	250

6.3.2.2. Menora Primary School - Oxford Area

Reference to the Lubavitch Foundation's Torah Academy and the so called Kollel schools, must be preceded by a preamble referring to the now defunct Menorah Primary School Oxford. This school, in many ways, was the embryo of schools to be discussed in the following pages.

The Menorah Primary School, was established in 1966 by Rabbi N.M. Bernhard and was located at the Oxford Synagogue Centre, Riviera(66). It was intended that the school provide an intensive "non-aligned" religious education. However, with the proliferation of the Johannesburg Ultra Orthodox community, the parent body crystallised into Kollel orientated and Lubavitch orientated factions. Due to ideological conflicts which were developing between the two factions, it became virtually impossible to accommodate both Kollel and Lubavitch elements in one school. To quote Rabbi Bernhard, under whose control and jurisdiction the school functioned: "it was harder and harder to maintain an amicable co-existence under one roof"(67). This led to the school been phased out from 1979 onwards as the Kollel and Lubavitch schools expanded.

#### 6.3.2.3. The Torah Academy.

The Lubavitch Foundation has added a further dimension to the variety of Jewish education available in Johannesburg(68). In 1981, the Torah Academy moved to the 22 acre premises of the Good Shepherd's Convent on Louis Botha Avenue in Orchards which it had purchased. The school is centrally located within close reach of the major Jewish residential suburbs of Sydenham, Yeoville and Glenhazel(69). The facilities are all modern and well equipped. The "Aleph-Beth" clock, which was formerly the church tower, stands majestically, above 12 acres of landscaped hills and gardens. The complex's facilities include a swimming pool, sports fields, tennis courts, gymnasium and auditorium. The spiritual centre of the school is the synagogue which is used as a study hall. This was formerly the early period Romanesque chapel of the convent.

The Torah Academy complex today consists of a play school to which pupils who are age three are admitted, a nursery school, a primary school, a boys high school and a yeshivah gedolah. The girls high school has recently moved from premises adjacent to the Chabad synagogue in Yeoville to Urania Street, Observatory. By 1983, the number of pupils enrolled in the nursery school was 205; in the primary school, 174; and in the high school, 23. The total enrollment was 402(70). In 1984, for the first time in the history of the school, there were three grade one classes. In 1986, there were over 100 students in the high school. The high school had a complement of 14 full-time staff and 14 Jewish studies teachers(71).

The primary school classroom organisation involves dividing the pupils into units according to age and sex from grade one(72). Tuition is provided separately for boys and girls. Every unit occupies a suite of rooms comprising a play area, a work unit, a carpeted area for prayers, and cloak-room facilities. The units vary in size from 30 to 40 pupils. In 1983, the pupil-teacher ratio was 1:8(73). While the school has a Lubavitch ethos and certain Lubavitch customs are taught, Lubavitch spokesmen emphasize that the school does not cater exclusively for the Lubavitch community but for all Jewish children of the entire spectrum of religious orientation(74) :

It is not the purpose of the school to be a factory to produce Lubavitcher Chassidim. We want to produce knowledgeable, committed, well-balanced happy children, who will be well equipped to live as Orthodox Jews in modern society(75).

Since the school strives to be broad-based and acceptable to the entire community, its policy is not to foist specific Lubavitch practices on pupils who have different religious affiliations(76). The fact that 30% of the children come from homes with the most minimal level of Jewish knowledge and observance is proof of the school's appeal to the wider community. 60% of the pupils are from non-Lubavitch families(77).

In stating the aims of the school, Lubavitch spokesmen do so in the broadest and most general possible terms, deliberately avoiding specific Lubavitch connotations. Rabbi M. Lipskar accordingly stated in his message to the school 1985 magazine(78):

All children, and in particular Torah Academy students, should reflect the Emunah and Bitachon which comes from the deep awareness that Hashem is their constant Companion, their Judge and their Comfort. They should at all times strive to be a "Dugma Chaya" "living and vibrant examples" of Torah and Yiddishkeit.

The school is run and financed through the Lubavitch Foundations's Hanhala which is its governing body chaired by Rabbi Bernhard. The standard of its secular education meets the Transvaal Education Department requirements. The Jewish studies department is run by mostly young American rabbis. Full opportunities for sport participation are available to the pupils.

In response to a demand by parents, mostly from those who are Lubavitch emissaries, for a particularly intensive religious programme, and bare minimum of secular studies, the Torah Academy

Primary School runs a "cheder" programme(79). This "school within a school" began as an experiment but is now an entrenched institution in the Torah Academy. The pupils are taught a modicum of basic secular subjects, for example, English and Arithmetic, as a useful auxiliary to religious studies, and to allow the pupil to integrate into a full secular course at a later stage should he or she wish to do so. Another unique feature of this course is that the pupils learn Yiddish as a new language and study some of their religious subjects through this medium. In 1985, there were 23 boys and 25 girls pursuing this direction of study(80).

The Torah Academy classrooms are the venue for the Lubavitch Foundation's afternoon school for pupils at government schools. The goals of this program known as "Torah for Teens" are to help develop mature young people who will be knowledgeable and confident in their identity as Jews(81). Posters advertising this informal cheder promise a radically different experience. The youthful teachers have been carefully selected for their ability to relate to teenagers.

#### 6.3.2.4. The Sha'arei Torah Primary School

Sha'arei Torah was founded in response to a need for a religious primary school to serve the Kollel community. The school was initially a pre-grade school with 12 children located in a room of a Yeoville house(82). By 1979, Sha'arei Torah was a fully fledged primary school catering for boys and girls up to standard four. Today the school occupies the premises of the Yeoville Synagogue Talmud Torah. Registration has grown steadily since its inception. In

December 1984 the enrollment was 150 from pre-grade up to and including standard four(83). The school serves as a feeder for Torah Emeth Boys' High and Beth Jacob Girls' High(84). The pupils are all from Ultra Orthodox home environments(85). Their parents consequently want them to have an intensive all encompassing Jewish studies program(86). The parents are from all walks of life and include doctors, dentists, businessmen, tradesmen, teachers and religious personnel. The catchment area is diffuse and is spread out throughout the suburbs of Johannesburg. The motto of the school is "Torah with Derech Eretz", the same motto as that of Rabbi S.R. Hirsch's prototypic Realschule in Frankfurt. The principal of Sha'arei Torah understands this to mean the learning of Torah and development of moral character(87). The pupils are encouraged to emulate the ethical traits of the great Jewish sages and spiritual leaders. An official aim of the school is to produce Torah observant Jews capable of "understanding the rigors of the secular world"(88). As is evident in the following profile of a Sha'arei Torah graduate, as furnished by the principal, Rabbi Chagie Rubin, this is only a secondary or peripheral objective:

A graduate of our school has all the necessary tools for succeeding in both Torah and general learning. But more than that, he or she is imbued with traditional Jewish values with a love for his fellow Jew and a strong identification with the land of Israel(89).

The pupils spend three hours each day in traditional Jewish learning and an equal amount of time in secular learning in accordance with the Transvaal Education syllabus and requirements. The Judaic curriculum

includes Bible and major parts of Mishna. This serves as a primer for later Gemmorah study. The school emphasizes the development of moral and ethical character as the highest aim.

According to Sha'arei Torah's American born and educated principal, many of the overseas personnel filling local rabbinical and leadership positions only agreed to live and work here because of the presence of the school(90). He believes that a critical factor attracting them, is the school's level of learning which compares favourably with that of overseas Ultra Orthodox schools. This contention was verified by the researcher in the course of interviews with Sha'arei Torah parents and an analysis of the composition of the parent body: close to a third of the parent body hail from overseas, with the vast majority from Europe and America, and a small proportion from Israel(91).

While Sha'arei Torah is intensely loyal to the Lithuanian tradition and provides an education rooted in that approach, the school fosters respect and tolerance for alternative approaches within the framework of Orthodoxy. Success in this respect is attested to by the harmonious coexistence in the classroom, playground and extramurally of pupils with diverse cultural heritages.

#### 6.3.2.5. The Beth Jacob Girls High School

For a proper understanding of the aims and ideals of the Johannesburg Beth Jacob School, it is necessary to refer to the founder of the Beth Jacob School movement and her prototypic school in Poland. The ideas that shaped the educational activities of seamstress turned

educationalist Sarah Schenirer (1883-1935), were based on the pre-World-War One Polish Jewish educational scene(92). Schenirer sought to rectify the anomalous situation whereby only boys received a Jewish education while the girls went to government schools. She believed that as future mothers the girls would exert a decisive influence upon their progeny and warranted a Jewish education no less than the boys(93). This reason, in particular, is deemed equally valid for contemporary Johannesburg Jewish education.

The religious curriculum at Beth Jacob Johannesburg has identical fundamental principles and objectives to that of the original Beth Jacob in Cracow(94). In fact, in the course of discussion and interview with the pupils it became evident that Sarah Schenirer represents more than a historical figure, but a living model and mentor from which they draw inspiration. The core values propagated by Beth Jacob Johannesburg, as well as by its counterpart in Israel, are the sanctity of the Jewish home and family life. The role of the woman as a future mother and wife and guarantor of the cultural and spiritual values of the Jewish people is a salient theme in the school's ethos. Included in the religious curriculum is a special course on the woman's role in Judaism where the "daughter of Israel" is given guidance in her future role as inspired by Sarah Schenirer in her last will: "My dear girls, you are going out into the great world. Your task is to plant the holy seed in the souls of pure children. In a sense, the destiny of Israel of old is in your hands"(95).

Foremost in the educational philosophy of Beth Jacob, as is the case of all the Torah orientated schools, is that religious instruction is more than the acquisition of facts and mechanical techniques of dealing with the primary texts. Its affective and spiritual component and involvement with the total personality is underlined by former principal Rabbi J Krupnick: "They (the girls) must also be capable of doing Cheshbon Hanefesh so that they can come closer to the Borai-Olam"(96)

The institutions of higher learning attended by Beth Jacob Johannesburg graduates, have included Beth Jacob Jerusalem and Migdal Oz Seminary in Israel, and Gateshead Seminary in England.

#### 6.3.2.6. The Torath Emeth Boys High School

Late Rabbi J Salzer, spiritual leader of the Adath Jeschurun conceived of the idea of the school and was the prime mover in its establishment. He planned to provide his community with a Jewish education according to Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch's philosophy(97). Motivating Rabbi Salzer's endeavours was his conviction that the youth "...have the potentials [sic] of securing the survival of our people in spite of hostile forces of present time permissive philosophies. Innocent young Jewish souls find easily their way back to their own sources, provided they are taught so"(98).

In its early days, the school was housed in various temporary premises, with the religious and secular departments under different roofs. In 1972, the school moved to more spacious accommodation in

Observatory, where the religious and secular departments could be housed in the same building.

The student body which in 1983 numbered 35 is homogeneous in the sense that all students are Ultra Orthodox and highly motivated. According to Rabbi Gedalia Sternstein, Torath Emeth's American born and trained rosh yeshiva and headmaster: "The fortunate thing about our school is that all the students want to come. A lot force their parents to send them here. A quarter are from non-religious homes"(99).

The following extract gives an insight into the aims and ideals of the school. It asserts that human existence cannot be fully comprehended or realized except through religious perceptions and commitments(100):

Our Yeshiva provides the ideal formula of education. It ensures on the one hand, a pure concrete and concentrated Torah, which can only take place within a solid, sheltered Torah environment. On the other hand it also gives the fully necessary coverage and preparation for the world at large which pupil will meet, but, this must be given from within the pure Torah environment. It must teach about the outside secular world through the all-wise eyes of Chazal, our sages, by teachers who are fully cognizant of modern society, but at the same time, are totally Torah-disciplined Jews(101).

Of all the Torah-orientated day schools, Torath Emeth offers the most intensive religious curriculum. At the end of two years at the school, the pupils are able to master a blatt gemorah with the commentaries.

The daily programme begins with prayers at 6.45 am. Jewish studies continue until noon. After an hour of compulsory physical training the programme resumes with secular studies. The school day ends between

4.30 pm (for Std 5's) and 5.30 pm (for matric students). In addition evening classes of one hour duration devoted to the study of Talmud are conducted on Mondays to Thursdays, which the pupils attend voluntarily. In addition lessons are held on Sabbath afternoons and a yeshiva programme is held on Sunday mornings. On the secular side, the matric syllabus is often completed by the end of standard nine on account of the small classes. The school boasts a fully equipped science laboratory and a full size sports field. Most of the graduates opt for a higher yeshiva education at overseas institutions in preference for a university education.

#### 6.3.2.7. The Hirsch Lyons Hebrew Nursery School(102).

This school, located in the suburb of Orange Grove, was opened in 1985. It was founded in response to a demand for an "apolitical" pre-school system which would not be affiliated with any particular splinter group of Orthodoxy. At its inception it had a play school and a group for three year olds. By 1977, the pre-grade unit catered for three, four and five year olds. The total enrollment by September 1977 was 39. The school has adopted a moderate religious approach. A goal is to have Torah learning at the highest possible level but at the same time to present it in a non-pressurised manner. All teachers are religiously observant and their qualifications, as well as the secular curriculum conforms with the dictates of the South African Association for Early Childhood Education. Approximately 80% of the parent body are observant professionals and businessmen.

CHAPTER 6. THE EMERGENCE OF JEWISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Katz, M.E. 1980. op.cit. p.200.
2. The Jewish Chronicle. 16 August 1901. p.15.
3. In Republican Transvaal, the Jewish community opened their day schools in Johannesburg (in 1880), Barberton, and later in Pretoria (in 1905). Like Cape Town's Hope Mill Hebrew Public School (established in 1885), they provided instruction in Hebrew and Judaism during school hours. Their prime function, however, was to provide a secular education, especially for the children of the East European immigrants.  
See: Katz. 1980. op.cit. pp.iii, 86,87.  
Misheiker, R. 1976. 'Jewish Education in Johannesburg: A Brief and Historical Survey'. Jewish Affairs. 3(10):21.  
Misheiker, R. 1958. 'First Steps of Hebrew Education in S. Africa.' The Zionist Record. 21 November 1958. p.91.
4. Casper B.M. 1982. op.cit. p.33.
5. Katz, M.E. 1980 op.cit. p.iv.
6. *ibid.*
7. Levin, M. 1973. 'Jewish Education in South Africa: A Survey'. Jewish Education. 42(4):29.
8. Casper. 1982 op.cit. p.31.
9. Katz. 1980. op.cit. p.iv.
10. Goss, I. 1960. 'Then and Now in Jewish Education'. Jewish Affairs. May 1960, p.76.
11. *ibid.*
12. Hopkins, S. 1980. 'Jewish Education: Adapting to Change'. Jewish Affairs. November 1980. p.28.
13. This may have been prompted, in part, by the lack of alignment with the Zionist organization by the South African born generation of Jews of East European parentage. Eager to become integrated into the South African way of life, they were reluctant to be associated with what they considered a narrow sectional movement.  
Gitlin, M. 1950. op.cit. p.304.
14. Shimoni. 1980. op.cit p.30.  
Gitlin. 1950. op.cit. p.304.

15. Shimoni, 198. op.cit p.30.  
Zionist Record. 1 January 1928. 'Report on the Hebrew Education Conference'.
16. Shimoni. 1980. op.cit.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. American Jewish Year Book 1967. Vol 68. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. p.458;  
Levin. 1973. op.cit. p.29.
20. Katz 1980. op. cit. p.iv.
21. Bar Mitzvah means in Hebrew Son of the Commandment. Bat is the feminine. The term refers to the boy who has reached the age of 13, and is expected to accept adult religious responsibilities. This "coming of age" is the occasion for a ritual in the synagogue (as well as informal festivities) where the boy reads a portion of the Torah and the appropriate selection from the prophets.
22. ibid.
23. Steinberg, M.B. 1969. 'Jewish Education in South Africa'. Jewish Education. 39(4):14-22.  
Levin. 1973. op.cit. pp.29-30;  
Katz. 1980. op.cit. p.vi;  
Misheiker, 1976. op.cit. p.23.
24. ibid.
25. Abrahams, I. 1968. op.cit. p.256.  
Abrahams also lists the refutations of the above allegations.
26. It ought to be noted that while C.N.E. insisted on strictly segregated single-medium schools and the principle that it must be rooted in religion, it did not impose its own Calvinist Articles of Faith upon non-Afrikaners or Jews.  
See: Auerbach, F.E. 1965. The Power of Prejudice in South African Education. Cape Town: Balkema;  
Education Beyond Apartheid 1971. Spro Cas publication No. 5 Johannesburg: Christian Institute. pp.71-87;  
'Christian National Education Policy' as outlined by the Institute for C.N.E. of the F.A.K. 1965. Vatcher, W.H. (Trans.). London: Pall Mall.
27. Shimoni. 1980. op.cit.p.256;  
Kark, G. 1972. The Jewish Day School Matriculate.  
M. Ed. Dissertation. Dept. of Education. University of the Witwatersrand.

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30. Percentages have been computed from figures given by the Board. *ibid.*
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32. Levin, M. 1973. *op.cit.* p.32.
33. 'South African Board of Jewish Education. Thirteenth National Education Conference, 15 and 16 February 1964'. p.9.
34. South African Jewish Board of Deputies Report, United Hebrew School of Johannesburg, 21 February 1975. p.1.
35. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 1 January 1980. p.3.
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37. 'Enlightenment for Adults and Youths: Aims of the Chief Rabbi's Religious Instruction Programme'. South African Jewish Times. 18 January 1978.
38. *ibid.*  
See Katz M.E. 1980. *op.cit.* pp.636-643 for Jewish religious instruction in Transvaal government schools.
39. For further particulars on this paragraph See:  
Mink, R. 1984. 'Education'. Arkin, M. (Ed.). 1984. *op.cit.* pp.117-120;  
Peltz, L.J. 1984 Jewish Education as a Means of Jewish Nationalism and Identity. D. Ed. Thesis in History of Education. Unisa. March 1984. pp.374-407;  
Leibowitz, L. 1966. The History and Development of Jewish Education in the Transvaal. Dissertation presented to Graduate School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of B. Ed. pp.74-75.
40. South African Board of Jewish Education. 21st National Conference. 16-17 May 1987. Commemorative brochure.
41. The formula Jewish education based on broadly national traditional lines was incorporated into the Board's constitution in 1945.

42. See: Adar, Z. 1965. Jewish Education in South Africa: A Report. Jerusalem. pp.1-8.
43. For Rabbi Isaac Goss's educational philosophy and integral Zionism, see:  
 Goss, I. 1961, Adventure in Jewish Education. Johannesburg: South African Jewish Board of Education;  
 Goss, I. 1972. Gleanings; Reflections on Judaism and Jewish Education. Johannesburg: Kayor.  
 On the more controversial question of the educational outcome of the Jewish day schools, and in particular whether they produced a higher degree of commitment and identification, see:  
 Kark, G. 1972 op.cit;  
 Katz, M.E. 1973. Jewish Education at the Cape in 1841 to the Present: A Survey and Appraisal. M. Ed. dissertation, University of Cape Town;  
 Dubb, A.A. 1971. Report on a Study of Jewish Day School Matriculants in the Republic of South Africa: Johannesburg South African Jewish Board of Deputies Social Research Unit.
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45. South African Board of Jewish Education. 20th National Conference. op.cit.
46. Davidian Star. June 1982.
47. Goss, I. 1982. 'The J.L. Zlotnick-Avida Seminary'. Jewish Affairs. January 1982. pp.39-40.
48. Kurtstag, M.A. 1976. 'Jewish Education needs Education'. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 17 December 1976. p.16.
49. 'Seminary to Train Teachers and Lay Leaders'. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 26 November 1976.
50. See: Wedcliffe, A.R. 1979. 'Guest editorial'. The Federation Chronicle. November 1979.
51. 'Johannesburg's Oxford has a 100% pass record'. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 7 December 1979.
52. 'A Chosen Career Plus Jewish Values', in supplement to the Jewish Herald. 8 January 1974;  
South African Jewish Times. 18 January 1984. p.11.
53. See: 'Exciting Jewish Venture'. Rand Daily Mail. Careers supplement. 11 November 1976.
54. Shimoni, 1980. op.cit. pp.181-182.

55. Minute Book of the Fourth Biennial Conference of Jewish Board of Education, Johannesburg. Afternoon session. 15 March 1936.
56. *ibid.*
57. South African Jewish Board of Education, Minute Book of the Seventh Conference. Fourth Session. 4 March 1945; Constitution as Amended after the Seventh Conference. March 1945, Clause 2(a).
58. South African Jewish Observer. May 1965. p.3.
59. *ibid.* p.5.
60. Personal interview with Rabbi A.H. Tanzer during August 1985; Mink, R. 1984. *op.cit.* pp.120-121.
61. 'Torah Growth in South Africa'. Jewish Tribune. 13 March 1970. p.6.
62. Peltz, L.J. 1984. *op.cit.* p.419.
63. The South African Observer. Vol 10. No. 7. July 1965. p.12.
64. The Federation Chronicle. Vol 13. No. 2 February 1967. p.3.
65. The figures for 1984 were taken from 'South African Board of Jewish Education. 20th National Conference. 11-13 August 1984'. A commemorative brochure.  
Table 6.2 was compiled from: South African Board of Jewish Education. 21st National Conference. *op.cit.*
66. See: Southern African Jewish Times. 5 November 1965. 'The Oxford Day School Project'.  
Southern African Jewish Times. 3 November 1968. 'The Oxford Affair'.  
Southern African Jewish Times. 22 October 1965. 'Stop Oxford Synagogue Starting New Day School'. 'Chief Rabbi Should Intervene Without Delay'.  
Southern African Jewish Times. 10 December 1965. 'Proposed Oxford School: Press Statement by Chief Rabbi Casper'. p.7.  
South African Jewish Frontier. December 1965. 'Rabbi Bernhard's Frolic'. p.2.
67. Bernhard, N.M. 1978. 'Jewish Educational Mitosis: The Future of Menora - Oxford'. A memorandum to parents and other interested persons by Rabbi Bernhard, honorary director. 12 September 1978.
68. A sister school the Hebrew Academy has recently opened up in Cape Town.

69. It is to be noted that most of the Jewish school children of Glenhazel wanting a day school education, opt for Yeshiva College for reasons of convenience and ideology.
70. Mink, R. 1984. op.cit. p.129.
71. The Torah Times. Vol 4. Kislev 5746. December 1985. School magazine of the Torah academy. p.5.
72. Part of the reason for segregating boys and girls is to socialize them from the earliest grade into the laws and customs regarding etiquette and sexual taboos in preparation for adolescence.  
See: Bernhard, N.M. 1985. 'We do not invite people to join us on our terms', in Wellsprings. Cheshvan 5746. November 1985. p.5.
73. Peltz. 1984. op.cit. p.422.
74. See: Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 2 December 1982. p.56;  
Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 2 January 1981. p.5.
75. 'The new primary school under the aegis of South African Lubavitch foundation: Questions and Answers'. November 1978. Cheshvan 5739. A memorandum for prospective parents.
76. ibid.
77. Bernhard, N.M. 1985. op cit.  
See: Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 29 April 1983. Letters to the Editor, headline reads: 'Not only for Ultra Orthodox'
78. The Torah Times. op.cit. p.2.
79. See: The Torah Times op.cit. p.73. for a report on the Cheder.
80. These figures were derived by counting those pupils on the cheder photograph in The Torah Times (ibid) and taking into account absentees.
81. South African Jewish Times. 14 February 1986. 'Is there life after barmitzvah? "yes" say "Torah for Teens"' p.6. The caption says in parenthesis: "Have no fear it is not to make them Lubavitchers".
82. Northern Eastern Tribune. 24 April 1984. p.9.
83. South African Jewish Times. 7 December 1984. p.9.
84. The Federation Chronicle. 27 (7):9.

85. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 24 August 1979.
86. ibid.
87. South African Jewish Times. 7 December 1984 p.9.
88. The Federation Chronicle. 25(2):4.
89. South African Jewish Times. 7 December 1984. p.9.
90. Personal Interview with Rabbi Rubin. 10 June 1984.  
See: South African Jewish Times. 7 December 1984. p.9.
91. See: North Eastern Tribune. 24 April 1984. p.9.
92. See: Kurzweil, Z.E. 1964. Modern Trends in Jewish Education. New York, London: Thomas Yoseloff. pp.266-274;  
Jung, L. (Ed.). 1953. Jewish Leaders. (1964 Edn.). Jerusalem: Boys Town Publishers. pp.405-432.
93. For a Biblical prooftext see:  
Exodus XIX, 3. The house of Jacob according to the sages refers to the women and their formative influence on the future generation.  
See commentary in Hertz, J.H. (Ed.). 1968. The Pentateuch and Haftorahs (2nd Edn.). London: Soncino. p.291.
94. Schenirer was greatly influenced by the lectures of Rabbi Dr Flesch, an adherent of the S.R. Hirsch school of thought. She studied the writings of Hirsch and Hildesheimer, the chief exponents of the "modern" German Orthodoxy.  
Kurzweil. op.cit. pp.268-269.  
This is one of the reasons why she chose Yiddish as the medium of instruction. She regarded it as an effective barrier against assimilation and more feasible in her country than Polish. This was a point of departure from the Hirschian school of thought which has adopted the language of the country.  
Kurzweil. ibid. p.269.  
For enrolment figures of the Cracow school see: Scharfstein, Z. 1945. Toldot Hachinuch Be Yisrael Be Dorot HaAchronim. New York: Ogen.
95. Quoted in Jung op.cit. p.432.
96. 'Introduction' to Beth Jacob magazine, A Journal of Jewish Thought, Creative Writing and Humour. Issue No. 1.
97. Peltz, L.J. 1984. op.cit. p.432.
98. 'Yeshivath Nathan and Betty Kahn Torah Emeth. Bar Mitzvah 5793, 1979'. A thirteenth anniversary commemorative brochure.

99. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 24 August 1979.
100. See: Rosenak, M. 1984. 'Jewish Types: Responses and Educational Options'. Jewish Education. Vol. 52. No. 2 Summer 1984. p.25.
101. 'Ari Klein at the Civic. Sun. June 27 and Sun July 4 at 8:00 p.m. Sponsored by the Yeshiva Nathan and Betty Kahn Toras Emes' 'Yeshiva Toras Emes: Sixteen years of service to the Jewish Community'. A commemorative brochure.
102. Information was obtained from the following sources:  
Interview with the supervisor, Mrs E. Chiger. 13 September 1987;  
Circular from the fund raising chairman, Mr. R. Ziegler, dated 6 September 1985;  
Circular from the chairman, Mr R. Ziegler, dated September 1986.

Rabbi A.C. Goldfein. (see next chapter) and Rabbi D. Lapin are consulted on matters of educational policy and Jewish law. In 1988, a grade one class was formed.

CHAPTER 7. THE YESHIVA EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

## 7.1. INTRODUCTION

The Johannesburg yeshivas gedolas like those elsewhere, are tertiary educational institutions, prototypes of which existed early in Jewish history(1). The day commences with morning prayers followed by intensive study of the Talmud(2). This includes lectures by a rabbi as well as independent study in pairs of learning partners known as chavrusas. The Johannesburg yeshivas prefer their students to use the boarding facilities in order to foster a total learning environment with its own value system. This is to protect the student who strives to reach a level of holiness through a deep understanding and knowledge of the teachings of the faith. Distractions, for example, attending the cinema and dating, are rigidly proscribed, and contact with those who are not Orthodox is severely limited.

The Johannesburg yeshivas, like those elsewhere, are not merely institutions where rabbis are ordained. From informal interviews conducted in the course of this study with a broad representative sample of the Johannesburg yeshiva students, it emerged that the overwhelming majority have no aspirations to become practicing rabbis or teachers in the Jewish day schools or supplementary schools. Many expressed an interest in entering accountancy, law, business or other secular fields. Some of the older students had already qualified in these fields at the University of the Witwatersrand or were pursuing correspondence courses through the University of South Africa concurrent with their yeshiva studies. This is entirely consistent with the goals of the yeshivas since their primary purpose is to produce pious and G-d fearing laymen who are literate and well versed in the laws and customs of the Jewish faith(3).

An important factor conditioning the university student's performance is the goal of graduating. In the case of the yeshiva, the motivation is intrinsic(4). Talmud is studied for its own sake in order to fulfill what the student considers a heavenly mandate to delve into the Torah. The local yeshiva students, like their counterparts throughout the world, regard the Talmud as part of the Oral Tradition given to Moses by G-d on Mount Sinai(5). The basic feature of the yeshiva is its commitment to the idea Torah lishma, for "the sake of Heaven"(6). Ordination is viewed as only of secondary importance.

Written primarily in Aramaic, the complexities and intricacies of the Talmud are such that achieving complete mastery over it is impossible for most students. A goal is self-sufficiency in Torah study. This is conveyed in the following phrase answered by students in response to questions about their aim of studying: "Learning to learn". The Johannesburg yeshivas have no prescribed number of years of study. The decision to leave the yeshiva, like the decision to enroll, is a voluntary one, although peer and teacher pressure often influence the student. As far as the yeshiva is concerned, more important than the duration of the stay is what happens to their alumni after leaving. A critical index of success of the yeshiva in instilling in the pupil a commitment to learning, is whether he devotes his life to Talmudic study on either a part or a full time basis on leaving.

The importance of a yeshiva education in the light of contemporary conditions is described by Rabbi Levi Wineberg, rosh yeshiva of the Lubavitch Yeshivah Gedolah of Johannesburg(7):

The traditional view of a Yeshivah-bochur was always an elitist one. They represented to Jews the wisdom of Torah, Jewish scholarship and throughout the ages were the personification of "The People of the Book". The natural progression in education today, however, is to go directly from high school into university. This means that most young men enter university at age 17 or 18 when few are equipped with the wisdom or maturity to make the far-reaching choice of a life-time career. That is why so many of them drop out in their early university years. It's a critical time of life and it makes good sense to spend a year or two in a Yeshivah where they can invest in time getting to know themselves - as people, as Jews, as potential community leaders.

The Johannesburg yeshivas differ from each other in respect of their philosophical approaches. This stems in part, from the style, personality and general approach of the rosh yeshiva who is the embodiment(8) of the institution and who sets the tone of the yeshiva. However, the similarities shared by them are sufficiently significant to justify the following generalizations:

- (i) They all have programmes in which the full-time students spend most of their time in Talmudic study. Subjects such as ethics(9) and Bible are also taught;
- (ii) They all have the following goals - to transmit the tradition at the highest levels; to bring Jews closer to their roots by promoting the intellectual and spiritual growth of their students.
- (iii) Each yeshiva is headed by a rosh yeshiva(10).

(iv) Their approach, for the most part originated in Europe or has European antecedents.

The ease with which the students have been able to transfer from one yeshiva to another shows that the above characteristics are shared in common by all the institutions.

The Johannesburg yeshivas all cater for different students requirements. The courses they offer are as follows:

- (i) The full-time division trains and develops religious personnel such as rabbis, teachers, ritual slaughterers and youth leaders as well as secular professionals or pre-university students who wish to consolidate their knowledge of Judaism.
- (ii) The part-time division strives to produce a knowledgeable laity. Young men, the majority of whom are pursuing university degrees or are already in business or the professions devote many hours per week in the yeshiva. Some of them spend a limited number of years with the full time division either before or after commencing their part time religious studies.
- (iii) The division for Torah education to the general Jewish public. This division holds public lectures several times each week, on the weekends and before each Jewish festival to enable the public to participate in Torah study. Often, these lectures are tape recorded and circulated to interested persons throughout the Republic and in fact throughout the world.

Below is a brief description of three yeshiva gedolas of Johannesburg.

## 7.2. YESHIVAH GEDOLAH OF JOHANNESBURG

The Yeshivah Gedolah of Johannesburg, located at the Valley Observatory Synagogue complex, was established in January 1978 by Rabbi Azriel C. Goldfein who was born and educated in the U.S.A. Rabbi Goldfein has been the rosh yeshiva since the yeshiva's inception. The objectives of the Yeshivah Gedolah, as formulated by him are twofold. Firstly, to impart Torah and Talmudic knowledge and ethics at the highest possible level to South African post matric youth. Secondly, to provide rabbis and religious functionaries for the South African Jewish community(11). This second objective has aimed to rectify what Rabbi Goldfein perceived as an anomalous situation whereby the community had to import rabbis, educators and functionaries from Israel, the U.S.A. and England instead of developing local potential(12). To quote the rosh yeshiva: "Their [the South African Jewish community's] bread was brought from afar"(13). Rabbi Goldfein suggests the following reasons why that scheme, which prevailed for many decades, was not satisfactory nor feasible(14):

- (i) Overseas personnel were not geared for the culture and youth of South Africa;
- (ii) The majority came on short-term contracts. This resulted in a rapid turnover of leadership and a consequent lack of continuity and long term planning;
- (iii) The cost of personnel importation placed a crushing financial burden upon the country; and finally
- (iv) With the difficult political and economic climate top grade overseas personnel were no longer prepared to come to South Africa.

The need to establish the Yeshivah Gedolah became a matter of urgency, according to Rabbi Goldfein, since there was an exodus of overseas people who were returning to their countries of origin and the local production of religious personnel was at a standstill. Rabbi Goldfein added: "...how long will it be before a severe paralysis sets into many vital areas, before we witness the crumbling of institutions that took decades to build, or the growth of assimilation"(15).

Disregarding prophecies of doom from communal leaders, with only two full-time students and a handful of part-timers, and with only a shoe-string budget, Rabbi Goldfein went ahead and founded the yeshiva. Today, a decade later, the institution is a leading source in the Republic for the provision of rabbinical leadership and functionaries and educational personnel. It has produced young dynamic rabbis who are commanding positions of responsibility throughout South Africa. The following congregations are presently or were formerly headed by Yeshivah Gedolah alumni: Edenvale, Orange Grove, Randburg, Waverley (all in Johannesburg) Lukasrand (Pretoria) and Rondebosch (Cape Town). Ten former students have served in the South African Defence Force Jewish Chaplaincy. Yeshiva students have assisted congregations in local and outlying areas. By June 1987, there were approximately only fifteen full-time students.

The yeshiva has several full-time rabbis on its staff and maintains full hostel facilities in the neighbourhood. The rabbinical ordination qualification requires an intensive seven year course of Torah and Talmud study. The graduates are examined in conjunction with the Beth

Din of Johannesburg. Besides the learning programs and lectures, the Yeshivah Gedolah conducts a national day school program at various Jewish day schools for a number of days each year. This has brought the Yeshivah Gedolah into contact with hundreds of school pupils.

It is to be noted that the Yeshivah Gedolah is an independent institution and places great emphasis on its official policy not to exhibit any political affiliation or sectional interest, on both the communal and national level. As is evident from the preceding paragraphs it is, however, very pro-establishment in terms of the South African Jewish community and in many ways represents the antithesis of the Ultra Orthodox's policy of "opting out" from mainstream Jewry. The Yeshivah Gedolah alumni have been involved in the Bnei Akiva - Mizrachi Movement, the Lubavitch and Kollel. The rosh yeshiva was instructed to pursue this policy by his own teacher and mentor, Rabbi Mordechai Gifter (1916- ) the world renowned rosh yeshiva of the Telshe Yeshiva, Cleveland, Ohio. Rabbi Goldfein relates his teacher's advice: "...Torah must supersede all political interests. ....Torah must be affiliated with only Torah itself"(16).

### 7.3. YESHIVAT MAHARSHA

The institution is named after Rabbi Samuel Eliezer ben Judah Edels (1555-1631). This scholar and mentor was head of a yeshiva, interpreter of Talmud, Rashi and Tosfot and author of well known works on tractates of Talmud. The yeshiva was established with the help of Yeshiva College in 1979 by Rabbi Aron Pfeuffer, originally from Israel. The yeshiva was initially located on the Yeshivah College

complex. On account of a community developing around the yeshiva, and space becoming limited, the yeshiva, moved to its own premises, a house in Fairmount, one and a half kilometres away. The crowning glory of the yeshiva was the ordination(17) of five of its full-time students as rabbis on the 23rd March 1982, at a ceremony in the Simon Kuper Hall Johannesburg. Their rabbinical ordination is endorsed by the Harry Fishel Rabbinical Institute of Israel. They were examined by rabbis from Israel and America who represented leading rabbinical institutes. The graduates were tested in many topics not generally included in tests for ordination(18).

In the course of an interview with Rabbi Pfeuffer(19), it became evident that the function of Yeshivat Maharsha has shifted from that of a yeshiva where students can engage in full-time study and receive ordination to that of an Ultra Orthodox community where part-time study and prayer are linked. In fact, potential full-time students are advised rather to pursue their studies at yeshivas in Israel. This policy is based on Rabbi Pfeuffer's view that one cannot cultivate authentic Torah scholars in a non-observant society. A full-time student in Johannesburg would be deprived of the spiritual ethos which permeates the Ultra Orthodox communities of Israel and certain cities overseas. In Johannesburg, this atmosphere conducive to the development of G-d fearing beings is absent. Consequently, Rabbi Pfeuffer feels that having full-time students in Johannesburg would result in "synthetic talmidei chachamim" deficient in a level of fear of Heaven which can be attained elsewhere.

In 1987, it is more apt to describe Yeshivat Maharsha as a place of full-time study rather than having full-time students. The students are virtually all part-timers and hail mostly from the ranks of the rosh yeshiva's dedicated following of religiously observant heads of families. A morning, afternoon and evening programme is offered. The former commences at 5.00am. A further noteworthy feature is that a small group of professionals and business men engage in daily study until approximately 11.00am delaying their daily vocations until then. Rabbi Pfeuffer estimates that some 50 souls participate in daily learning at the yeshiva. He further estimates that some 30 of the 60 heads of families belonging to the yeshiva can be considered talmidei chachamim. In order to qualify for this designation they each know at least 200 pages of Gemmorah and are competent to answer any questions on the dietary laws and family purity.

#### 7.4. LUBAVITCH YESHIVA GEDOLA(20).

This institution opened its doors in January 1984 and is housed in the Torah Academy complex. The Johannesburg yeshiva and its world wide Lubavitch counterparts are all branches of one central organization, Yeshiva Tomchei Temimim Lubavitch. The prototype Lubavitch yeshiva was established in 1897 in the Lithuanian town of Lubavitch. All the yeshivas under the ambit of the central authority share similar philosophies, syllabi, admission requirements, etc.

One of the unique features of this yeshiva is that in addition to a local student body, the institution maintains a quorum of students imported from overseas. A group of such students aged between 19 and

20, all from the Central Lubavitcher Yeshiva in Brooklyn, New York have returned to their homes after completing two years here. They have been replaced by another group who have also been sent as emissaries by the Rebbe. It is envisaged that this cycle will repeat itself every two years as the tenure of each overseas group expires. The rationale for the need for these students emerged in the course of interview with Rabbi Wineberg. There was a recognition that the local institution is disadvantaged in that it is isolated from the mainstream of the yeshiva world and has a small student body. The overseas students carry the spirit of the established yeshivas where they had previously studied for a number of years with them to the local yeshiva. They consequently enhance the atmosphere of the local yeshiva and compensate for the disadvantages. In effect, the Lubavitch have transplanted a yeshiva to Johannesburg.

By April 1985, in addition to the 10 overseas students, there were six full-time local students. It was estimated then by Rabbi Wineberg, that 100 married and single men were attending lectures or participating in group or individual study at the yeshiva weekly(21). By June 1987, there were 20 full-time students, half of whom were local. Although the curriculum of study resembles that of the other Johannesburg yeshivas, considerable emphasis is also placed upon Chassidic philosophy and metaphysics, and the works of the movement's founder, Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi (1748-1813). The bulk of the day is reserved for Talmud, Halacha, Rambam, Tanach and Shulchan Aruch as is the curriculum of Johannesburg's other yeshivas all of which are Lithuanian -orientated. The Lubavitch Yeshivah Gedola thus offers a blend of Lithuanian scholarship and Chassidism.

The highlights of a typical daily program at Lubavitch Yeshiva Gedola include the following:-

- 6.15 a.m. : wake up.
- 7.00-8.30 a.m. : learning and lectures in Chassidic philosophy. This is a form of spiritual preparation for the morning prayers.
- 8.30-9.00 a.m. : individual study and preparation for morning prayers.
- 9.00-10.00 a.m. : morning prayers (The duration is nearly twice that of the South African Orthodox synagogue service).
- 10.00-10.30 a.m. : breakfast
- 10.30- 2.00 p.m. : Gemmorah shiur, including prior research and preparation, chavrusas.
- 2.00- 3.30 p.m. : afternoon prayers, lunch, break.
- 3.30- 7.30 p.m. : lecture on Shulchan Aruch, chavrusas
- 7.00- 8.00 p.m. : Evening service, supper, break
- 8.00- 9.30 p.m. : independent study, including Chassidic philosophy, chavrusas.

Provision is made for different age or ability by "streaming" the students into one of the four levels of shiurim. The beginners are not merely taught literacy in the texts but are also introduced to the laws, symbols and rituals of Jewish religious observance and prayer.

The beginners concentrate on the Pentateuch, its commentaries and Halacha. They also become acquainted with Jewish history. The lower streams receive guidance in Gemmorah study and in the interpretation of the commentaries. The upper streams have shiurim less frequently and participate more in research. They are able to employ the pilpul method of study. This requires mental dexterity and involves creating harmony between incongruent matters. Dialectical reasoning powers are employed.

Certain features unique to the Lubavitch way of life are manifest in the yeshiva - for example, the Rebbe in New York notes the progress and level of study of the students. He writes letters to the yeshiva, and the local rabbis seek his guidance for the management of specific personal problems or issues concerning individual students. Emphasis is placed on developing a life long relationship with the Rebbe. The students and rabbis participate in fabrengen by phone link up which are sessions of fellowship with inspirational talk and Chassidic melodies. This helps forge a bond between the students. They also participate in the outreach activities of the umbrella movement cited earlier in this study. In addition, they visit offices in the city centre on Fridays, bringing a Torah message. They give shiurim to heads of households and at army bases. They serve as counsellors at the day camps and Tsivos Hashem(22) movement.

The location of the yeshiva on the Torah Academy complex facilitates a close connection with the high school. The yeshiva conducts the mishmar program on Thursday evenings which is basically a study club

when the high school students and yeshiva students have chavrusas together. On Friday mornings, the senior high school students learn together with the yeshiva students. The yeshiva also contributes intellectually and spiritually to the congregation of some 120 families which has developed around the Torah Academy synagogue with which it shares facilities.

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#### 7.5. TORAH CHIZUK INTERNATIONAL

A survey of Jewish religious education is incomplete without mention of an organization called Torah Chizuk International(23). It was founded in 1978 by Rabbi Chaim Shein with the aim of strengthening Jewish religious knowledge and practice in South Africa, mainly through bringing to these shores international rabbinic personalities including heads of yeshivas. The lecturers are circulated to all religious sectors of the community (except Reform) and to all the main centres of the Republic. The lecturers receive no financial remuneration, but come for idealistic reasons. Expenses are covered by membership to the organization. The visiting lecturers often speak at melava malka celebrations organised by Torah Chizuk. Torah Chizuk has in the past also arranged international telephone "hook-ups" with the late Rabbi Moshe Feinstein of New York (1895-1986), one of the greatest rabbinical authorities in the world, as well as with Rabbi Mordechai Gifter.

## CHAPTER 7: THE YESHIVA EDUCATION SYSTEM. NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The central activities of a yeshiva (from Hebrew root verb "to sit") are intellectual.  
See: Helmreich, W.B. 1982a. The World of the Yeshiva. New York: The Free Press.  
According to rabbinic tradition the Bible was known to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob prior to the revelation at Mount Sinai. Their training took place in the yeshivas of Shem and Ever.  
See Midrash Rabbah, Bereishit (Genesis) 63:10. Based on the passage, "And Jacob was a quiet man dwelling in tents" (Genesis 25:27).  
Ever, who was affiliated with the school was the grandson of Shem, a son of Noah. Furthermore, Jacob in particular came to be associated with a love of learning. According to the Talmudic sage Rabbi Chanina, he sent his son Judah to Egypt in order to build a house of study so that when Jacob arrived there he could be able to pass his last years in the service of G-d.  
See: Midrash Rabbah Bereishit 95:2. Based on the passage: "And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to show the way before him unto Goshen" (Genesis 46:28).
2. A sixty-three volume work dealing with Jewish laws, traditions and history.  
For an insight into yeshiva study from the perspective of a university student observer, see the following essay:  
Kochan, L. 1979. 'The yeshiva: an outsider looks in'. Jewish Chronicle. 16 March 1979.
3. Interviews with: Rabbi A Pfeuffer. 12 May 1987;  
Rabbi L. Wineberg. 26 May 1987.
4. For the psychological theory on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, see: Motivation and Learning. Published by the Open University. Educational Studies: A second level course. Personality and Learning. Block 3. 1980. pp.40-41;
5. See: Ausubel, D.P. Educational Psychology; A Cognitive View. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. pp.363-393;  
Safran, A. 1960, 1977. The Kabbalah: Law and Mysticism in the Jewish Tradition. Jerusalem, New York: Feldheim. passim.
6. The ideal of a yeshiva is espoused by Reb Chaim, the founder of the renowned Volhoziner Yeshiva of Eastern Europe. Echoing Jewish tradition, he says that one should not study the Torah in order to become a rabbi, but for non-utilitarian ends, merely for its own sake.  
See: Levy, A. 1952. The Story of Gateshead Yeshiva. Taunton, Somerset. The Wessex Press.  
For further explanation of Torah Lishma see:  
Bleich, J.D. 1977. Contemporary Halachic Problems. New York: Ktav, Yeshiva University Press. p.xiii.

He writes:

Judaism is unique in its teaching that study is not merely a means but an end, and not merely an end among means but the highest and noblest of human aspirations. Study of Torah for its own sake is a sacramental act, the greatest of all mitzvot.

Lamm groups the various definitions of the term Torah Lishmah into three mutually unexclusive categories: (i) The functional definition: this refers to the study of Torah texts in order to perform and observe the precepts and commandments. (ii) The devotional definitions: Torah must be studied for the sake of Heaven, motivated out of love, rather than fear of G-d, or to reach certain mystical ends, or to achieve communion with G-d; (iii) The cognitive definition: Study for the sake of the Torah itself.

See: Lamm, N. 1968. 'Pukhovitzer's Concept of Torah Lishmah'. Jewish Social Studies. Vol. xxx. pp.149-156.

7. 'Learning to live'. Wellsprings. 1(2)8.
8. For example, students will describe their place of learning as, "I learn at Goldfein", seldom invoking the name of the yeshiva.
9. The Johannesburg yeshivas of the Mitnaged tradition propagate ethics in the spirit of the Musar movement founded by Rabbi Yisrael Salanter in the nineteenth century. The Lubavitch Yeshiva teaches the writings of the Chassidic master rabbis. Both fields of knowledge, Musar and Chassidism share a concern to speak to the heart and educate the emotions.
10. For an account of the role of the rosh yeshiva in general, see Helmreich, 1982a. op. cit. pp.65-79.
11. Yeshivah Gedolah of Johannesburg. Memorandum. Date of publication unknown. p.1. Information on this yeshiva was also gleaned from the Sabbath morning lecture delivered by Rabbi Goldfein commemorating the yeshiva's eighth anniversary. The exact date of the lecture was not recorded, but it coincided with the Sabbath of Torah portion Mishpatim, in February 1986.
12. See: Goldfein, A. 1979. 'Can South African Jewry Face the Challenges?' Hebrew Order David Journal. 1979. p.62.
13. 'Yeshivah Gedolah of Johannesburg: Commitment to South Africa Jewry', a Jewish Times editorial supplement. South African Jewish Times. 8th November 1985. p.1.
14. See: *ibid*.

15. Goldfein 1979. op.cit.
16. South African Jewish Times. 8 November 1985. op.cit.
17. The students actually only studied for two and a half years with Rabbi Pfeuffer but were full time yeshiva students elsewhere before transferring.
18. The Jewish Herald. 16 March, 1982. '5 to be ordained as rabbis next week'.
19. Interview held on 12 May 1987.
20. Unless otherwise stated, all the information on this yeshiva was drawn primarily from an interview with Rabbi Wineberg held on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1987.
21. Wellsprings. op.cit. p.9.
22. The aim of this campaign is to bring children at the pre-Bar Mitzvah and pre-Bat Mitzvah age closer to traditional Jewish observance. The Torah Times. 1984. p.1.
23. See: The Jewish Herald. 30 December 1980;  
South African Jewish Times. 8 June 1984. p.5.

CHAPTER 8 CURRICULUM, PEDAGOGY AND KNOWLEDGE AT THE JOHANNESBURG  
RELIGIOUS DAY SCHOOLS

## 8.1. INTRODUCTION

In any South African school the teacher's control over knowledge is limited by the syllabus or curriculum. This is particularly evident at the high school level where the primary aim of completing what are usually extensive syllabi and producing a satisfactory level of attainment for examination purposes are constraining pressures. In the case of the Johannesburg Jewish religious high schools, the staff are doubly constrained: by the Transvaal Education Department syllabi and also by the required standards of Jewish religious education. This chapter seeks to illustrate the case of classroom teachers encountering two scholastic traditions. The material which follows is drawn from interviews with parents, pupils, teachers and headmasters of the religious high schools, from a content analysis of the school magazines and brochures, from a study of school notice-boards and primarily from the researcher's notes as a participant observer at the Yeshiva College complex. The central argument is that the schools surveyed have both a secular and religious function, and that classroom life is governed by two scholastic traditions. Since the *raison d'être* of these schools is their religious curriculum, special emphasis will be given to this distinguishing feature.

## 8.2. THE FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

For the purpose of this chapter, the view is held of the formal curriculum in a school as one in which the pupils act as relatively passive recipients of ready-made information emanating from the teacher. This deficit view of the pupil is tantamount to what Freire(1) calls the "banking concept of education". Here the formal

curriculum is the major source of knowledge gained by the pupils. The teacher is relegated to a narrating subject, knowing everything and choosing what is to be taught - "making deposits" which the pupil, in the fashion of a receptacle, receives, memorizes and repeats.

### 8.3. TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE

The selection of culturally valued knowledge is part of the curriculum which also includes other learning experiences available to pupils. Musgrave suggests that the stock of knowledge offered by most schools can be divided into two areas. Firstly, academic knowledge: this is largely in written form and relates to learned disciplines. Secondly, behavioural knowledge: this includes knowledge of the behavioural norms of the society(2). The Johannesburg Jewish religious day schools propagate two cultures, and it is doubtful whether the simple dichotomy that Musgrave proposes adequately accounts for the stock of knowledge they communicate to the pupils. A similar reservation must be held about comparable denominational schools(3), and suggests, that at least one additional category is required, namely super-empirical knowledge(4). This is the corpus of transcendently derived or divinely revealed knowledge. It is immutable in contrast to the mainly Academic Tradition prescribed by the Transvaal Education Department. It is logically related to the Great Tradition and the sacred function of the schools, namely, the production of Torah observant Jews(5).

The academic corpus of knowledge can be equated with the secular function of the schools, namely, the preparation of their pupils for their places in South African society.

Accordingly, Bullivant's three categories of knowledge are described here for analytical purposes: academic knowledge, super-empirical knowledge, and behavioural knowledge(6). The last category is concerned with what Berger and Luckmann refer to as "recipe knowledge"(7). This is pragmatically essential knowledge and is applied to the mastery of routine problems.

#### 8.4. ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE

The selection of knowledge offered by the high schools through the formal curriculum is generally non-vocational. Enrichment non-academic subjects such as music, drama and art are not offered at the high school level. The organization of knowledge shows a strong academic bias. The secular subjects offered by all the Johannesburg Jewish religious high schools include: English and Afrikaans which are compulsory, Hebrew, Physical Science (Physics and Chemistry), Biology, Mathematics, History, Geography, Accountancy and Business Economics. Typing is offered in the girls' schools. The Leila Bronner girls high school offers French as a fourth language.

Examinations at all standards are set in all the schools. Internal examinations are written towards the middle of the year and at the end of the year, and tests are written intermittently throughout the year. The form five pupils write an external matriculation exam administered by the Transvaal Education Department in October/November. The matriculation examination is written on the school premises with staff

invigilating, overseen by an official from the Transvaal Education Department. The exams are set by an external examiner without the collaboration of the teachers. Since high marks qualify for admission to faculties such as medicine, dentistry and engineering, competition for success in the matric exam is intense. Consequently the pressure and tension leading to these exams are intense. The pupil preference for subjects at the "higher grade", as opposed to the "standard grade", and the registration by several pupils for seven or eight subjects instead of the prescribed six, confirms the academic orientation of the schools and their adherence to the Academic Tradition(8).

#### 8.5. SUPER-EMPIRICAL KNOWLEDGE

The basis of the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition of the Johannesburg Jewish religious day schools consists of three closely related and inter-dependent bodies of knowledge(9). They are the Bible (Tanach)(10), the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch. In the curriculum of these schools, Torah is the foundation of religious and ethical instruction(11). Although the guideline for the curriculum as stipulated in the Talmud(12) is not rigid, it outlines the basic curriculum of Jewish studies corresponding to the child's stages of cognitive development and learning readiness, as well as the priorities of Jewish religious literature. This basic framework in Jewish tradition is passed on from generation to generation(13). It must be stressed that these details are common to all the schools under review.

The following paragraphs apply generally to each of the schools observed. Occasionally a variation will be highlighted. Already in the first grade, the pupils are taught to recite prayers from the prayerbook. The pupil also embarks on the study of Chumash with commentary by Rashi(14). Starting with the story of Creation, the pupil proceeds systematically through the subsequent books grade by grade until all five books have been completed, and study begins afresh from the beginning but in greater depth. In addition, the pupil is introduced to the weekly portion from the Pentateuch in order to understand and contribute towards the discussion around the Sabbath table. Song is an integral part of the syllabus and as each festival approaches, pupils are taught songs related to the festival. Prayers taken from the liturgy are also taught through the medium of music. The pupil also learns Sabbath songs.

In grade one, at all the schools, the child is taught Hebrew reading and Hebrew cursive writing. During this year, as the pupils vocabulary increases, he becomes acquainted with Hebrew grammar. Conversation in Hebrew is encouraged. The pupil also becomes familiar with Jewish laws and customs. The Kitzur Shulchan Aruch is an indispensable teacher's reference book for ritual laws and ceremonial observance.

During the pupil's second year, approximately fifteen or sixteen chapters of Chumash are studied and prayers are continued to be learned. By this stage there is an increase in the pupil's knowledge of vocabulary, grammar, Jewish history, laws and customs.

The syllabus for the senior primary school is similar except that the students have longer hours. At Sha'arei Torah school the boys are introduced to Mishna as early as their second year, age seven, while the girls further their Hebrew. At the Torah Academy and Menorah, the boys start Mishna in standard four. The girls continue with Nevi'im and other sections of Tanach. The study of Nevi'im by the boys is necessarily restricted due to lack of time. However, by the end of matric they will have covered the majority of the Tanach.

At Yeshiva College High School the entire school concurrently learns the same tractate of Gemmorah throughout the year. At the lower forms, possibly no more than one or two pages are studied during the entire year but in very great detail. As the boy proceeds up the school he studies in even greater depth and deals more with content. By matric, boys may be tackling some twenty pages of the Talmud through the year at a deep level of interpretation and sophistication. In 1985 the boys learned tractate Baba Kama (Aramaic - "The First Gate"). This is part of the fourth main division of the Mishna which is known as Nezikin ("damages"). This order deals mainly with the law relating to torts, capital punishment, homicide, evidence and tribunals. The treatise of Baba Kama consists of ten chapters dealing with the deprivation of vested or natural rights. The chief contents are the laws regarding the deprivation of rights and the compensation therefor. (For a report on religious studies at Yeshiva College, refer to Appendix F. p.315).

A feature of the curriculum for the secondary forms of the Torah Academy is the study of Chassidic philosophy in conjunction with

studies of Chumash. In the primary school and junior high school the teachers may proffer Chassidic interpretations of the weekly portion of the Torah once or twice a week. Instruction is given entirely orally, without the pupils taking notes. No formal textbook of Chassidic philosophy is used. However, by form three pupils tackle the philosophy in depth, and are introduced to some parts of Tanya, a book which is the basis of Chabad philosophy.

#### 8.6. COMMENTS ON METHODOLOGY OF INSTRUCTION

Several features distinguish the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition from that of the Academic Tradition. Comments on methodology must record the following features peculiar to the religious day schools:

- (i) A hierarchical arrangement of subjects grade by grade is absent. Progress in the study of the religious texts depends on the motivation and aptitude of the individual student, and upon the influence of the teacher's personality. Thus it is not possible to stipulate exactly what is studied grade by grade. The allowance for variation and the stress on independence and self-reliance has a close parallel with a yeshiva gedola program.
- (ii) Special learning techniques are employed in Talmud study. In the higher forms, within small groups which seldom exceed four, the boys work individually at the Talmud. They also work at their own pace. There is a form of a "spiral curriculum"(15) in operation at Yeshiva College. That is, the boy may tackle a chapter of Chumash in a lower grade, advance to other chapters

as he proceeds through the school, then in a senior form return to the chapter he studied previously but tackle it at greater depth. This applies particularly to Chumash, while in Talmud, however, the "spiral" tendency is less apparent. Study involves shifting from tractate to tractate with an increase in depth and complexity. Discussion with pupils and teachers of Yeshiva College's sister schools in Johannesburg indicates the "spiral" tendency in those institutions as well.

- (iii) The curriculum impinges upon both the cognitive and affective domains of knowledge. A great deal of it emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge and skills such as verbal expression, which is necessary to sustain a discussion on a passage from the Talmud in the higher forms. Within the cognitive domain, the higher levels of Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives(16), for example, analysis, synthesis and evaluation, are encouraged. Open expression is a common practice in the Talmud class. The pupils are encouraged not only to raise questions, but also to challenge their contemporaries and even their teachers in the interpretation of the intricacies of the subject under discussion.

Serious controversial exchanges concerning legal or ethical issues are commonplace in the classroom. This is the accepted traditional style of Talmudic study. It confirms Steinberg's comment: "As an institution of learning, the yeshiva was a masterpiece of disorganization"(17). Apart from the intellectual, another value in the study of the Talmud and other sacred literature and subject matter, is the development of

moral and ethical principles in the child and adolescent. The notion of respect for elders, the learned, and for persons in general is inculcated from the earliest forms. This is reinforced by standing up for a rabbi when he blesses the Torah. The pupil always refers to him by his title.

- (iv) The earliest grades simultaneously learn Hebrew and English, including their two radically different scripts. The pupils also learn the Rashi script, which is a marked variation of the standard Hebrew print.
- (v) It ought to be noted that the main Talmudic topics mentioned earlier, namely, torts, capital punishment, homicide, evidence, tribunals and rights, form the subject matter of the curricula of university law faculties, to which post matric students are admitted after rigorous selection procedures. The Talmudic tractates taught in the Johannesburg Jewish religious schools are presented in the original Aramaic text with the standard mediaeval and post-mediaeval commentaries, without pupils being given a preparatory course in Aramaic grammar and vocabulary. Nevertheless, they manage not only to grasp the meaning of the Aramaic text, but also to translate it into English. The study of Talmud may begin as early as the age of eight. "Where the world do children learn a graduate level subject by translating and analyzing texts from one foreign language through the medium of another foreign tongue?"(18).

## 8.7. BEHAVIOURAL KNOWLEDGE

### 8.7.1. Behavioural Norms and Values of the Great Tradition.

Two different forms of Jewish religious education can be recognised. The first is chinuch, a concept which is more accurately translated as "training" the pupil in the practice of the laws and rituals. The second is Talmud Torah, the study and acquisition of knowledge. Both are instrumental in the sense that the knowledge and skills they instil are meant to be used for specific purposes. Talmud Torah provides the pupil with the knowledge necessary for the proper performance of the mitzvot(19).

The injunction to emulate the ways of G-d is not prescriptive since it takes for granted the operation of "free will" in the pupil. Freedom of choice is a core value of Judaism and of the Jewish philosophy of personality development. The pupil at a Johannesburg Jewish religious school may have the 613 Precepts (taryag mitzvot)(20) or commandments of the Law of Moses held up before him as models of behaviour, but he alone is responsible for internalizing this "recipe knowledge" and making ethical choices and decisions based on them.

Behavioural knowledge derived from chinuch and Talmud Torah is reinforced by knowledge derived from a variety of stimuli in the schools. These vary from homiletic injunctions through comments of teachers given during religious instruction, to precepts displayed on the classroom boards and school publications. For instance, outside the Yeshiva College tuckshop there is a poster extolling the giving to

charity. It is written in big Hebrew letters, V'Natnu, meaning "and you shall give". Bidirectional arrows join the first and last letters and second and fourth letters, which in Hebrew script happen to be identical( **ונתנו** ). This indicates that the word can be read backwards, and supports the message written underneath, "Whatever you put in [into the charity box], you get back". Thus the pupil's attention is drawn to charity and its reciprocal nature. Posters in the classroom of all the schools investigated and footnotes to school publications(21) consisting of slogans motivating prompt practice of the mitzvot were also in evidence. Most display boards have posters with sayings and maxims from Ethics of the Fathers, the Bible and Talmud. The charts were usually in Hebrew and read "Love your neighbour as yourself"; "If not now, when?"; "Who is rich? He who is happy with his portion"; "And you shall rejoice at your festivals". Homiletic injunctions in publications about the school stress themes which relate to a common core objective, namely, yiddishkeit.

At Yeshiva College there were posters advertising vacation or post matric schemes in Israel, under the auspices of Bnei Akiva or the South African Zionist Federation. One such programme combined yeshiva studies with working on kibbutz. In contrast to these display materials are those pertaining to the secular curriculum.

The following extracts from a rosh yeshiva's message to a school magazine(22) makes the distinction between chinuch and Talmud Torah even more explicit:

.....The grand old man of science and of the humanities, Professor Einstein, was once addressing a group of Jewish parents and he extended to them a blessing which rather startled, even upset them. "I would like to wish you," the professor said, "that your children should not be men of success," but he hastily added. "Rather let them be men of value." He then explained himself, "Men of success are going to take an awful lot out of this world, while men of value are going to put an awful lot into this world".

To extend the words of Professor Einstein, man lives in two worlds; he lives in the world of space and he lives in the world of time. Most of our lives are committed to the world of space, constantly seeking to increase and enlarge our physical assets. But we also live in "Time" - ephemeral, intangible - but very real and important. Time is the essence of life. Through the Sabbath, Judaism taught the sanctity of Time and more - it taught us to sanctify Time, to make proper use of Time, to add a dimension to life not by adding to the world of space, but by adding to the world of Time. It is this idea that is so basic to our liturgy on Sabbath and Holy days - to add a dimension to life by giving new value, added sanctity to every day and every moment. Of course, we do not diminish the importance of the world of space. In fact, we derive much benefit from it and we do enjoy it. But it should hardly be at the expense of the world of Time.

Professor Silberg, late associate Chief Justice of Israel and a Talmudic scholar of note, succinctly defined the basic difference between Civil Law and Torah Law. Civil Law, the Law of the world, speaks in terms of human rights. Certainly a wonderful idea, one which Judaism has always espoused, but for human rights to form the basis of law can and does lead to serious problems.

Torah Law, however, wishes us to ask not, "What are my rights?" but, "What are my duties?". In the words of Luzzato we must seek out man's duties in this world to make it a better place. We seek that which we owe the world and how to repay it. This is the challenge which faces the man of religion.

For the religious scholar, there never was a dichotomy between science and religion, because the religious scholar never believed that science held the answers of right and wrong, and in fact, the scientist never did either. Science is the study of methodology, of how to achieve, of how to discover; religion decides what to achieve and what to discover. It is because people have

confused these goals that there is so much unhappiness and disillusionment in the world today. Science has delivered much - even the moon, but it cannot make a better society.

And so in our day because science cannot deliver that which so many seek, there is a return to the spirit. But the question as phrased by Rosenzweig remains, "What spirit?". There are so many who are so far from any Judaic value or concept. They know nothing of their own religion and seek the answer through Jews for Jesus, Zen Buddhism or perhaps merely to escape through drug-taking. The search for the spirit can express itself in a thousand different ways.

Our challenge, thus, is to present Judaism in a meaningful way by dedicated men of spirit, men with fear of G-d and with love for their students. In a world which looks for bargains, especially in religion, and finds itself with a fragmented and broken structure, we must be prepared to labour towards a total commitment. Youth will easily recognise the falsehood of a fragmented, adulterated presentation of their faith. It will leave them unmoved and uninspired. Only the transmission of our Torah as our all-encompassing and all-embracing way of life will inspire our youth and guide them in their search for meaning and value.

#### 8.7.2. Knowledge of Religious Ceremonies

This type of knowledge concerns the meaning and meticulous performance of the rituals and mitzvot. It is formally taught in religious studies lessons with sources of Torah, Talmud and Shulchan Aruch. As each festival approaches, the theory and practice of associated rituals and the significance of cultic-ceremonial objects are taught. For instance, with the advent of Rosh Ha'Shana (New Year) a rams horn is demonstrated, and at Tabernacles the palm branch and citron are manipulated. For Passover, pupils of the Torath Emeth High School bake their own matzah. At this school every boy makes the ritual fringes. If ritual slaughtering is taught, the ritual knife is demonstrated by the teacher.

Besides these formal teaching methods, knowledge of rituals and ceremonials is imparted informally, often from the example of teachers, peers or members of the family. A classic setting for this type of learning is at prayers. Here, the juniors learn the correct handling of the Scroll of the Law, the prayer shawl and phylacteries by observing the seniors. The traditional melody for the prayers is also learnt. The kissing of the mezuzah upon entering or leaving a room, the wearing of the garment with ritual fringes beneath their shirts, the compulsory wearing of skull caps, the ritual washing of the hands before partaking of bread, reciting Grace after meals, all facilitate informal learning.

Piaget(23) maintains that a child makes sense of his world to the extent that he interacts with it, transforms it and co-ordinates both mental and physical actions. The learning techniques with the accent on "learning by doing" are far removed from the rigid and formal approach of the so called "old school" of the latter 19th Century. They are more compatible with the approach of the progressive education movement.

#### 8.8. INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GREAT AND ACADEMIC TRADITIONS.

The following paragraphs will examine the interaction between the Academic and Great Traditions. It is inevitable that the two Traditions cause "destructive interference", resulting from the propagation of contradictory values and causing "culture conflict" or "cognitive dissonance"(24) between each other. There is occasionally competition and rivalry between the two charters each demanding "jurisdiction"(25). In contrast to this non-harmonious relationship,

the two Traditions may also impinge upon each in a neutral way. Here, neither Tradition adversely affects the other. Finally, the two charters may enjoy a mutually beneficial or "symbiotic" relationship.

#### 8.8.1. Conflict

As a science and biology teacher at Yeshiva College, the researcher had to deal with questions from pupils concerning the compatibility of scientific with religious thought. The challenges from the pupils were prompted by two apparently contradictory explanations for phenomena - those available from scientific thought in the Academic Tradition and conflicting explanations from religious thought in the Great Tradition.

The pupils who participated in such challenges could be divided into two groups. There were those who accorded tremendous prestige to science. They accepted scientific statements and assumed that whatever science says is correct. The other group seemed biased against science, believing its findings to be merely tentative theories as opposed to absolute truth. This group perceived scientists as being arrogant and dogmatic.

In his work as a teacher, the researcher always tried to bridge these two opposing positions by showing that science and Judaism complement each other rather than conflict(25). For example, on many an occasion he invoked the famous words of Einstein : "I do not believe in a dice playing G-d".

Overt challenges were encountered by most of the secular teachers. The following excerpt from an interview with Mr Smith(27), the art teacher, portrays a challenge typical of that subject:

I find it a problem amongst all kids, particularly amongst Jewish kids. When you say "Who was Apollo?, Dionysius?" They have not got the foggiest idea and you end up actually having a religious row with them. I insist, "Look, you've got to accept that these people believed that this was Zeus that he was a god". They question, "but how could he be a god?" and then you end up with this whole picture of total conflict, about concepts of what is a god. They are not even prepared to give way that a person has a different viewpoint, and that they could depict him in sculpture, and that this was a man who was supposed to also done bad things. The moment you bring this in, well then this totally boggles their minds and you end up with this whole, uhm, religious aspects becoming a conflict situation, when you are trying to discuss the art of what they are trying to depict.

The classrooms contain a variety of religious artifacts such as the velvet bags containing phylacteries and the religious books left on the desks and the mezuzah attached to each doorway. The phylactery bags are handled by the pupils with special care and respect. They know that the prescribed penalty of accidentally dropping the bag is fasting and giving to charity. The mezuzah is often kissed by touching it and placing one's hand to one's lips when passing through the door. The inscription of one of G-d's names on the case reminds the pupil of the Divine omnipresence. In the event of a religious book or skullcap falling to the ground, the pupil kisses it first before replacing it. The symbols associated with the Great Tradition all generate an ethos of sanctity. The fact that the two cultures are being transmitted to the pupils also is apparent from the use of Hebrew and English. This duality aguments two sets of experiences and two stocks of knowledge.

The theme of dualism is very prominent when one examines discipline at Yeshiva College. The following letter of apology written by a standard eight pupil to the researcher illustrates this:

Dear Mr Hayman

I apologise for eating in your lesson and I realise that it was wrong, however I hope this doesn't mean a bad start because from my point of view I know I was wrong and I don't blame you for sending me out because I would have done the same thing to a pupil if I was a teacher. And I know that you are a very understanding teacher and will forgive me before Elul. Nobody is perfect and every one makes at least one mistake a week although it is no excuse. Im sure we will get over it since I am very interested in science and enjoy your lessons very much. There is no question about it I was wrong and (Bli Neder) won't do it again.

Yours faithfully  
Shaia Climer.

Of special significance is the pupil's reference to the month of Elul. He seems to understand the religious view of Elul as heralding the High Holy Days when his fate for the coming year is decided and sealed. He must consequently be on "model behaviour" in order to get a favourable Divine judgement. Furthermore, he must solicit forgiveness for any wrongdoings and misdeeds perpetrated against his fellow man. He expects his teacher to share the conciliatory spirit of Elul and to accept unconditionally his apology. Also noteworthy, is his insertion of bli neder in parenthesis. This can be translated as "without vowing". The pupil thus "covers" himself in the event of him doing the same act again inadvertently. He would then not be guilty of a broken promise.

The boys occasionally manipulate the norms of the dominant Great Tradition for their convenience. For example, in the period between Passover and Pentacost haircuts are forbidden among Orthodox Jews except on the New Moon and Lag B'omer. When reprimanded about their long hair, pupils cite reasons to excuse themselves. A blatant attempt at teacher manipulation by twisting halacha occurred during the period between the seventeenth of Tamuz and the tenth of Av, known as the Days between the Fences. Between these days many calamities and afflictions occurred in the history of the Jewish people. One of the proscriptions for this period is that a teacher may not physically strike his pupils. The researcher was compelled to punish a recalcitrant pupil who retorted: "It is bein hameitzarim (between the fences). You may not strike a pupil. By giving out punishment you are striking me mentally".

From the point of view of school policy it is not always that the Great Tradition dominates the Academic Tradition. In 1986, all the religious high schools in Johannesburg had to compromise the standard of the Great Tradition and succumb to the demands of the Transvaal Education Department matric syllabus. Until the T.E.D. withdrew D.H. Lawrence's book "Sons and Lovers" five weeks later in the first term, this book with its "socially disruptive" values was taught in the schools(28).

#### 8.8.2 Interaction

The researcher will cite instances where the Great Tradition manifests itself in the secular classroom but impinges upon the Academic

Tradition. The pupils show no co-ordination problems in mechanically adjusting from Hebrew to English reading or writing. The eye instinctively reads Hebrew from right to left and English and Afrikaans from left to right. The pupil opens the Hebrew books from the "back" and the English and Afrikaans books from the "front". While the switch from Hebrew is effortlessly and automatically effected, some mannerisms and learning techniques acquired from the Great Tradition are "carried over" to the general studies. It is common place to see pupils "cram" for a secular exam with bodies rocking and swaying with the identical movements practised during Talmud study. The boys also move their lips as they read the secular work, just as they do in religious study. It is evident that when shifting from one curriculum to another the switching off of the previous method of study is not automatic. The transition is definitely not abrupt.

### 8.8.3. Consensus

In conclusion the researcher will briefly cite research showing that the method of learning religious studies sharpens the pupils' reasoning powers and may well enhance his academic performance. This may explain why the pupil manages a dual curriculum with no apparent stress. Redhill(29), in her study of students of Torah Emeth Boys High School, Beth Jacob Girls High School and the Hillel High School, Benoni (a national traditional school, see pp.82-83), showed that the pupils of the religious schools were more "flexible" in their reasoning powers. They showed greater proficiency in Thorndike and Hagen's Cognitive Abilities Test. They also showed superior relational reasoning, as well as verbal and numerical relational reasoning than

their "national traditional" counterparts. These results accord with those of Gross(30) and Himmelfarb(31) who showed that Talmudic study over a number of years rendered Talmudic scholars superior logical reasoners. Further, Silverman has showed that children attending American yeshiva-type high schools do not suffer academically as a result of their heavier curriculum and shorter time devoted to secular study. Rather, the religious curriculum appeared to improve academic performance(32). A special study is necessary to test if this is indeed the case for Johannesburg.

CHAPTER 8: CURRICULUM, PEDAGOGY AND KNOWLEDGE AT THE JOHANNESBURG  
RELIGIOUS DAY SCHOOLS, NOTES AND REFERENCES

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9. Interviews with: Rabbi J. Krupnick, former Headmaster of Beth Jacob Girls High School. 1 June 1984;  
Rabbi Y. Pfeuffer, Head of Jewish Studies Department, Yeshiva College. 8 May 1985;  
Rabbi D. Chasdan, Headmaster, Torah Academy. 7 October 1986.
10. TaNaCh is an acronym of three words - the Torah (Pentateuch), Nevi'im (Prophets) and Ketuvim (Writings).
11. See Appendix E (p.313) for more details on the basis of the curriculum content.
12. Gemmorah Ketuvot 50a. Ethics of the Fathers. Chapter Five.
13. Morris, N. 1960. Toldot Ha-Chinnuch Shel Am Yisrael (A History of Jewish Education). Tel Aviv: Omanut. p.143.
14. "Rashi" is the acronym for Rabbi Solomon Ben Isaac of eleventh century Troyes, France. His great reputation rests upon his succinct running commentaries on the Bible and Talmud. His writings possess the rare quality of being comprehensible to beginners, scholars and layman.
15. Bullivant, B.M. 1878a. op.cit. p.100.

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CHAPTER 9. CONSIDERATIONS OF METHODOLOGY

## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

Previous discussion has identified a number of themes that are deemed worthy of investigation in the empirical part of this study. In this chapter these will be briefly summarized. The questionnaire will be described and the statistical methodology employed will be presented.

In its early formative years, the South African Jewish community included numerous congregations, arising out of cultural differences and country of origin. Gradually, these differences have fallen away so that today the cultural heritage of the forebears plays hardly any part in the relationships between the descendants. However, over the years the observant community has become diversified to such an extent that there are numerous streams of belief and practice operating. This study aims to investigate whether the pluralism in religious expression results in a breakdown of overall Jewish identity or whether the community is able to transcend their differences and see themselves as one Jewish people.

In terms of the environment within which their Jewish forebears were constrained to operate, significant social pressure was exerted for them to modify or discard their religious practice. Since they had to operate within a gentile community, they experienced certain dissonance. One response to this was the withdrawal of the Ultra Orthodox community from mainstream South African culture. In contrast, the Modern Orthodox claim to have confronted the dissonance by maintaining their religious values while operating within the wider context. This study intends to investigate whether these two paths

have resulted in differing relationships with the wider gentile community.

Discussion contained in earlier chapters indicated that some of the Modern Orthodox interpreted the religious principles of the Halacha leniently. Conversely, there were signs that many of the Ultra Orthodox went beyond the letter of the law. Comparisons need to be made to identify similarities and differences between the groups so that their respective outlooks may be satisfactorily described. Since the samples to be studied comprised high school pupils it was expected that differences in religious practice emanate, at least partially, from differences in religious behaviour in the immediate social and familial environment. This study contains an investigation into the religiosity of the parents and friends of pupils at Modern and Ultra Orthodox schools.

Discussion in the text traced the development of the Modern and Ultra Orthodox school systems. The Modern Orthodox schools arose largely due to dissatisfaction with the level of observance and religious content provided by the existing Jewish day school at the time. Nevertheless, they remained affiliated with the Jewish Board of Education and continued their pro-Zionist stance.

The Ultra Orthodox schools were created due to both ideological differences between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox sectors and due to perceptions that Yeshiva College was propagating an unacceptably low level of Orthodoxy. This does not mean that the Ultra Orthodox schools

followed similar practices. In fact, they too have ideological differences.

Accordingly, this study aims to determine whether the diversity in objectives reflects itself in differences in emphasis on school subjects in both the secular and religious domain. Since it is difficult to measure the extent of emphasis on various subjects, the difference in interest displayed by the pupils in the subjects will be interpreted as indicating difference in emphasis.

Further, the researcher will examine the degrees of satisfaction of the students with their schools. This will give some insight into whether the schools have succeeded in implanting the sectional ideals into the value systems of the students.

The level of participation in various leisure activities may also be expected to differ amongst the school pupils. If the value systems of the Ultra Orthodox have been transferred to their children then it may be expected that few pupils at the Ultra Orthodox schools will partake in leisure activities which are unrelated to religious observance. In contrast, in line with their willingness to be involved in the wider community, it may be expected that the Modern Orthodox will experience a wider variety of leisure activities.

One of the major differences between the Ultra and Modern Orthodox may be expected to be found in their identification with Israel as a State. Philosophically, the Ultra Orthodox movement are at best

ambivalent to Israel as a secular country and are sometimes hostile. In contrast, Zionism is a core value of Modern Orthodoxy.

In what follows, we will investigate whether the philosophical differences translate into differences of belief. Simultaneously, we will examine the feelings of affinity of the two groups of pupils with South Africa.

## 9.2. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The previous section has identified major areas which need to be studied in order to understand differences between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox. These were provided by the following headings:

- (i) Jewish identity;
- (ii) Religious practice;
- (iii) Jewishness of the immediate environment;
- (iv) Schooling;
- (v) Leisure;
- (vi) Relationships to Israel and Zionism;
- (vii) Relationship with South Africa.

Questions were constructed to gain insight into each of the areas. Various formats were used to prevent the participants from getting into a response set. Formats used included semantic differential and Likert scales.

Ideas for questions were obtained from the study and perusal of other relevant surveys, for instance, by Geismar(1), Herman(2), Dubb(3),

Kark(4) and Helmreich(5) and the researcher's own familiarity with the general field of study. Principles of questionnaire construction, as outlined by Goode and Hatt(6) and Bailey(7) were adhered to. Questions were grouped together into the following main sections:

- i) Biographical details;
- ii) Cultural activities;
- iii) Opinions on the curricula;
- iv) Attitudes towards aspects of Jewish identity;
- v) The extent and nature of religious expressive behaviour;
- vi) Opinions about the respondent's school.

The questions in each area were distributed throughout the questionnaire. Appendix G contains the questions associated with each of the areas.(pp.318-334).

It should be noted that the questions were grouped on the basis of their content and not using a statistical technique. (For instance, factor analysis). Such a grouping accounts for the terminology used (viz, area) rather than factor as it might be envisaged that the areas are multidimensional.

Questionnaires have the advantage that they contain identical questions which are asked of each subject. It is easy to apply them as respondents can fill them in without the investigator's involvement. Furthermore it is feasible to obtain large samples.

Disadvantages include the inability to probe deeply when unexpected responses are provided. Furthermore it is never certain whether the respondents fully understand the meaning of the questions or the implications of choosing particular scale points.

In order to clarify some of the responses, the investigator carried out a series of additional interviews with teachers and other interested parties. Their comments were incorporated into the discussion.

To eliminate these problems wherever possible, open ended questions were located throughout the questionnaire. Where relevant responses were used in the text.

### 9.3. SAMPLING

The central focus of this study concerned the future development of the groups identified. For this reason it was decided to focus attention on high school pupils. A boy's and girl's school falling under the ambit of each of the two subgroups were chosen. The Modern Orthodox were represented by Yeshiva College Boys' High School and by Leila Bronner Girls' High School, and the Ultra Orthodox by Torah Academy Boys' High School and by Beth Jacob Girls' High School.

Most of the pupils who filled in the questionnaire were in Junior High. The mean ages of the male students were 14,5 and 13,1 at Yeshiva College and Torah Academy respectively, while the mean ages of the female students were 14,46 and 14,59 at Beth Jacob and Leila Bronner

respectively. The students at Yeshiva College, Beth Jacob and Leila Bronner were of similar mean age while the Torah Academy students tended to be younger on average. Due to the small size of the latter school, it was not possible to exclude students to obtain closer matching.

In all, responses were obtained from 74 Yeshiva College students, 30 from Leila Bronner, 29 from Torah Academy and 26 from Beth Jacob.

In the case of the two latter schools, the complete student body was approached while a random selection of students were obtained in the Modern Orthodox schools.

#### 9.4 THE STUDY

The questionnaire was administered during the last term of 1984. In each case the students were gathered together in a classroom or hall, they were handed out the questionnaire and told to fill it in without consulting their neighbours. This aspect was strictly controlled to avoid diluting the value of the exercise.

#### 9.5. STATISTICAL METHODOLOGY

The data in this study consisted both of continuous and categorical responses.

In both forms it was necessary to distinguish between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox as well as between males and females.

Two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used on the continuous data(8) while log-linear models with two factors, an ANOVA equivalent was used for the categorical data(9).

In the latter case the test for each effect sometimes had more than one degree of freedom. Thus appendix J contains the estimated effects for the model chosen for each variable so that the reader may examine the significance of each parameter if this is desired. (p.343).

CHAPTER 9. CONSIDERATIONS OF METHODOLOGY. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

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CHAPTER 10   JEWISH IDENTITY

## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to assess the nature, strength and attractiveness of the Jewish identity of the respondents. The basis of alignment between the respondent and his co-religionist is probed. Elements of the actual content of the Jewish identity are also investigated.

In examining the results, we will attempt as far as possible to maintain the order of items used in the discussion even though this will necessitate alternating between tables of the continuous and categorical data.

## 10.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

An examination of Table 10.1 indicates that all the groups tend to feel that there is too much dissent in the religious community. This feeling is significantly more acute in the Ultra Orthodox schools (unweighted mean of 2,05) compared to the Modern Orthodox schools (unweighted mean of 2,50).

There was also strong agreement with the statement asserting that the respondent's fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of the Jewish people. Of the group as a whole, 81,1% (129/159) responded either "yes, definitely" or "to a large extent". (Table 10.3). Similarly, there was very strong agreement in the schools that, "a Jew wherever he may be, even in Timbuktu, is part of one Jewish people". The means for each school fell in the 1,38-1,23 range. In both cases there were no significant sex or school differences (Tables 10.1 and 10.2).

There were differences between the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools in the responses to the statement that all Jews are responsible for one another ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). The combined mean for the Ultra Orthodox schools was 1,44. The corresponding mean for the Modern Orthodox schools was 2,15 (Tables 10.1 and 10.2).

Analysis highlighted differences of school ideologies on the issue of marrying a non-Jew(ess) ( $p \leq 0,1$ ). (Tables 10.3 and 19.4). The Beth Jacob girls responded that they would not agree under any circumstances [80,8%; (21/26)] while the Torah Academy responses were more ambivalent with 62,1% (18/29) not agreeing under any circumstances and 37,9% (11/29) agreeing only on condition the partner converts to Judaism. At the Modern Orthodox schools 51,9% (54/104) would not agree under any circumstances and 40,4% (42/104) would do so in the event of the partner converting to the pupil's faith.

The group as a whole tended to agree (mean of 2,48) that every Jew should look upon himself as if he were a survivor of the Holocaust. (Tables 10.1 and 10.2)

The identification was further demonstrated the responses to the attitude inquiry: "If you were to be mistaken for a non-Jew would you correct his mistake?" (Tables 10.3 and 10.4). Nearly 90% (143/159) of the group as a whole answered "yes" or "not sure but think I would".

Although there were school differences ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) on the item suggesting that a Jew should change his Jewish sounding surname these are of little importance. Both groups were in strong disagreement with the sentiment (Tables 10.1 and 10.2).

The group as a whole would overwhelmingly prefer to be born Jewish in the hypothetical situation of their being born again. The combined figures for the group as a whole who would choose to be Jewish was 95% (151/159). Only 8 children out of 159 would decline the offer. (Tables 10.3 and 10.4).

There were no significant differences between the schools or sexes in the responses to the seven point "strong feeling Jewish - no feeling Jewish" continuum. The mean for the group as a whole lay between 1 and 2 indicating the operation of a very strong feeling of being Jewish (Tables 10.1. and 10.2).

Analysis of variance on the responses suggesting that the Lubavitcher Rebbe is the potential Messiah, yielded an interaction effect ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). All the schools, with the exception of the Torah Academy tended to disagree with the statement while the Torah Academy indicated some uncertainty. (Tables 10.1 and 10.2).

**TABLE 10.1 MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND SAMPLE SIZES OF LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO JEWISH EDUCATION**

STATEMENT		MODERN ORTHODOX		ULTRA ORTHODOX	
		Y.C.	L.B.	T.A.	B.J.
Dissent in religious community (D.12)	Mean	2,62	2,37	2,14	1,96
	SD	1,12	0,93	1,09	1,04
	n	74	30	29	26
One Jewish people (D.1)	Mean	1,38	1,33	1,28	1,23
	SD	0,57	0,48	0,53	0,65
	n	74	30	29	26
Jewish responsible for one another (D.2)	Mean	2,16	2,13	1,45	1,42
	SD	1,11	0,94	0,69	0,76
	n	74	30	29	26
Every Jew is a survivor of Holocaust (D.22)	Mean	2,57	2,53	2,24	2,46
	SD	1,17	1,17	1,12	0,99
	n	74	30	29	26
Jew should change Jewish surname (D.14)	Mean	4,18	3,87	4,45	4,50
	SD	0,94	1,14	0,83	0,65
	n	74	30	29	26
Strong feeling Jewish-No feeling Jewish (7 point scale) (C.d)	Mean	1,89	1,46	1,90	2,00
	SD	1,24	1,44	1,32	0,76
	n	74	30	29	26
Lubavitcher Rebbe is potential Messiah (D.18)	Mean	3,53	3,57	2,97	3,88
	SD	1,05	0,94	1,40	1,03
	n	74	30	29	26

**NOTE:**

1. The following abbreviations are used in the above and subsequent tables.

Y.C. Yeshiva College Boys High School  
L.B. Leila Bronner Girls High School  
T.A. Torah Academy Boys High School  
B.J. Beth Jacob Girls High School.

2. The letter and number in parentheses in the statement (later in "variable") column refers to the corresponding item in the questionnaire (Appendix G).(pp.318-333).

**TABLE 10.2 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO JEWISH IDENTITY**

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155)

STATEMENT		SEX			ERROR
		X SCHOOL	SEX	SCHOOL	
Dissent in religious community (D.12)	Mean sq	0,052	1,553	6,595**	1,140
	F	0,05	1,36	5,78	-
One Jewish people (D.1)	Mean sq	0,000	0,068	0,351	0,313
	F	0,00	0,22	1,12	-
Jews responsible for one another (D.2)	Mean sq	0,000	0,024	16,93***	0,923
	F	0,00	0,03	18,35	-
Every Jew is a survivor of the Holocaust (D.22)	Mean sq	0,540	0,289	1,322	1,286
	F	0,42	0,22	1,03	-
Jew should change Jewish surname (D.14)	Mean sq	1,086	0,553	6,851***	0,851
	F	1,28	0,65	8,05	-
Strong feeling Jewish-No feeling Jewish (7 point scale (C.d)	Mean sq	2,439	0,884	2,356	1,521
	F	1,60	0,58	1,55	-
Lubavitcher Rebbe is Potential Messiah (D.18)	Mean sq	6,457**	7,673**	0,495	1,209
	F	5,34	6,35	0,41	-

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

**TABLE 10.3**

**COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH JEWISH IDENTITY**

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Fate and future bound with Jews (F.6)	Some extent/No	16	,22	5	,17	1	,24	2	,0
	Large extent/Yes	58	,78	25	,83	22	,76	24	,9
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	0,9
Prepared to marry non-Jew(ess) (F.4)	If converts	29	,39	13	,43	11	,38	4	,1
	No/Yes	40	,54	14	,47	18	,62	21	,8
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
If mistaken for non-Jew would correct (F.2)	Don't know/No	9	,12	4	,13	3	,10	0	,0
	Yes	65	,88	26	,87	26	,90	26	1,0
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
If born again, would choose to be a Jew (F.3)	No/Yes	6	,08	1	,03	0	,0	1	,0
	Yes	68	,92	29	,97	29	1,0	25	,9
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

**TABLE 10.4. LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO JEWISH IDENTITY**

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Fate and future bound with Jews (F.6)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 1,03	3 3,55	2 1,14	1 1,03	1 2,41	1 0,11
Marry non-Jew (F.4)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 4,26	4 5,45	6* 12,04*	2 4,26	2 1,19	2** 6,59**
If born again would choose to be a Jew (F.3)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 2,24	2 2,40	3 4,53	1 2,24	1 0,16	1 2,13
If mistaken for non-Jew, would correct (F.2)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1* 3,56*	2 4,02	3 6,18	1* 3,56*	1 0,46	1 2,16

- \* Significant at 10%
- \*\* Significant at 5%
- \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 10.3 DISCUSSION

The general picture emerging from the responses is particularly lucid. All the respondents identify very strongly with Judaism.

In earlier chapters, consideration was given to the pluralism and diversity of contemporary Johannesburg Jewish religious expression. Reference was made to the contrasting ideologies, traditions and rituals of the various sectors, subgroups and communities of Johannesburg Jewry. The agreement of the respondents that there is too much dissent within the religious community, implies their recognition of low key rivalry between the communities and sectors and the occasional friction between rabbis.

It is interesting that in spite of this, the respondents perceive themselves to be part and parcel of one Jewish people. There is evidence of a group solidarity which transcends any difference in level of observance or shade of Orthodoxy. The pupils are conscious of the common destiny of the Jewish people. This is indicated by the response of 81% (129/159) of the group as a whole that their fate and future is inextricably bound up with that of their co-religionists. This perception is further endorsed by the respondent's strong agreement that all Jews, irrespective of what corner of the globe they are to be found in, are members of one Jewish people. The mean for the group as a whole was 1,33. Implicit in the strong agreement with the attitude statement that all Jews are responsible for one another, (group mean of 1,9) is that this feeling of responsibility even extends to those Jews who have departed from the fold of authentic Torah Judaism. The responses for the above attitudinal statements lend

credence to Lewin's observation that a group with a very high degree of unity may contain very dissimilar parts: "Not similarity but a certain interdependence of members constitutes a group"(1). The feeling of interdependence, of a common fate, represents the widest minimal basis, the common denominator of Jewish belonging today(2).

A further insight into the nature of the basis of alignment between the respondent and his co-religionist was discerned by means of the anthropological component of the research methodology. References to this topic were extracted from the paragraph written by each respondent describing what being a Jew means. It is to be noted that not all the following elements identified by the pupils are necessarily unique or exclusive to the Jewish people. Some of them may be in operation in other groups with distinctive ethnic attributes. To the pupils, however, they are perceived as distinguishing features of the Jewish group. To cite several excerpts:

A Jew is always a Jew whether he married out or not. He can never escape it. A Jew is defined by halacha as one who is born to a Jewish mother (a Beth Jacob pupil).

This pupil has given an accurate interpretation of the religio-legal definition of who is a Jew. It is not an identity that can voluntarily be assumed or discarded. It is beyond the domain of free will. Anyone who is born to a Jewish mother or to a mother who was converted to Judaism by any Orthodox ecclesiastical court is Jewish. As such he is expected to experience the following elements of Jewish identity:

The achdut [brotherhood] and strong feeling for any Jew in the world is unlike any other religion. (a Yeshiva College pupil).

You always feel united to a nation and care for your fellowman. (a Yeshiva College pupil).

From these extracts one can identify feelings of unity and brotherhood. Both of these factors contribute to group belongingness. For the pupils these are not merely lofty abstract ideals but have a manifestation in the religious way of life in the form of cohesive community life. The following two excerpts highlight this sense of community:

If I had a choice, I would definitely [sic] choose to be a Jew. It means more of a community life and caring more about your friends (a Yeshiva College pupil).

Being Jewish means that people care for you. My father has just had an open heart operation and baruch Hashem [thank G-d] is still alive. Since he came out of intensive care and came home everyone has offered to help us. People have come everyday to visit and to bring us food. To be Jewish means to have real friends that will help you at all times. (a Torah Academy pupil).

All the above qualities ought to have beneficial effect on Jewish identity. Lewin stresses the value of a sense of group belonging:

to counteract fear and make the individual strong to face whatever the future holds, there is nothing so important as a clear and fully accepted belonging to a group whose fate has a positive meaning(3).

In accordance with their strong sense of Jewish identity, the children express a strong disinclination towards intermarriage.

It is evident from the responses that under no circumstances will the Beth Jacob girls approve of intermarriage, even in the event of the prospective spouse converting to the Jewish faith. In contrast, the Torah Academy boys, Yeshiva College boys and Leila Bronner girls are more accommodating. Virtually all the Beth Jacob girls come from Ultra Orthodox backgrounds. On account of the insularity of that society, there is virtually no likelihood that the girls will come into contact with non-Jewish boys. The preconditions for any relationship are virtually non-existent and the notion of intermarriage is inconceivable to the girls. The rendering of an intermarriage into an event beyond the comprehension of the individual is perhaps governing the feelings of Rabbi Casper in the following excerpt. He argues that the more insular the individual is and the more laws and customs he practises, the less likely is there to be assimilation:

Assimilation does not begin with intermarriage and apostasy. It ends with them. It begins with the first piece of treifa [non kosher] food, with the first ride that a youngster is allowed or induced to take on Shabbat. It begins with the first non-Jewish date(4).

By contrast, the Yeshiva College boys and Leila Bronner girls recognise that they are Jews within a non-Jewish society. They recognise that since they are operating in a wider society there are concomitant risks of assimilation. Although not endorsing intermarriage, they concede that it is a distinct possibility. It is a hazard to be contended with when a Jew interacts with the world. The attitude of the Torah Academy respondents can be understood in view of the fact that several of the mothers or fathers had converted to Judaism(5).

The link of the respondent's destiny with that of his people, his affinity for his Jewish identity and the meaning Judaism has for him, operate in spite of the suffering experienced by his people. This is evident from the attitude of the respondents to the Holocaust. The responses show that the respondents perceive themselves as survivors of the Holocaust. This is associated with an intensification of Jewish identity and is a particularly strong expression of the sense of interdependence referred to previously. The memory of the Holocaust, probably more than anything else, sharpens the sense of a common fate among Jews(6). It represents the most traumatic Jewish experience in the Diaspora in modern times. "The memory of the Holocaust stirs to the depths of the heart of every Jew", remarked the judge presiding at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem District Court(7). The results of this study indicate that there is no evidence of any tendency to repress the memory of the Holocaust and that the last three decades has not dimmed its memory. The Holocaust gives purpose and intensity to the respondent's Jewish make-up. It is thus deeply embedded as a potent factor in Jewish consciousness.

Despite their sensitivity to the Holocaust, the respondents show little concern about anti-Semitism. The responses governing the extent of anti-Semitism will be noted later in this study. It can be inferred that the group is not particularly perturbed by a contingency that might arise in Israel or the Diaspora - namely, a defenceless Jewish minority threatened with the genocide that befell European Jewry.

The extent of identification of the pupils is not limited to linking their fate with their people. The pupils have such a high regard and attraction for their people, that in spite of events like the Holocaust, they would not opt out of being Jewish. For example, 90% would correct the other person if mistaken for a non-Jew and they would not change their surname in order to obtain a better position in the non-Jewish world. Most important, if they could relive their lives they would choose to be born Jewish. This in the view of the researcher, is the acid test for what Lewin(8) calls the "valence" or attractiveness of an identity. All these facets of the pupil's Jewish identity are summarised by the responses to the seven point "strong feeling of being Jewish - no feeling of being Jewish" continuum. Here, all the respondents exhibited a very strong feeling of being Jewish.

The unswerving belief of the respondents in the Messianic concept contrasts with de Lange's(9) assertion that the strongest challenge confronting contemporary Jewry is the loss of faith due to the experience of the Holocaust.

There is a common belief shared by all the respondents in the coming of the Messiah. The following excerpts from the paragraph on being a Jew give an insight into the pupils' perception of the role of the Messiah. The excerpts have deliberately been selected from non Torah Academy respondents. This is to demonstrate that the Messianic ideal is salient amongst non-Lubavitchers as well. As was noted in a previous chapter, the Messiah is a central focus of Lubavitch ideology, educational programs and projects.

Messiah has not come yet I believe that he will come in the near future (a Yeshiva College pupil).

We have to earn our positions in heaven because Mashiach is coming (a Yeshiva College pupil).

The Jews may now seem oppressed but when Mashiach comes we'll be free with no one bothering us (a Yeshiva College pupil).

The following themes central to the concept of the Messiah were also referred to by the respondents: He will be the dominating figure of an age of universal peace and plenty; through a restored Israel, he will bring about the spiritual regeneration of humanity, when all will blend into one brotherhood to perform righteousness.

The pupils all share a belief in the traditional Jewish perception of Messiah(10) as a physical person. The Reform perception of a Messianic epoch without a human Messiah has no manifestation among the pupils.

There is a divergence between the pupils of the Torah Academy and the other schools. While the pupils at the remaining schools believe the Messiah's arrival is imminent, the Torah Academy pupils do not reject the assertion that he may already be alive in the person of the Rebbe. In this the Torah Academy pupils would not reject the sentiments of the head of the South African Lubavitch Foundation, that "In every generation someone is born who could be the Messiah. If I look around he [the Rebbe] would definitely be on the shortlist"(11). The response of the pupils was predictable considering the prominent role the Rebbe plays in Chabad life. The nature of his leadership, authority and scope of his influence was noted in an earlier chapter

and in appendix D. However, especially pertinent to the Torah Academy respondents is the fact that the Rebbe is the ultimate spiritual head of the school(12). He is quoted at school assemblies and functions and his portrait adorns the walls. It is noteworthy that school magazines have been dedicated to him in gratitude for his inspiring leadership(13). Interviews with Lubavitch emissaries and Torah Academy pupils, show that the association of the Rebbe with the Messiah has been impelled by the Rebbe's Tzivos Hashem campaign. The aim of this campaign is to bring children at the pre-Bar Mitzvah and pre-Bat Mitzvah age closer to traditional Jewish observance(14). The interviewees linked the imagery of combat in Tzivos Hashem advertising and philosophy with the role of Messiah waging the battles of the Lord. The military metaphors of the campaign, for example, the portrayal of G-d as "Commander-in-Chief" and the notion of waging a relentless battle with the Evil Inclination, as well as the Rebbe's scholarship, wisdom, and initiative in propagating traditional Jewish observance, were cited as fulfilling the prerequisites for qualifying as Messiah. Thus, according to his followers, the Rebbe meets the specifications outlined by Maimonides:

If there arise a king from the House of David who meditates on the Torah, observes the precepts prescribed in the Written and Oral Law, prevails upon Israel to walk in the way of the Torah and to repair its breaches, and fights the battles of the Lord, it may be assumed that he is the Messiah(15).

#### 10.4 SUMMARY

The group as a whole, irrespective of schools attended, is proud to be Jewish. They all wish to maintain their Jewishness, although there are small differences in the strategy (e.g. intermarriage). There is a strong feeling of interdependence, although there a slightly more altruistic concern in the Ultra Orthodox schools. The unity of the Jewish people and common core beliefs, for example, in the coming of Messiah, does not mean that differences do not exist. However, differences are transcended.

CHAPTER 10. JEWISH IDENTITY NOTES AND REFERENCES.

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2. Herman, SN. 1977a,op.cit.p.43.
3. Lewin. Cited in Kark G. 1972. op.cit. p.21.
4. Federation Chronicle. July 1981 p.6.
5. Figures are unavailable. Interview with Rabbi Chasdan.7 October 1986.
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9. de Lange 1984. op.cit.p.104.
10. For an interpretation of the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity see:  
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Flusser, D. 1969. Jesus. Walls, R. (Trans.). New York: Herder and Herder.
11. Jewish Herald. 15 March 1983.
12. Interview with Rabbi Chasdan. 7 October 1986.
13. For example, The Torah Times 1984.
14. The Torah Times 1984. p.1.
15. Maimonides. Mishneh Torah. Book of Judges. Laws of Kings. Chapter 11. In Bleich, J.D. 1983. With Perfect Faith: The Foundations of Jewish Belief. New York: Ktav. p.608.

CHAPTER 11 RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

### 11.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the level of Jewish identity amongst the pupils. Although it was found that a strong level of identity existed, it remains to be shown that this extends to the realms of religious practice. Since the ultimate test of Jewish commitment is one of behaviour rather than attitude(1), we will endeavour to examine objective measures of the practice of religion by investigating how each pupil responds to a selection of injunctions demanded by the religion. This selection will include responses to items on the observance of the Sabbath, eating and dressing behaviour, and relations with the opposite sex.

### 11.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Although over 70% of the pupils in each school travelled rarely, if at all on the Sabbath, tables 11.1 and 11.2 indicate that the Ultra Orthodox travelled less frequently than their Modern Orthodox counterparts ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). Over 80% of the Ultra Orthodox refrained from travelling on the Sabbath while approximately 75% of the Modern Orthodox did likewise.

There were significant differences between the respondents at the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools in maintaining the religious dietary laws ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). This difference manifested in the use of Chalav Yisrael as well ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). In both cases the Modern Orthodox were less strict with over 30% of the pupils not observing the dietary laws regularly and over 80% not using kosher milk. The corresponding figures were below 10% and 50% respectively for the Ultra Orthodox pupils.

Similar differences were observed between the respondents of the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools on the notion of dating, and the arranged introductions with a view to marriage ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). While 65% (36/55) of the Ultra Orthodox rejected dating, a similar percentage of their Modern Orthodox counterparts were comfortable with it. In addition it should be noted that the girls were more predisposed to dating than the boys in their corresponding schools. ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). (Tables 11.1 and 11.2).

Since it is permissible for males to wear jeans, only the girls schools are discussed. There were very strong differences between the Beth Jacob girls and their Leila Bronner counterparts in the frequency of wearing jeans ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). The Beth Jacob girls hardly ever wore jeans, evidenced by the "seldom never" response of 92% (24/26). In contrast, 63% (19/30) of Leila Bronner responded that they wear jeans often or occasionally. (Tables 11.1 and 11.2).

Analysis of the responses to the attitude statement that the Shulchan Aruch ought to be the guide for every Jew's life, confirmed differences between the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools. ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (Tables 11.1 and 11.2). The former, with a gross mean of 2,11 tended to be in stronger agreement than the latter who had a gross mean of 2,5 ( $p \leq 0,05$ ).

The pupils were asked whether they would rather support a shop owned by a non-Jew than one owned by a Jew who does not keep the Sabbath.

While three of the four schools indicated that this was uncomfortable to them, the Beth Jacob girls endorsed the sentiment. The isolated response of this group accounts for the significant interaction effect. ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). (Tables 11.1 and 11.2).

There was a strong school effect in the personal level of religious observance as perceived by the respondent ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). Of the Modern Orthodox, 28,8% (30/104) indicated that they were not observant, while only 10,9% of the Ultra Orthodox felt similarly. (Tables 11.1 and 11.2).

**TABLE 11.1**      **COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS**  
**CONCERNED WITH RELIGIOUS PRACTICE.**

VARIABLES	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Travel on Sabbath (G.2)	Often/occasionally	20	,27	7	,23	4	,14	1	,04
	Seldom/never	50	,73	23	,77	25	,86	25	,96
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Kosher dietary laws (G.1)	Sometimes strict/don't care	21	,28	17	,57	3	,10	1	,04
	Strict	26	,35	4	,13	10	,34	6	,23
	Very strict	27	,36	9	,30	16	,55	19	,73
	TOTAL	74	,99	30	1,0	29	,99	26	1,0
Supervised milk (G.5)	Sometimes strict/don't care	64	,86	26	,87	14	,48	7	,27
	Very strict/Strict	10	,14	4	,13	15	,52	19	,73
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Dating opposite sex (G.6)	Good idea/don't mind	57	,77	26	,87	9	,31	10	,38
	Out till marriage/shiduch	17	,23	4	,13	20	,69	16	,62
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Wear jeans (G.4)	Often	N/A	N/A	19	,63	N/A	N/A	2	,08
	occasionally	N/A	N/A	11	,37	N/A	N/A	24	,92
	Seldom/never	N/A	N/A	30	1,0	-	-	26	1,0
Pupil's level observance (A.10).	Not observant	21	,28	9	,03	5	,17	1	,04
	Somewhat observant	34	,46	15	,50	13	,45	8	,31
	Very observant	19	,26	6	,30	11	,38	17	,65
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

**TABLE 11.2 LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICE**

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155).

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Pupil travel on Sabbath (G.2)	d.f. $\chi^2$	1 1,01	2 1,92	3 8,98	1 1,01	1 0,91	1 7,06***
Kosher dietary laws (G.1)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 3,45	2 7,35**	2 28,81**	2 3,45	2 10,80**	2 31,61**
Supervised milk (G.5)	d.f. $\chi^2$	1 1,25	2 2,69	3 42,13***	1 1,25	1 1,44	1 39,44***
Dates with opposite sex (G.5)	d.f. $\chi^2$	1 0,16	2 1,65	3 33,61***	1 0,16	1 1,49*	1 31,96***
Wear Jeans (G.4)	d.f. $\chi^2$	N/A N/A	N/A N/A	1 13,42***	N/A N/A	N/A N/A	1 13,42***
Pupils' level observance (A.10)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 4,65	4 5,53	6 19,44***	2 4,65	2 0,98	2 12,81***

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

TABLE 11.3. MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND SAMPLE SIZES OF LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

STATEMENT		MODERN ORTHODOX		ULTRA ORTHODOX	
		Y.C.	L.B.	T.A.	B.J.
Shulchan Aruch a guide for life (D.8)	Mean	2,38	2,57	2,03	2,19
	SD	1,06	0,86	1,15	1,06
	n	74	30	29	26
Support non-Jew vs non-observant shopowner (D.4)	Mean	3,47	3,47	3,38	2,19
	SD	1,05	1,04	1,24	1,10
	n	74	30	29	26
Previously more observant Previously less observant (7 point scale) (C.b)	Mean	4,54	5,20	4,03	4,07
	SD	1,85	1,84	1,70	1,37
	n	74	30	29	26

TABLE 11.4 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155)

STATEMENT		SEX X SCHOOL	SEX	SCHOOL	ERROR
Shulchan Aruch a guide for life (D.8)	Mean sq	0,008	1,000	4,307	1,082
	F	0,01	0,92	3,98**	-
Support non-Jew vs observant Jewish shopowner (D.4)	Mean sq	11,673	11,887	15,623	1,192
	F	9,76***	9,97***	13,11***	-
Previously more observant- Previously less observant (7 point scale) (C.b)	Mean sq	2,965	1,007	1,411	3,064
	F	0,97	0,33	0,46	-

- \* Significant at 10%
- \*\* Significant at 5%
- \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 11.3. DISCUSSION

Of all the religious injunctions and practices surveyed, the responses for the frequency of Sabbath travel are exceptional on account of the generally low level of religious law violation by members of all the groups. While there is a significant school effect indicating that the Ultra Orthodox are more conscientious in the observance of the injunctions, nearly three quarters of the Modern Orthodox pupils obey the Sabbath laws. Kaplan's sentiment that "the Sabbath is the most important institution of Judaism. It is the primary ritual, the very touchstone of our faith"(2), appears to be applicable to the sample as a whole. There are strong reasons why the Sabbath in particular should be observed by the pupils. For example, Jewish law regards one who not keep the Sabbath as one who abandons Judaism for another religion. The Talmud flatly states that "breaking the Sabbath is like worshipping idols"(3). Furthermore, Maimonides writes that in many respects, one who willing and flagrantly does not keep the Sabbath is no longer considered part of the Jewish community(4).

The rabbis of today generally take a more tolerant view. They extend to the Sabbath violator the privileges of being a Jew on the basis of his transgressing out of ignorance. However, the students who attend religious schools may feel that this would not apply to them.

On the basis of the responses, there is a tendency in some schools for the level of observance of Jewish dietary laws to be lower than the level of Sabbath observance. This is particularly the case for the Lelia Bronner girls although it manifests itself amongst the Torah Academy pupils as well. In view of both Sabbath and kashrut being

central core observances through which time and space(5) are organised one would have anticipated parallel levels of observance of each practice. The discrepancy can be resolved by considering the kashrut responses to be a reflection of the standard of kashrut at home rather than an indication of the actual sensitivity and preponderance of the pupil for this practice. The kosher standards at home are governed by the parents, usually the mother. It is not really within the control of the pupil. Sabbath travel, however, is very much more within the control of the pupil. Abstaining from travel on the Sabbath would create less friction than practising kashrut in a non-kosher home where ritual dietary law stipulates the use of separate dietary utensils by the pupil.

The contrasting sets of data may explain why when a pupil decides to become more religious than his non-practising parents. The sequence is often to first start keeping the Sabbath and then to practise the dietary laws at home. This perception was verified by Rabbi M. Fachler, Dean of the Leila Bronner girls high school and teacher at Yeshiva College in the course of an interview(6).

The differences between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox pupils are pronounced in a number of practices. While under 20% of pupils in both Modern Orthodox schools drink milk approved by rabbinic authority, over 50% of the Ultra Orthodox do likewise.

A similar pattern of responses is evident on the item concerned with dating. The Modern Orthodox have accepted the prevalent societal

attitude about the method of meeting and courting the opposite sex while the Ultra Orthodox tend to reject this approach. Consistent with this, is the very low percentage of Ultra Orthodox females who dress in modern fashions. Only two of these girls were willing to admit to the wearing of jeans.

The sharp variance in the responses suggests that the Modern Orthodox have relegated the injunctions about these activities to subordinate status. They are consequently perceived as being peripheral and perhaps incidental relative to the former core injunctions. The responses to the item suggesting that the Shulchan Aruch ought to be a guide for life encapsulates the earlier responses. While on average pupils from both the Modern and Ultra Orthodox schools tend to agree with the statement, the Ultra Orthodox agree with it more strongly. In fact, the Beth Jacob girls feel so strongly about the importance of following Jewish law that they tend to agree with the sentiment that they would rather support a non-Jew than a non-observant Jewish shopowner. This sentiment is however not shared by pupils from the other schools and may indicate the unique extent to which the Beth Jacob girls are surrounded by fellow Jews of a similar level of religiosity. Their responses are unlikely to be as strong if they suffered the dissonance caused by depriving non-religious family or friends from earning a living.

The pupils themselves perceive the difference in religiosity between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox. The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools considered themselves to be on a higher level of observance than their Modern Orthodox counterparts.

Although such a result may be expected, a number of anomalies exist. The percentage of the Torah Academy pupils who profess to be non-observant [17,24%; (5/29)] is enigmatic in view of the fact that the researcher would describe a vast majority of students at the school to be at the barest minimum, "somewhat observant". A possible explanation is the diffuseness and non-specificity of the term "observant". They may view themselves as being inadequate relative to the Rebbe who is the normative referent for these observant students. Furthermore, their responses may have been influenced by humility. Admitting to being observant could be tantamount to arrogance. These reasons may also explain why approximately 45% (13/29) of the Torah Academy consider themselves to only be somewhat observant. In the opinion of the researcher "very frum" would be the more apt response. Notwithstanding the above it is clear that there is a higher level of perceived observance at the Ultra Orthodox schools.

There is no doubt that there is a divergence between the level of religiosity to which the Modern Orthodox schools aspire for the pupils and the level actually achieved. However, as has been indicated elsewhere, there are limits to the jurisdiction of the school. These limits were related by a head of department at Yeshiva College: "The kids are not reprimanded unless they are wearing school uniform. We can only impress upon the kids in class what we expect from them. We cannot regiment and enforce it"(7). Sometimes the schools go slightly further. For instance, Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner have

intervened to curb and censure socially disruptive behaviour but the motivating force was the protection of the schools' reputations. The first example concerns a planned discoteque party which prompted the schools to send circulars to the parents conveying their disapproval. A second example was the schools intervention to ban a "mixed" Shabbaton planned by senior students to be held outside school hours and premises. The attitude of the schools and justification was conveyed by Rabbi M Fachler: "...we feel that although it is an outside activity, it can do damage to the schools principles. It becomes a public function and people identify Yeshiva students with the Yeshiva school"(8). For similar reasons, the Leila Bronner girls were counselled to dress in accordance with the halachic dictates of modesty for the matric farewell dinner.

While the actual level of observance may vary from school to school, it appears that the group as a whole is in the process of religious growth. This is evidenced by the group's response to the "previously more observant - previously less observant" seven point scale. The group's mean of 4.49 lies towards the "previously less observant" pole. (Tables 11.3 and 11.4)

The increase towards a more religious way of life is not without its struggles and difficulties. A pupil from Yeshiva College wrote(9):

I'll say that it is very nice to be Jew. It is also very hard because you have a lot of duties to do at being a Jew - you can't eat unkosher animals such as pig or you can't eat meat and milk and you have to keep Shabbos which means you can't drive on Saturday and switch on lights. On the whole it is very difficult.

At the same time, the general increase in the level of observance should not be seen solely as an increase in the quantity of ritual that the students apply. From the ethnographic part of the study, it is clear that the pupils perceive the deeper meaning to the rituals. A Beth Jacob pupil wrote the following about being a Jew:

It means that one is part of a whole. Not a separate entity. It is a life of truth. It teaches one to have control over desires and is the real freedom. It is a moral way of living. It is a means of achieving great heights of happiness without the need for materialistic stimuli. It teaches one the correct value system. Within it one finds sincerity in people and learns to take the good things in life along with the bad.

Other comments include:

The rewards outweigh the hardships, because a person learns through Torah how to relax and use every moment that he has in this world. To be a fulfilled Jew is to live according to Torah (a Beth Jacob pupil).

It is a great responsibility but not a burden (a Leila Bronner pupil).

It gives you a sense of fulfillment and purpose to your life (a Beth Jacob pupil).

A Jew means to live like a real human being to live a wonderful and exciting life (a Beth Jacob pupil).

It is a blessing to be Jewish and one leads a special life, one sees the purpose in this world as the world to come. We live life with always some festival to look forward to, to live a full life (a Beth Jacob pupil).

It means learning how to be compassionate (a Yeshiva College pupil.)

#### 11.4. SUMMARY

There is widespread practise of Sabbath observance among the respondents. There is a lesser observance of the dietary laws with a divergence between the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools and their Modern Orthodox counterparts. There is a greater divergence between these two groups in the extent of practice of non-core injunctions. In general, the Ultra Orthodox are more observant than the Modern Orthodox by definition. A trend of growth in religiosity is perceived(10).

CHAPTER 11. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Liebman. 1973. op.cit. p.127.
2. Kaplan, A. 1974. 'Shabbos - Day of Eternity'. Booklet published by National Conference of Synagogue Youth. New York. p.7.
3. Eruvin 69b; Chullin 5a, Yad Shabbat 30:15.
4. Yoreh Deah 2:5. 119:7; Mishneh Berurah 55:46.
5. Mayer, 1979. op.cit. pp.60, 65.
6. 20 August 1986.
7. Interview with Mrs Blackman. 2 February 1987.
8. Interview held on 20 August 1986.
9. Unless otherwise stated, all the comments written by pupils in the course of this dissertation are taken from the questionnaire.
10. The general pattern emerging from responses is that religious practice represents a basic content form and expression of the group's Jewish identity. Here, the respondents part company with the mainstream South African Jew for whom Zionism has become a surrogate for religion.  
See: Shimoni. 1980. op.cit. pp.4, 32, 236.  
The respondents also differ to the vast majority of Israelis who conceive of the Jews as a nation. For the Israelis, the sense of Jewish nationality that entails the obligations and responsibilities that Jews have toward one another is the critical aspect of their Jewish identity.  
See: Liebman, Don Yehiya. op.cit. p.4.

CHAPTER 12    JEWISHNESS OF IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT

## 12.1. INTRODUCTION

It is a fundamental axiom of the sociology of education, that the school does not function in isolation from the outside world. Throughout Jewish history the family has been a key agency of socialisation, in many respects more vital than the synagogue and school. Thus in order to fully comprehend the impact that the schools have on the students, it is necessary to investigate the level of religiosity in the home. Two indicators were used to examine the extent of parents' religiosity: namely, the observance of the Sabbath by the parents, and the frequency of attendance of religious lectures, lessons or discourses by each parent. In addition to the home, the immediate peer group has influence which impinges upon the pupil, and therefore also warrants investigation.

## 12.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Scrutiny of tables 12.1 and 12.2 shows that few of the pupils at Beth Jacob and Torah Academy are more religious than both their parents(19%). In contrast, nearly 40% of the pupils at Leila Bronner and Yeshiva College claim to be more religious than their parents.

Analysis of the responses governing parental Sabbath observance yielded differences between the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools ( $p \leq 0.01$ ). (Tables 12.3 and 12.4). In the case of the Modern Orthodox schools, 45% (46/103) indicated that both parents observed the Sabbath. The corresponding figure for the Ultra Orthodox was 71% (39/55). This higher level is further illustrated by the proportions

of the cases where neither parent was Sabbath observant. In the Modern Orthodox sample, 40% (41/103) furnished this response, compared to the corresponding 15% (8/55) of the Ultra Orthodox.

There were differences on the basis of school type, in the frequency of shiur attendance by the mothers ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) as well as by the fathers ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). (Tables 12.3 and 12.4). Of the mothers of the Modern Orthodox pupils, 47,1% (49/104) attended such educational activities either daily or once to twice a week. The corresponding figure for their counterparts at the Ultra Orthodox schools was 74,5% (41/55).

The fathers of the Ultra Orthodox pupils also attended shiurim more frequently than their counterparts at the Modern Orthodox schools. Again, the differences were irrespective of the sex of the school. (7,7% vs 30,9%). (Tables 12.3 and 13.4).

Similar proportions (approximately 20%) of pupils at the Ultra and Modern Orthodox schools agreed with the statement: "What I have learnt in Jewish studies at my school has brought me into conflict with my parents because of the practices in my home". (Table 12.1).

The greatest level of conflict between the pupil and his parents was experienced at the Ultra Orthodox schools (Table 12.1). Here conflict prevailed where the respondent was less observant than at least one of the parents or when the pupil's level of religiosity exceeded that of both parents. When there was no difference between the pupil's

level of religiosity and that of both parents, conflict was typically absent. This was in operation among the majority of the families patronising the Ultra Orthodox schools.

Analysis of the responses governing the level of religiosity of the respondent's five best friends, yielded a significant sex effect ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) as well as differences according to school type ( $p \leq 0,10$ ) (Tables 12.3 and 12.4). The girls had a higher level of observant or mostly observant friends [92,7%; (51/55)] compared to the boy's [78,6%; (81/103)]. The school effect was due to the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools having friendship circles of more observant friends than the Modern Orthodox. This is highlighted by the proportions of friends who were all religiously observant. In the case of the Modern Orthodox schools 20,4% (21/103) furnished this response while the corresponding figure for the Ultra Orthodox was 41,8% (23/55).

TABLE 12.1      COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS  
CONCERNING CONFLICT BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL.

"What I have learnt in Jewish studies at my school has brought me into conflict with my parents because of the practices in my home" (A.20).

NOTE: "Greater both" means that the pupil is more religious than both his parents. Similar logic applies to the other two column headings.

MODERN ORTHODOX SCHOOL RESPONSES:

Conflict	GREATER BOTH		LESS THAN AT LEAST ONE		SAME	
	n	p	n	p	n	p
No	25	,64	26	,90	28	,82
Yes	14	,36	3	,10	6	,18
TOTAL	39	1,0	29	1,0	34	1,0

ULTRA ORTHODOX SCHOOL RESPONSES:

Conflict	GREATER BOTH		LESS THAN AT LEAST ONE		SAME	
	n	p	n	p	n	p
No	5	,50	7	,58	31	,97
Yes	5	,50	5	,42	1	,03
TOTAL	10	1,0	12	1,0	32	1,0

TABLE 12.2. LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO CONFLICT

Key: C - conflict  
 S - school  
 R - religiosity of pupil.

PARTIAL MODEL	d.f.	$\chi^2$
C	1	49, 43 ***
R	2	6, 16 **
RxC	2	13, 03 ***
SxR	3	10, 65 **
SxC	1	, 490
RxCxS	2	9, 919 ***

FULL MODEL	d.f.	$\chi^2$
C	10	82, 88 ***
R	9	39, 43 ***
RxC	7	33, 27 ***
SxR	5	20, 24 ***
SxC	3	9, 59 **
RxCxS	2	9, 19 ***

\*Significant at 10%  
 \*\*Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\*Significant at 1%

**TABLE 12.3. COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH RELIGIOSITY OF IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT.**

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Sabbath observance (A13;14)	Both parents observe	31	,42	15	,52	17	,59	22	,85
	One parent observes	11	,15	5	,17	7	,24	1	,04
	Neither parent observes	32	,43	9	,31	5	,17	3	,12
	TOTAL	74	1,0	29	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,01
Mother shiur attendance (A.12)	Daily	13	,18	4	,13	5	,17	4	,15
	Monthly/never	41	,55	14	,47	8	,28	6	,23
	Weekly	20	,27	12	,40	16	,55	16	,62
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Father shiur attendance (A.12)	Daily	7	,09	1	,03	7	,24	10	,38
	Monthly/never	42	,57	18	,60	13	,45	7	,27
	Weekly	25	,34	11	,37	9	,31	9	,35
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	28	1,0	26	1,0
Five best friends (A.9)	All religious	14	,19	7	,24	8	,28	15	,52
	Mostly non-observant	17	,23	3	,10	5	,17	1	,04
	Mostly observant	43	,58	19	,66	16	,55	10	,38
	TOTAL	74	1,0	29	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

TABLE 12.4.

LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO  
THE RELIGIOSITY OF IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Sabbath observance (A 13,14)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 3,39	4 7,38	6*** 20,17	2 3,29	2 3,99	2** 12,79
Mother shiur attendance (A.12)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 0,24	4 1,90	6** 15,10	2 0,02	2 1,66	2*** 13,20
Father shiur attendance (A.12)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 3,13	4 3,51	6*** 18,52	2 3,13	2 0,38	2*** 15,01
Five best friends (A.9)	d.f. $\chi^2$	2 1,72	6*** 17,10	4 7,76	2 1,72	2* 11,06	2** 6,04

- \* Significant at 10%
- \*\* Significant at 5%
- \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 12.3 DISCUSSION

Comparison of the parents' level of religiosity with that of their children, suggests that the children are in the main, more observant than their parents. The large proportion of pupils, 79,87% (127/159) of the sample as a whole, who never drive on the Sabbath or do so only rarely, is an indicator of the extent of Sabbath observance. This compares with 53,79% (85/158) of both parents who observe the Sabbath.

The shift towards religiosity by the younger generation, is highlighted by comparing the percentages of pupils of each school who are not Sabbath observant, with the figures for the parents who are both not Sabbath observant. In the case of Yeshiva College 27,03% (20/74) of the pupils are not Sabbath observant, while 58,1% (43/74) of the parents are both not Sabbath observant. The corresponding figures for Leila Bronner are 23,3% (7/30) and 48,27% (14/29). The trend persists at the Ultra Orthodox schools. At the Torah Academy the corresponding figures are 13,79% (4/29) and 41,38% (12/29). Finally, the corresponding figures for Beth Jacob are 3,85% (1/26) and 15,38% (4/26). In each of the above cases, the level of Sabbath observance is greater among the pupils than among their parents.

The intensification in religious observance among the younger generation, is further corroborated when examining the number of religious lecture, discourse or discussion meetings attended by the parents. Only 44% of the parents of children of all the schools attend such shiurim regularly. The lack of attendance may be symptomatic of a

lack of serious commitment to the Jewish religion. This view is consistent with the attendance of shiurim by parents of the Ultra Orthodox pupils compared with parents of the Modern Orthodox pupils. The latter attend significantly less frequently.

Richardson, in observing the proliferation of cults and revivals in American life during the last two decades, termed the present decade the "age of conversion"(1). The scope of the present study is too limited to permit the researcher to conclude that contemporary South African Jewry is in a similar epoch. Nevertheless, the above data constitute incontrovertible evidence of a distinct generational shift towards religious observance among the sample investigated.

The responses indicate that the pupils associate with friends of a similar level of observance. The friendship groupings can be ascribed to the following factors. Firstly, the pursuance of a religious way of life militates against social interaction with the non-observant. A prime example are the strict dietary laws which prevent the observant from eating in the home of the non-observant. This and other ritual requirements have the effect of erecting a barrier and inhibiting friendships between the observant pupil and his non-practising neighbour. Secondly, the pool of potential friends is likely to be dictated by the school the pupil attends. Thirdly, the parents may actively support and encourage the formation of homogeneous peer groups. The main motivation could be parental concern that their child's religio-cultural integrity may be subverted or contaminated by the peer group. They consequently may be negatively disposed to the

association of their children with peers who are not inclined to assume a religious way of life. This reason is consistent with the actions of the Ultra Orthodox parents in the 1950's - 1960's. In the absence of Jewish religious day schools, Adath Jeschurun parents sent their sons to Yeoville Boys School and even to Marist Brothers(2). The motivation was that at these schools the demarcation between the Ultra Orthodox subculture of these pupils and the non Jewish majority culture was sharply defined. Any potential threat to compromising religious practices was minimal. The rationale for parental aversion to the existing King David day school was that such a school could pose an alternative way of life within a Jewish frame of reference.

The perseverance of the Ultra Orthodox was not matched by the immigrant forebears of the mainstream South African Jewish community. In contrast to the homogeneity of peer relationships, the early settlers demonstrated an integrationist tendency. Being mainly immigrants, they were prompted to reduce the scope and intensity of their subcultural involvement in order to be accepted within the society. Practices which were readily abandoned included those which made large and repeated demands on time and energy, for example, daily prayer and dietary laws(3).

With the advent of the "national traditional" day school, many parents viewed this institution as a social and cultural ghetto. Fearful that their child would be socially divorced from his non-Jewish neighbour, a "bogey of segregation" came into being(4). The pupils of the present study do not suffer the conflict that these immigrants experienced.

There is no evidence of any willingness to compromise. They exhibit an assertiveness of identity.

The responses bear testimony to the inevitable clash of values within the home when parents who themselves are not observant, or only moderately traditional, enroll their child in a Torah observant school. This prompts the question of what is the motivation of such parents for enrolling their child in religious schools. Interviews with teachers, pupils and parents diagnosed two types of non-observant parents. The first category consisted of those who themselves felt a yearning for a religious way of life and were happy to encourage their children to adopt the religious rituals taught at the schools. Such parents often made a sincere effort to draw the family closer to religion and to adopt more of the traditional observances and rituals. Cohen(5), referring to parochial schools in general, claims that the desire to ensure a strong commitment to religious norms is a key determinant in the decision of parents to send their child to such a school.

The second group want their children to acquire the higher level of Jewish affective and cognitive knowledge the school provides. They are pleased with the cultural aspects of Judaism the child is provided with at the school although they are opposed to the adoption of some of the traditional ritual observances of Judaism. Subliminally, however, there are deep seated motivations for the revitalisation and renaissance of religious practice as explained by Rabbi M Fachler:

... the parents anticipate it [conflict]. Sometimes they even send their children there, almost as an excuse that the next generation will be more religious and they'll have to follow suit. In other words, it is not a totally unconscious thing that they're doing. Even on the times when parents have complained about the children being religious, and I said "but you knew when you sent them that although we don't push and brainwash, there is that possibility, because of their exposure", they accepted that. And it is not only that the children are doing it but even an awareness of parents when they send their child to the school, and it may even be a positive want(5).

It must be stressed that both groups of parents, by virtue of usually assuming at least some economic burden by enrolling their child at a day school are committed to a Jewish education. Furthermore, their very choice of a religious school indicates a positive sentiment to Judaism. The essential difference is that the first group see a relationship between religious beliefs and practice. The second group of parents, while having strong positive religious attitudes may observe few taboos, rituals or other rules. As was noted in an earlier chapter, the latter group, typify the mainstream South African Jew(7).

The discrepancy in religious observance and attitude between the parents and pupils inevitably leads to a degree of conflict between the two generations. Slightly over one fifth of the group as a whole, 21,79% (34/156) admitted to feeling some conflict between the school's values and those of their home. The high percentage of pupils who experience no conflict may be better understood when considering an active program pursued by the schools.

In an endeavour to diffuse potential conflict, confusion and guilt provoked by an overzealous pupil, the pupils are given counselling and guidance in filial relationships. This usually involves teaching the religious norms and behaviours concerning the parent-child relationship, for example, respect and fear. The former is manifested through positive acts of service: for example, bringing them food and helping them to don coats. The latter involves restraint which demonstrates respect(8), for example, not to sit in the chair of parents, not to directly disagree or contradict a parent in the presence of others(9). In an endeavour to instill respect and reverence for parents, the religious studies exams often contain many topics in which the pupil has to resolve a moral dilemma(10), for example, honouring one's parents in a non-religious home.

The responses governing conflict can easily be understood in terms of family dynamics. When a parent is non practising, or where the child's extent of ritual observance exceeds that of both his parents, conflict is symptomatic of the demands made by a child to unaccommodating parents. Relations between the child and his parents are upset on several grounds. An observant child finds it difficult to eat in the home of parents who not observe the dietary laws. It is difficult to spend the Sabbath and holydays with parents who violate the religious prescriptions and proscriptions regarding their observance. By assuming the "yoke of the Torah", the observant pupil not only separates himself from potential non-Jewish friends, he may also force a physical and psychological separation between himself and his parents. If not relieved, this is deeply disturbing to both parties.

For the child from a non observant home or a home where the religious standard is lower than the pupil's personal level, the conflict is fanned by confusion and guilt. On the one hand, the child is taught that G-d requires of Jews that they abide by commandments and observances. On the other hand, he realises that his own parents who he admires and loves, fall short of the standards(11).

Alternatively, where the child has at least one parent who is more staunchly observant than him, the child may perceive religion to be foisted upon him. This could very well provoke resentment and frustration. At the Modern Orthodox schools, the incidence of conflict is less frequent in the case of the pupil being less religious than at least one parent. This suggests that the parents are more tolerant and accommodating. Religion is perhaps not as vital a factor as in the corresponding group of Ultra Orthodox parents. Had the Modern Orthodox school parents been particularly concerned for religion, they probably would have enrolled their child in an Ultra Orthodox school. In contrast, when the pupil's level of religious observance exceeds that of both parents, a very significant level of conflict occurs. Here again, the principal reasons are cultural. The ethos of the home is not conducive to ritual practise.

Where conflict exists it is probable that the child creates a religious island for himself at home where he will do what he believes he is required to do rather than create conflict. He may search for support from teachers and his friendship circles and seek to observe at home as best he can the Jewish tradition he has been taught(12).

The conflict between the school and home is related more to the level of religiosity than the orientation of religiosity. This finding emanates from scrutiny of the responses for conflict of the Torah Academy. It is remarkable that although there is a small group of observant parents at the school who follow the Mitnaged(14) approach, there is hardly any incidence of conflict. This lends credence to Rabbi Bernhard's advice concerning such pupils: "Experience has shown that children quickly learn to "departmentalise" their lives, and to know exactly where they stand at home and to know exactly where they stand at school"(13). A concrete manifestation of this policy of non-coercion and mutual respect is the fact that the headboy of Torah Academy for 1987 is a staunch member of the Bnei Akiva.

Studies by Herman (1970a, 1977a); Ribner (1975); Weiss (1981); Cohen (1974); Dubb (1971); and Helmreich (1982a). on non-religious day schools suggest that where ever a dichotomy exists between the home and the school, the family's values will usually have the greater impact upon the child and eclipse those of the school(15).

The findings in this study run contrary to these findings. The empirical results in this study suggest that the vehicle for cultural transmission has devolved from the home to the school. Since the religious value systems propagated by the school compensates in many cases for the deficit at home, one could prima facie infer that the school operates in loco parentus. This, however, is not fully accurate. Although the data demonstrates value dissonance between the two generations, the parents are nevertheless a force to be contended

with. The values of the school do not merely supplement those of the parents but actually challenge and are often antagonistic to the parents' life style. On this basis, a more apt description of the role of the school is that of contra parentem.

Fundamental differences between the religious and non religious Jewish day school systems may explain the discrepancy. Besides the previously mentioned role of bringing the less committed pupil into contact with the more committed pupil, the ability of the religious schools to woo the pupil towards an observant life style may lie in the commitment of the teachers(16). They serve as role models who personify the type of person the school is trying to cultivate. In the selection procedure for Jewish studies teachers, criteria exceeding an adequate level of knowledge are prerequisites. These include religious observance, good character traits and reputation(17). The all encompassing ethos of the school, as well as aspects of teaching methodology, both formal and informal were noted in an earlier chapter. All these factors summate to enhance learning and foster retention.

When the results are interpreted, a qualitative subjective component must be taken into account on the part of the respondent.. It would seem that the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools were more critical of what constitutes good observance. The question may have had different connotations for the Ultra Orthodox school pupils.

#### 12.4. SUMMARY

The pupils, in particular the respondents at the Modern Orthodox schools, are more religious than their parents. The group as a whole tends to mix with friends who are at a similar level of religiosity. Amongst the parents of the Modern Orthodox sample, there is less of a tendency for religious growth and development than among their Ultra Orthodox counterparts.

In the case of the Ultra Orthodox schools, there is conflict between the pupil and his parents when the pupil's level of religiosity is either greater than or less than that of his parents. At the Modern Orthodox schools, conflict was only identified in the case where the pupil's level of religiosity exceeded that of both parents.

CHAPTER 12. JEWISHNESS OF IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT. NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Richardson, J.T.I. 1977. 'Conversion Process Model and the Jesus Movement'. American Behavioral Scientist. 20(5): 819-838.
2. Interview with Rabbi J. Krupnik, former spiritual leader of the Adath Jeschurun congregation. 1 June 1984.
3. See: Elazar, D.J. 1983. op.cit. pp.76-90  
For an account of ritual modification in another western Jewish community, namely, America, see:  
Sklare, M. (Ed.). 1974. The Jewish Community in America. New York: Behrman House;  
Interview with Rabbi Zaiden, Rabbi, Country Communities of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, 13 June 1984.
4. Abrahams, I. 1968. Pathways in Judaism. Cape Town: Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. p.257.
5. Cohen, S.M. 1974. op.cit. p.316.
6. Interview held on 20 August 1986.
7. Dubb. A.A. 1977 op.cit. p.114.
8. See: Berman, S. 1976. 'Value Perspectives on Jewish Family Life'. Social Casework. June 1976. p.366.
9. Donin, H.H. 1977. To Raise a Jewish Child : A Guide for Parents. U.S.A. Basic Books p.171;  
Exodus. 20:12;  
Leviticus. 19:3;  
Kiddushin. 31a.
10. For information on the principle of a moral dilemma in education, see:  
Kohlberg, L. 1974. The Child as a Moral Philosopher. Chazan, B. and Soltis, J.F. (Eds.). New York: Teachers College Press. pp. 139-142.  
Refer to Appendix H for an essay written in a halacha examination on the following topic: "The Delicate Issue of Honouring One's Parents Facing a Religious Child Growing Up in an Irreligious Home" (p.335).  
The following themes are implicit in the essay. It is evident that a seminal value propagated by all the schools surveyed is shalom bayit. This is translated by Landes and Zborowski as family harmony, balance, peace equilibrium. Under no circumstances must religious practices and ideology disturb the harmony. The child must not provoke his parents or exacerbate the conflict in any way.

The commandments to respect one's parents are in the same Torah that calls for the observance of the Sabbath. Parental non observance is due to a lack of training over which they had no control. As a result of this, the parent never learned to fully implement the Jewish way of life. Since launched in one direction it is difficult to change habits. The child's presence at the school is an indication of the parent's positive attitudes and their interest in the child's religious growth.

See: Landes, R. and Zborowski, M. 1950. 'Hypothesis concerning the Eastern European Jewish Family'. Psychiatry. 13(4): 464.

The magnitude of the principle of shalom bayit is due to it being based on the principle, "Great is peace, for even G-d tampered with the truth to observe it".

Talmud: Yevamot. 65b;  
Nedarim. 66b;  
Chullin. 141a;  
Shabbat. 116b;  
Makot. 11a;  
Sukkot. 53b.

11. An insight into the nature of conflict was gleaned from an interview with Rabbi Fachler. 7 October 1986.
12. Donin. op.cit.
13. Bernhard, N.M. 1978. op.cit.
14. Refer to Chapter 2 pp.9-29.
15. Herman, S.N. 1970a. American Students in Israel. New York: Cornell University Press.  
Herman, S.N. 1977a op.cit.  
Ribner, S. 1978. 'The Effects on Intensive Jewish Education on Adult Lifestyles'. Jewish Education. 46(1): 6-12.  
Weiss, 1981. 'Is there an Alternative to the Decline of the Jewish Supplementary School?' Jewish Education 49(2):8-17.  
Cohen, S.M. 1974. 'The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice'. Jewish Social Studies. 36: 316-326;  
Dubb, A.A. 1971.op.cit.  
Helmreich, W.B. 1982a. op.cit. p.330.
16. For an account of a teaching situation where not all the teachers are committed, see:  
Schoem, B. 1983. 'Seeing is Disbelieving'. Chazan, B. (Ed). op.cit. p.86.
17. Interview with Rabbi D. Chasdan, principle, Torah Academy. 7 October 1986;  
Interview with Rabbi A.H. Tanzer. 8 February 1984.

CHAPTER 13 SCHOOLING

### 13.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter focuses on education. It examines the attitude of the respondents towards several school subjects of both the secular and "sacred" curricula. The extent of the respondent's satisfaction with the secular standards and the calibre of teachers is investigated. The levels of interest for the secular and "sacred" fields of study are compared. The reaction of the pupils to the traditional sex-role stereotypes are also probed.

### 13.2 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

There were no significant differences between the schools and sexes in their responses concerning Afrikaans as a school subject (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). Of the group as a whole, 10,1% (16/159) found Afrikaans very interesting while 52,3% (99/159) found it uninteresting or were indifferent.

In the case of Modern Hebrew there were also no significant differences on the basis of schools or sexes (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). However, the responses indicated a higher level of interest for this subject. Of the group as a whole, 56% (89/159) were interested or very interested. This was in contrast to the corresponding figure of 38% (60/159) for Afrikaans.

The interaction effect in the extent of interest in English, although significant, ( $p \leq 0,05$ ), was due to only a small percentage of Beth Jacob and Yeshiva College pupils who were uninterested. [15%; (16/99)]. (Tables 13.1 and 13.3). In isolation, this 16% was not

particularly high, but was high in relation to the low level of uninterest at Leila Bronner and Torah Academy. [3,4%; (2/59)].

There was a very definite school effect in the attitude to Jewish history ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). There was a greater tendency for it to be endorsed as very interesting by the Ultra Orthodox pupils [54,5%; (30/55)] than by the Modern Orthodox [20,2%; (21/24)]. Furthermore, there was also a sex effect ( $p \leq 0,05$ ).

In the case of general history, there were sex differences. ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). This is highlighted by scrutiny of the responses for the "uninteresting" category of table 13.1. Here, 13,6% (14/103) of the boys furnished this response compared to 5,4% (3/56) of the girls.

Analysis of the attitudes toward modern Jewish literature yielded an interaction effect (Tables 13.1 and 13.2) ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). This particularly high proportion of the Torah Academy respondents. [93,1%; (27/29)] who found the subject either uninteresting or who were indifferent forms the basis of the interaction effect. In general, however, scrutiny of the responses indicates the existence of a large extent of disinterest.

There were no significant differences in the attitude of the Yeshiva College and Torah Academy boys towards Gemmorah. The boys of both schools displayed a high level of interest in this subject. This is evidenced by the proportion of 84,2% (86/102) of this group as a whole

who chose the "very interesting" or "interesting" response category (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). Only the boys were examined since Gemmorah is excluded from the girls' curriculum.

Analysis yielded an interaction effect in the attitudes of the group towards the writings of the Prophets in the Bible (Nevi'im). ( $p < 0,01$ ). Of the pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools 19,2% (20/104) found it very interesting compared to 36,4% (20/55) of the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools. (Tables 13.1 and 13 2). The interaction was caused by the particular interest of the Beth Jacob girls, 92% (24/26) finding it interesting or very interesting.

There was an interaction effect in the attitude the respondents towards Pentateuch (Chumash) as a school subject ( $p < 0,1$ ) (Tables 13.1 and 13.2). Scrutiny of the "very interesting" response category reveals that the particularly high level of interest displayed by the Beth Jacob girls in the basis for the interaction effect. Here, 65%; (17/26) of this school tendered this response while the average for remaining three schools was 33,1%; (44/133). The school effect was due to the Ultra Orthodox finding Chumash more interesting than the Modern Orthodox. This is highlighted by comparing the "indifferent/uninteresting" response categories. Of the former schools, 21,8% (12/55) gave this response. In contrast 26,9%; (28/104) of the Modern Orthodox gave the same response.

In order to gauge the pupils' perceptions of the secular standards of his schools, the respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree

with the following statement: "My school provides an excellent secular education compared with the best schools/colleges in Johannesburg". The Ultra Orthodox [71%; (39/55)] were much more satisfied than the Modern Orthodox [50%; (52/104)]. ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). (Tables 13.3 and 13.4).

The suggestion of dissatisfaction on the part of the pupils of Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner was confirmed when examining the responses given to the following statement: "My secular education could have been more interesting and profitable if the teachers had been better trained and more stimulating". Here, there were also differences between the schools of the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox sectors ( $p \leq 0,1$ ). (Tables 13.3 and 13.4).

This suggests only a tendency towards significance, not necessarily irrefutable differences. As a group, 59,6% (62/104) of the pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools agreed. This correlates with their responses to the previous statement. At the Torah Academy there was basic contentment with the secular department. Of this school, 48,3% (11/29) agreed while 51,7% (15/29) disagreed. The Beth Jacob girls were the most satisfied of the group. The figures indicating disagreement were 61,5% (16/26) and those indicating agreement were 38,5% (10/26).

There were school differences in the response to the attitude statement which stated that a secular education is more important than a Torah education ( $p < 0,01$ ) (Tables 13.5 and 13.6). The Modern

Orthodox, with a mean of 3,15 were basically uncertain. In contrast, their Ultra Orthodox counterparts, with a mean of 3,98 disagreed.

There was an interaction effect in the responses to the attitude statement asserting that what the pupil learnt in Jewish knowledge at his school is of value beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge. There was a much stronger agreement with the statement by the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools [90%; (50/55)]. The corresponding figure for their Modern Orthodox counterparts was 70,19% (73/104). The interaction effect is ascribed to the variance between the responses of the girls schools ( $p \leq 0,1$ ). At Leila Bronner, 63% (19/30) agreed while at Beth Jacob there was 100% agreement. This response concords with their general overextended interest and enthusiasm towards their courses. (Table 13.5 and 13.6).

There were school differences in the attitude of the respondents to the immorality of campus life. The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools, with a mean of 2,91 were uncertain. In contrast, their counterparts at the Modern Orthodox schools having a mean of 3,56 tended to disagree ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). (Tables 13.5 and 13.6). In addition, there was an interaction effect ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). This was due to the Beth Jacob girls tending to agree while the Leila Bronner girls disagreed. The former school had a mean of 2,77 compared to the latter's mean of 3,99.

There were no significant differences between schools or sexes on the statement that King David is doing a disservice to Jewish education.

The mean for the group as a whole was 2,84 indicating a tendency towards agreement (Table 13.5 and 13.6).

There were sex differences in the responses to the statement saying that a Torah education is more important for a boy than for a girl ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (Tables 13.5 and 13.6). The mean for the boys was 2,84. This indicates uncertainty but with a tendency towards agreement. In contrast, the girls with a mean of 3,13 were uncertain and tended to disagree. Furthermore, there were school differences ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). This was due to the pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools being in less strong agreement than their counterparts at the Ultra Orthodox schools.

There were sex differences in the responses to the statement that a secular education is more important for a boy than for a girl ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). The boys were basically uncertain having a mean of 3,00. The girls, however tended to disagree. Their mean was 3,91 (Tables 13.5 and 13.6)

In order to evaluate the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the pupil with the Jewish education have given at each school the following statement was presented in the questionnaire: "I am completely satisfied with the Jewish education I have received at my school". (Tables 13.3.and 13.4). The boys were in strong agreement [75,7%; (78/103)] while the girls agreed less emphatically [60,7%; (34/56)] ( $p \leq 0,05$ ).

**TABLE 13.1** COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH SCHOOL SUBJECTS

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Afrikaans	Very Interesting	7	,09	2	,07	7	,24	2	,08
	Interesting	19	,26	8	,27	7	,24	8	,31
	Indifferent	28	,38	9	,30	9	,31	11	,42
	Uninteresting	20	,27	11	,37	6	,20	5	,19
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	,99	26	1,0
Modern Hebrew	Very Interesting	11	,15	6	,20	3	,10	3	,12
	Interesting	30	,41	14	,47	10	,34	12	,46
	Indifferent	21	,28	8	,27	9	,31	9	,35
	Uninteresting	12	,16	2	,07	7	,24	2	,08
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,01	29	,99	26	1,01
English	Very Interesting	12	,16	6	,20	12	,41	6	,24
	Interesting	36	,49	14	,47	16	,55	10	,40
	Indifferent	14	,19	8	,27	7	,24	5	,20
	Uninteresting	12	,16	2	,07	0	,0	4	,16
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,01	29	1,0	25	1,0
Jewish History	Very Interesting	14	,19	7	,23	18	,62	12	,46
	Interesting	32	,43	13	,43	7	,24	6	,23
	Indifferent	14	,19	9	,30	2	,07	7	,27
	Uninteresting	14	,19	1	,03	2	,07	1	,04
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	,99	29	1,0	26	1,0
History	Very Interesting	20	,27	6	,20	6	,21	4	,15
	Interesting	26	,35	12	,40	14	,48	7	,27
	Indifferent	17	,23	10	,33	6	,22	14	,54
	Uninteresting	11	,15	2	,07	3	,10	1	,04
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,01	26	1,0
Gemmorah	Very Interesting	17	,23	N/A	N/A	5	,18	N/A	N/A
	Interesting	45	,61	N/A	N/A	19	,68	N/A	N/A
	Uninteresting/ Indifferent	12	,16	N/A	N/A	4	,14	N/A	N/A
	TOTAL	74	1,0	N/A	N/A	28	1,0	N/A	N/A
	Jewish Literature	Very Interesting	13	,18	6	,20	0	,00	7
Interesting		17	,23	5	,17	2	,07	7	,27
Indifferent		24	,32	17	,57	26	,90	11	,42
Uninteresting		20	,27	2	,07	1	,03	1	,04
TOTAL		74	1,0	30	1,01	29	1,0	26	1,0
Nevi'im	Very Interesting	14	,19	6	,20	10	,24	10	,38
	Interesting	22	,30	9	,30	5	,17	14	,54
	Indifferent	24	,32	11	,37	13	,45	2	,08
	Uninteresting	14	,19	4	,13	1	,03	0	,00
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Chumash	Very Interesting	26	,35	10	,33	8	,28	17	,65
	Interesting	28	,38	12	,40	12	,41	6	,23
	Indifferent	8	,11	5	,17	8	,28	2	,08
	Uninteresting	12	,16	3	,10	1	,03	1	,04
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

**TABLE 13.2. LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO SCHOOL SUBJECTS**

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Afrikaans	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 1,65	6 4,37	9 7,56	3 1,64	3 2,72	3 3,19
Modern Hebrew	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 0,21	9 6,46	6 2,20	3 0,21	3 4,26	3 1,99
English	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 8,65**	6 9,41	9 11,1	3 8,65	3 0,76	3 1,69
Jewish History	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 2,30	6 10,39	9 30,39***	3 3,30	3 8,08**	3 22,3***
History	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 2,38	9 12,72	6 4,07	3 2,38	3 8,65**	3 4,07
Gemmorah	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	N/A N/A	N/A N/A	3 0,66	N/A N/A	N/A N/A	3 0,66
Jewish literature	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 19,68***	6 27,38***	9 43,12***	3 19,68***	3 7,7*	3 15,74***
Nevi'im	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 13,86***	6 15,21**	9 29,50***	3 13,86***	3 1,35	3 14,29***
Chumash	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 7,34*	6 10,26	9 17,11*	3 7,34*	3 2,92	3 6,85*

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

**TABLE 13.3. COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS OF RESPONSES TO CATEGORICAL ATTITUDE STATEMENTS RELATING TO THE SCHOOL.**

"My school provides an excellent secular education compared with the best schools/colleges in Johannesburg "(H.1.a).

CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
	Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Agree	39	,53	13	,43	20	,69	19	,73
Disagree	35	,47	17	,57	9	,31	7	,27
TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

"My secular education could have been more interesting and profitable if the teachers had been better trained and more stimulating" (H.1.c).

CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
	Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Agree	46	,62	16	,53	14	,48	10	,38
Disagree	28	,38	14	,47	15	,52	16	,62
TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

"What I have learnt in Jewish knowledge at my school is of value to me beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge" (H.1.d).

CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
	Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Agree	54	,73	19	,63	24	,83	26	1,0
Disagree	20	,27	11	,37	5	,17	0	,0
TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

"I am completely satisfied with the Jewish education I have received at my school" (H.1.b)

CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
	Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
	n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Agree	53	,72	19	,63	25	,86	15	,58
Disagree	21	,28	11	,37	4	,14	11	,42
TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

TABLE 13.4.

LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO  
THE SCHOOL

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Satisfied Secular Education (H.1.a)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 0,61	2 0,86	3 7,45 *	1 0,61	1 0,25	1 6,69***
Secular teachers could do better (H.1.c)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 4,92	2 1,22	3 0,00	1 0,00	1 1,22	1 3,70*
Jewish knowledge is more than mere knowledge (H.1.d)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1** 7,76	3** 7,78	3*** 17,65	1*** 7,76	1 0,02	1*** 9,87
Satisfied Jewish education (H.1.b)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 2,08	2* 6,65	3 2,8	1 2,08	1** 3,85	1 0,72

- \* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

**TABLE 13.5 MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND SAMPLE SIZES OF LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO EDUCATION**

STATEMENT		MODERN ORTHODOX		ULTRA ORTHODOX	
		Y.C.	L.B.	T.A.	B.J.
Secular ed. more N.B. than Torah ed. (D.15)	Mean	3,12	3,23	3,76	4,23
	SD	1,31	1,14	1,24	1,03
	n	74	30	29	26
Campus life is immoral (D.3)	Mean	3,39	3,99	3,03	2,77
	SD	0,92	0,78	1,01	0,91
	n	74	30	29	26
King David a disservice to Jewish ed. (D.17)	Mean	2,92	2,93	2,59	2,77
	SD	1,09	1,11	1,51	0,99
	n	74	30	29	26
Secular ed. more N.B. for boy than a girl (D.6)	Mean	3,01	4,10	2,97	3,69
	SD	1,26	1,24	1,18	1,05
	n	74	30	29	26
Torah ed. more N.B. for boy than a girl (D.9)	Mean	2,95	3,60	2,55	2,58
	SD	1,08	1,38	1,06	1,03
	n	74	30	29	26

TABLE 13.6 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO EDUCATION

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155)

STATEMENT		SEX		SCHOOL	ERROR
		X SCHOOL	SEX		
Secular ed. more N.B. for a boy than a girl (D.6)	Mean sq	1,080	27,448***	1,733	1,459
	F	0,74	18,81	1,19	-
Campus life immoral (D.3)	Mean sq	5,432**	0,637	19,325***	0,833
	F	6,52	0,76	23,21	-
King David a disservice to Jewish ed. (D.17)	Mean sq	0,237	9,325	2,060	1,194
	F	0,20	0,27	1,73	-
Torah ed. more N.B. for a boy than a girl (D.9)	Mean sq	3,301	3,852**	16,769***	1,281
	F	2,58	3,01	13,09	-
Secular ed. more N.B. than torah ed. (D.15)	Mean sq	1,084	2,846	22,300***	1,505
	F	0,72	1,89	14,82	-

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 13.3 DISCUSSION

#### 13.3.1 Languages

##### 13.3.1.1. Afrikaans

The pupils in both the Modern and Ultra Orthodox schools display a general indifference and disinterest towards Afrikaans as a school subject. In the following discussion, the reason for this antipathy will be discussed. Despite the national policy of bilingualism in South Africa, English remains the dominant language spoken in the metropolitan areas in which Jewish South Africans reside. In these areas it is possible to communicate freely without a modicum of Afrikaans in one's repertoire. The Afrikaans education is thus taken to be an academic exercise. The consequent lack of effort in learning the subject results in a lowering of school averages which in turn limits the career options of the students.

Problems related to learning Afrikaans begin early. In the course of interviews with senior teachers, an inadequate grounding in Afrikaans at the primary school level coupled with inadequate teachers were diagnosed as a problem area:

...There are so many things in the primary school which set the tone of the high school. If the child has the mazal [luck] to come across somebody who is not motivated, who is not stimulated to teach properly, that subject is hell for the rest of the child's life. I think that most of our kids have come across second rate Afrikaans teachers. So they come up with a chip on the shoulder. By the time the chip is taken off the shoulder, it is the end of standard eight already.

...Our Jewish children feel that it is a waste of time and they bide the time to get rid of it(1).

The pupils at most English-medium schools, including the religious Jewish day-schools, continue to be taught the language in an isolated class room context. The absence of any sustained and close contact with the Afrikaans sector and the consequent rejection of Afrikaans culture deprives the children of "the halo of emotional values and irrational implications" which surround every word when used by native speakers of the language(2). This atmosphere provides a fertile breeding ground for the cultivation of negative stereotypes about the Afrikaner. A senior teacher who is also a mother at Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner ascribed the high incidence of disinterest and apathy towards Afrikaans to the negative stereotypes of the comic van der Merwe caricature of the safari suit with comb in socks which is projected into the mind of the pupil.

The above discussion could be equally true for other English speaking South African children. There are however, other factors which set the sample aside from the other children. Since approximately 42% of the sample do not intend to stay in South Africa and another approximately 47% are undecided, they are less likely to be persuaded that the language is useful to them. Since it is compulsory for them to learn the language, the children may perceive it as an attempt by the government to impose an alien culture. The particularly strong affinity for the Jewish culture possessed by the children in the sample is thus likely to cause an intensification of the resentment.

### 13.3.1.2. Modern Hebrew

The degree of interest for Modern Hebrew, as well as the associated reasons offer an interesting contrast to that of Afrikaans. Although the respondents are not particularly excited by Modern Hebrew, most of them are interested in it. The 56% (89/159) who are interested or very interested in Modern Hebrew contrasts with the corresponding figure of 38% (60/159) for Afrikaans. In contrast to Afrikaans which the pupil may perceive as having limited practical application, a knowledge of Hebrew is essential to understand the classic religious works, liturgy and to integrate into Israeli life. The former reason is illustrated by Janovsky's portrayal of the role of Hebrew as an indispensable tool to understand and appreciate the Jewish liturgy, religious practices and culture:

I believe...that a language is the expression of a people's genius. Hebrew is the key to the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Jews... It provides rootage in the Jewish past and serves as a powerful link to the people of Israel and the Jews throughout the world(3)

The motivation to learn Hebrew on account of it being imperative for successfully integrating into life in Israel, assumes added weight when it is noted that the group as a whole deems living in Israel as a distinct possibility. This is illustrated by the group's mean of 2,13 for the attitude statement asserting that every Jew ought to give serious thought to making his home in Israel.

Even if the pupils ultimately decided to remain in South Africa or to move to another country besides Israel, they retain strong emotional links which encourage them to learn the language. In an interview, Mrs

M Blackman, head of the department of Hebrew at Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner and lecturer at the Hebrew Teacher's seminary, yielded a vivid insight into the role of Israel among her pupils:

Unlike you [the researcher] and me, at the age of 15, they've already been to Israel a couple of times. They have heard the language and felt very skaam [ashamed] at not being able to talk it. So they come back very enthused. They don't want to feel inadequate - so they want to speak it. Unfortunately the syllabus is such that it doesn't leave us too much time but we try as much as possible(4).

#### 13.3.1.3. English

Of all the languages, English was regarded as the most interesting. Approximately 67% (106/158) found the language very interesting or interesting. This overwhelming positive sentiment for English can be ascribed to English being the mother tongue of virtually all the respondents. In contrast to Hebrew and Afrikaans, English is an indispensable tool for pupils in everyday life.

On the basis of an interview with the English teacher at Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner, the researcher is of the opinion that the actual method of teaching the language employed in the classroom, may render the subject particularly enjoyable to the pupils. The same factors responsible for the high level of interest in Gemmorah study (discussed later) may also be in operation in English - for example, the mental gymnastics and dissection of texts of Talmud, may have an analogue in the form of literary criticism of English texts.

English finds application in the learning of Afrikaans, Hebrew, Talmud and related areas of Judaic knowledge. The role of English as an auxiliary in the teaching of these subjects was referred to by Mrs Blackman:

....as much as is humanly possible, we try to teach Ivrit B' Ivrit [Hebrew in Hebrew]. But if it is a concept I am trying to get across, especially when it comes to Tanach, and I can see that there is a troubled look on their faces and I want them to get the correct angle, I branch into English(5).

Possibly enhancing interest in English is the realisation that it is an indispensable tool for attaining a tertiary secular education in South Africa. Although not statistically significant, it is noteworthy that the Torah Academy pupils are more favourably disposed to English than their counterparts at the three other schools investigated. None of the Torah Academy respondents found the language uninteresting. A possible reason for this extent of interest is their teacher's ability and talent to generate a love for English.

On the basis of the results it is possible to rank the languages in order of interest. English receives the highest level of interest from the majority of the respondents. There is a slightly lower tendency to prefer Modern Hebrew. This is followed by Afrikaans where the majority are not particularly interested in the language. This order parallels the order of usage of the language. In all three cases there were no significant differences between the schools.

### 13.3.2. History

Some important insights into the nature of the cultural affinity of the respondents were gleaned when comparing and contrasting the responses given for the degree of interest in Jewish and secular history respectively. In contrast to the languages, where the responses were generally uniform, interesting school differences emerged on the history variables.

In the case of the Modern Orthodox schools, there was no difference in the degree of interest displayed towards each subject. In the case of the Ultra Orthodox schools there was a noticeable divergence between general history and Jewish history. These schools, in particular, the Torah Academy, found Jewish history more interesting than general history.

The fact that the respondents at Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner did not display any additional interest in Jewish history as compared to secular history was unexpected. In view of the prominent Zionistic component of the school ideology, a bias in favour of Jewish history was anticipated. It was presumed that the pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools would be strongly interested in their roots, the latter constituting the bedrock of modern Zionism.

One possible implication of the responses of the Modern Orthodox pupils is that their Zionism is based on sentimentality rather than being motivated by the historical experience of their forebears. The pupils certainly identify strongly with Israel, but the responses

suggest that they do not feel part of the Jewish historical process. To verify this hypothesis a special survey on the residential location overseas of the school leavers is required. Such a study may lend credence to the notion of Zionism being based on sentiment, material and moral support for the State rather than immigrating to the State.

The sex effect in the interest in both general and Jewish history is ascribed to a meaningful percentage of girls who are indifferent to both subjects. Approximately 40% (19/56) of both Leila Bronner and Beth Jacob are indifferent to Jewish history. A similar proportion were indifferent to secular history, approximately 43% (24/56).

Their indifference could possibly be understood in terms of differences in roles and typing between the boys and girls. The content matter of both subjects embraces wars, battles and examples of man's inhumanity to man. These topics possibly have more appeal for the boys, especially their heroic fantasies. In contrast, the girls are not inclined to identify with bloodshed and aggression. They are sex typed into identifying with more passive activities and child rearing.

### 13.3.3. Jewish Literature.

Analysis of the attitudes towards modern Jewish literature reveals the following anomaly. At the Torah Academy, virtually all the pupils were indifferent towards modern Jewish literature. Approximately 90% (26/29) indicated this sentiment. In contrast, Beth Jacob girls sustained the highest level of interest out of all the four schools

investigated. Here, approximately 54% (14/26) found the subject interesting or very interesting. The Beth Jacob girls may be interested in Jewish literature because of its focus on Israel. Although it was noted earlier that these girls are not Zionistically inclined, they nevertheless see Israel as the spiritual centre of Jewry.

To a certain extent, the interest of the respondents in Jewish literature parallels the responses governing the incidence of casual reading (discussed later). The Beth Jacob girls who are avid readers express a high interest in modern Jewish literature. Furthermore, this high level of interest may be related to their insular way of life. Shielded from the majority culture, they confine their interests to their own ethnic group and culture. Implicit in the results may be a hint that they are highly ethnocentric(6).

The exceptionally high level of indifference towards Jewish literature at the Torah Academy may be related to student dissatisfaction with their Hebrew teacher. However, there may be more deep seated factors in operation such as antipathy of the school authorities towards modern Jewish literature, as the product of predominantly non-religious or even anti-religious writers. It is consequently considered heretical or at best a waste of valuable time which could be devoted to "higher" concerns. Furthermore, the school and Lubavitch philosophy is Diaspora orientated. The Lubavitch see as their mission the bringing of the light of Torah to every Jew wherever he is located. The headquarters and leader of the movement are after all

in New York and not Jerusalem. Consequently, the Jewish literature curriculum with its focus on Israel may be perceived by the Torah Academy student body as alienating.

The apparent contradiction in the sanctioning of girls to "dabble" in Jewish literature coupled with the discouragement of the boys can be understood in terms of the traditional assumptions about the human and spiritual nature of each sex. The girls are on a higher spiritual plane and are consequently more impervious to secular ideas than boys who are more predisposed to deviate from spiritual concerns(7).

#### 13.3.4. Religious Subjects

##### 13.3.4.1. Gemmorah

The high level of interest exhibited by the two boys' schools in Gemmorah is illustrated by the combined figure of approximately 84% (86/102) who found the subject either very interesting or interesting. This can be ascribed to the content and the methodology employed in the teaching of the subject. A vivid insight into these two factors was provided by Mrs Blackman:

It [Talmud study] is all critical analysis. You can't take anything on its surface value. Before you can even begin to understand the whole thing, you have got to formulate a question, "What is he [the sage] talking about?" And before you can get to the answer, you have to go through reasons and reasons. The fact is that it is like a jigsaw puzzle. Because you have got half an answer here and half an answer there you have got to fit it in. It is a challenge and it is stimulating if done the correct way. It is the most phenomenal training for analyzing the written word, and then being able to come to conclusions. It is an intellectual challenge second to none(8).

The Beth Jacob girls displayed a particularly high level of interest towards Nevi'im and Chumash. Approximately 54% (14/26) found Nevi'im interesting compared to the corresponding figure of approximately 30% for the group as a whole. Approximately 65% (17/26) of Beth Jacob found Chumash very interesting, compared to approximately 38% for the entire group. A former headmaster of Beth Jacob shares the perception of the researcher that these religiously orientated subjects are the chief mode of expression of the Beth Jacob girls' identity. In contrast, at Leila Bronner and Yeshiva College, Jewish identity can be expressed in the form of nationalism(9). The absence of nationalism in the Beth Jacob school philosophy can be traced to the writings of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch: "Land and soil were never Israel's bond of union, but only the common task of the Torah"(10). The high level of interest displayed by the Beth Jacob girls for Nevi'im and Chumash may be due to these subjects compensating for the absence of Gemmorah in their curriculum.

### 13.3.5. Satisfaction with Education

#### 13.3.5.1. Modern Orthodox vs Ultra Orthodox

The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools were in stronger agreement than their Modern Orthodox counterparts with the statement asserting that their school provided a secular education comparable with the best schools or private colleges in Johannesburg. It can be inferred that the Modern Orthodox respondents were dissatisfied with the secular standards at their schools. This was further reinforced by examination of the responses indicating their perception of the calibre of their teachers. The pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools

agreed that their secular education could be more interesting and profitable if the teachers were better trained and more stimulating. In contrast, the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools disagreed. The smaller teacher pupil ratio at the Ultra Orthodox schools may be an important factor influencing these pupils' perception of their schools' secular standards and calibre of teachers. Many of the senior classes at the Ultra Orthodox schools have only a handful of pupils. This permits the teachers to cater for individual differences and to traverse the syllabi at an accelerated rate.

The discrepancy between the perception of secular standards and teacher's ability can be further understood by contrasting the educational priorities between the two groups and the concomitant contrasting levels of aspiration for secular knowledge. It can be argued that the Modern Orthodox who displays a more positive attitude towards secular studies and exhibit a greater level of aspiration for secular knowledge are more critical of the secular standards of their schools, and the calibre and qualifications of their teachers. In contrast, the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools have less of a quest for secular knowledge. Consequently they are less concerned with the secular standards of their schools.

The stress placed by the Modern Orthodox on secular education could very well lead them to compare their schools with other feasible alternatives, namely, Transvaal Education Department schools, the privately run "cram colleges", and King David. The less insular social circles of the Modern Orthodox pupils and the contact they have with

peers at these institutions facilitate a comparison. The comparison is real since it could be a viable alternative to enroll at another school for the pupils at the Modern Orthodox schools. In contrast, the pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools, especially Beth Jacob, are likely to be more insulated. In addition, they are less likely to be willing to forfeit an intensive religious education.

A noticeable difference in educational priorities may be observed in examining the responses to the attitude statement testing the relative importance of a good secular education compared to a good Torah education. The pupils of the Modern Orthodox were uncertain that a good secular education is more important than a good Torah education. Their Ultra Orthodox counterparts tended to agree. This is further endorsed by the particularly strong agreement of the Beth Jacob and Torah Academy respondents that what they have learnt in Jewish knowledge exceeds the mere acquisition of knowledge. There were fairly substantial proportions of Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner respondents who disagreed with this proposition. These responses, suggest that if confronted with an educational choice between the secular or sacred field of study, the Modern Orthodox would opt for the former while the Ultra Orthodox would opt for the latter.

The argument that the Ultra Orthodox group have a higher commitment and degree of interest in Jewish religion and culture is reinforced by the convincing data indicating their higher level of interest in subjects of the Jewish studies curriculum.

The following excerpt written by a Torah Academy pupil illustrates the sentiment prevalent among extremely zealous sectors of the Ultra Orthodox camp. Although the data suggests that a less extreme and more diluted standpoint is in operation among the Ultra Orthodox sample, it is nevertheless pertinent to this investigation:

For myself to have a secular education is a waste of time. Although it can help you when you grow up, the Torah you learn will help you much more. Hashem didn't send us down here to learn secular but to do the mitzvot and learn Torah.

The contrasting educational priorities are endorsed and further reflected in the attitude towards campus life. The Ultra Orthodox pupils were uncertain with a feint tendency to agree that it is incontestably immoral. The Modern Orthodox were more positively disposed and tended to agree. The attitude of the pupils of each respective pair of schools corresponds with their probable career path. A large proportion of the Modern Orthodox will ultimately register at a university. In the case of the Ultra Orthodox pupil, full time university study will in all probability be the exception rather than the norm.

The latter pupils may have a number of reasons for rejecting campus life. The following areas of concern emerged in the course of interviews with principals, religious studies teachers of the Ultra Orthodox schools, as well as with rabbis of the Ultra Orthodox subgroup. All perceived the all encompassing ethos of campus life to be diametrically opposed to primary Jewish values. They felt that campus life posed an alternate mode of life to a traditional and not

necessarily Ultra Orthodox religious perspective. Aspects of campus ethos which they perceived to pose a particular threat to Jewish identity include:

- (i) The intellectual authority attributed to academicians. Their research and intellectual accomplishments suggest formidable control over the world of ideas. They receive acclaim independent of the traditional religious knowledge that was previously the only source of true merit and prestige. The absolute authority which Halacha previously commanded is consequently deemed to be irrelevant and of no consequence. It has been superseded by the secular intellectual.
- (ii) The objective, detached and neutral stance of the scholastic scientific method. This contrasts radically with the passionate "engagement" of the student of the traditional yeshiva with the Jewish sources and text. As was noted earlier, the *raison d'être* of learning traditional sources is to internalise them and translate into practice. This point is stressed by Buber: "The supreme command of chochmah is the unity of teaching and life, for only through this unity can we recognize and avow the all embracing unity of G-d"(11).
- (iii) The method of asking questions in the academic disciplines may spill over into non-academic matters and to all commitments of their lives. This could render religious concepts and beliefs unintelligible, inconsistent with secular thought or false(12).

In conclusion, the differing educational priorities of the two groups of schools is put in perspective by the attitude of the sample towards the King David Schools. It is particularly interesting that even the Modern Orthodox sample, who hold a secular education in high esteem, tend to criticise King David for doing a disservice to Jewish education. This can be ascribed to personal motives, for example, rivalry with a competing and particularly reputable school. However the group as a whole may also disapprove of what they perceive to be the motivation for enrollment at King David, namely to participate in a social Jewish environment(13). In addition, the group may be critical of the level of religious education at King David. The criticism is often heard in Johannesburg religious circles that, " King David is not a Jewish school but a school for Jews". Mr D Emanuel summarised the attitude of the Beth Jacob girls to King David as follows: "They view King David as a rachmonis [pitiful shame]. The King David pupils think they're getting yiddishkeit [piety and spirit of Orthodoxy] and they're [King David pupils] not"(14).

This key reason sheds light on the educational standpoint of the Modern Orthodox. It indicates that although they value a secular education, they do not see a religious education as dispensable. The notion of a choice of trade off between a secular and religious education is purely hypothetical. They may stipulate secular but nevertheless the fact they have not enrolled at King David indicates that their religion is important to them and they are not prepared to disregard it. The suggestion arising from their continued enrollment at Yeshiva College and refrainment from enrolling at King David

indicate that their level of dissatisfaction is not so severe and that their parents' religious aspirations are not so irrelevant. In addition to the other reasons, the Modern Orthodox may be reluctant to condemn campus morality as this would be tantamount to criticising the morals of their parents most of whom are professionals and university graduates. Among the girls there is a greater degree of divergence due mainly to the very strong agreement by the Beth Jacob girls about campus life being immoral. This, as was the case earlier, can be ascribed to their insulated way of life and unlikelihood of registering at a university.

#### 13.3.5.2. Boys vs Girls

It is clear from the responses that there are sex linked differences in attitude to education. In responding to the two statements which explored the attitude of the respondents to the traditional role stereotypes, namely: "For a boy a Torah education is more important than for a girl" and "For a boy a secular education is more important than for a girl", the girls generally did not accept the inferior status the boys suggested should exist. This is confirmed by the boys' mean of 3,17 and girls' mean of 2,88 for the former statement although there would appear to be some difference of opinion between the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox girls on this. Concerning the second statement, the boys' mean was 3,00 compared to the girls' mean of 2,09.

From the sex effect, one can infer some concern, resentment and frustration with the traditional sex role stereotypes. The sample of

this survey part company with Seller and Hilton's(15) sample of overseas religiously observant Jewish children. In that case they adhered more strongly to traditional male-female role stereotypes than non-traditional Jewish children. Possibly fermenting in the girls of this sample, is rebellion against a religion and culture Klein(16) perceives to be a male-orientated and patriarchal.

It is particularly noteworthy that several girls commented that they would like to see Gemmorah introduced as a school subject. (Women are not obligated to study this subject and traditionally do not). This could represent a quest on the part of the girls for greater emphasis on scholarliness and intellectual acquisitiveness rather than an emphasis on the practical application of Jewish precepts(17).

The concern of the girls implicit in their responses has been echoed by Berkovits(18):

Is a Jewish woman of today, who intellectually, socially and often professionally too is indeed the equal of her husband, to remain only a passive participant in the daily religious life of the community, often only the spectator to Judaism which, apparently, is essentially a male concern and responsibility?

In summary, a concern implicit in the responses may be that the girls are unhappy with their relegation to a secondary role in ritual life and in the life of learning by Jewish law. They are not fully gratified by the prospect of merely being venerated as a mother(19).

#### 13.4 SUMMARY

The level of interest in the languages is related to the use of the language in everyday life. The respondents of the Modern Orthodox schools did not differ in the extent of interest in general history and Jewish history. In contrast, their Ultra Orthodox counterparts displayed a higher level of interest in Jewish history. The Torah Academy exhibited a particular lack of interest in Jewish literature, although many respondents are also disinterested.

There is a high level of interest in Jewish subjects containing laws, rituals and practices - for example, Pentateuch and Gemmorah. Except for Beth Jacob, there is a lower interest in the Prophets. The respondents of the Modern Orthodox schools are not particularly satisfied with the level of secular education. There is greater satisfaction among their Ultra Orthodox counterparts. Although the Modern Orthodox sample value the religious education, they do not necessarily value it above a secular education. This was not the case with the Ultra Orthodox. The boys and girls differed in the importance of a secular education for girls relative to boys. The girls disagreed that a secular education is less important for them.

CHAPTER 13: EDUCATION. NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Interview with Mrs M Blackman, Head of Hebrew Department, Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner and lecturer at the Hebrew Teachers Seminary. 1 February 1987.
2. See: Wagner, H.R. (Ed.). 1970. Alfred Shultz on Phenomenology and Social Relations. University of Chicago Press. p.91.
3. Cited in Kark 1972. op.cit. p.57.
4. Interview with Mrs Blackman. op.cit.
5. Ibid.
6. Ethnocentrism is described as "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group in the centre of everything and all others are scaled with reference to it."  
Sumner, W.G. 1906. Folkways Boston: Zinn and Co. p.13.
7. Special reference to boy-girl stereotypes, roles and educational implications was made earlier in the study.
8. Interview with Mrs Blackman. op.cit.
9. Interview with Mr D. Emanuel. 2 February 1987.
10. Hirsch, S.R. 1942. The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel. Drachman, B. (Trans.) New York: Bloch.
11. Buber, M. 1948. Israel and the World. (1963 Edn.). New York: Schocken. p.40.
12. Hirst, P.H. 1974. Moral Education in a Secular Society. London: Unibooks p.2.
13. Interview with Mr Emanuel. op.cit.  
It has been suggested in the official organ of the South African Board of Jewish Education that pupils may be attracted to the Board's schools by the high academic standards instead of by the Judaic curriculum: "...One suspects that the popularity of our high schools is, in certain quarters, related to the matric results which are achieved rather than the Jewish education which is offered".  
Davidian Star. Chunukah Issue November 1987. p.1. 'The year that was..... and the one to come'.
14. Interview with Mr Emanuel. op.cit.

15. Seller, R.J. and Hilton, I.R. 1972. 'Cultural Differences in the Aquisition of Sex-Roles'. Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association. 7(1):91-92.
16. Klein, J.W. 1977. 'Jewish Identity and Self-Esteem'. Dissertations Abstract International. 33(2B): 906.
17. See: Poll, S. 1962. The Hassidic Community of Williamsburg (1978 Edn.). New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.
18. Berkovits, E. 1976. Crisis and Faith. New York: Sanhedrin Press. p.121.
19. See: Bronner, L. 1983. 'Focus on Feminism'. Jewish Affairs. 38(5): 53-46.

CHAPTER 14:    OUT OF SCHOOL LEISURE ACTIVITIES

#### 14.1. INTRODUCTION

Having examined the attitude of the respondents to the formal curricula of their schools, the study now extends to out of school leisure activities. Although the frequency of participation in sport is assessed, this chapter primarily explores the extent of contact of the pupil with secular culture, in particular, with the mass media. The following criteria were included: the incidence of reading newspapers, magazines and novels. In addition, the frequency of watching television and films was investigated.

#### 14.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS.

There were significant differences between the schools in the degree of participation in sport ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (Tables 14.1 and 14.2). The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools played more often than their Modern Orthodox counterparts. The school differences are made salient when referring to the "seldom" response category which is a fusion of the "several times" a year and "rarely or never". 30% (22/74) of the Yeshiva College pupils and 23% (7/30) of the Leila Bronner pupils gave this response. The corresponding figures for the Torah Academy and Beth Jacob were 14% (4/29) and 8% (7/26) respectively.

Analysis of responses governing the frequency of watching television indicated both a sex ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) and school effect ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (Tables 14.1 and 14.2). The boys watched television more frequently than the girls, illustrated by the figures for daily viewing of 66% (68/103) for the boys and the corresponding figure of 37,5% (21/56) for the girls. The school effect is highlighted by referring to the "seldom

never" response category. The combined figure for the pupils of the Modern Orthodox schools who chose this response was 9% (9/104). The corresponding figure for the Ultra Orthodox pupils was 42% (23/55). Of the four schools, the Beth Jacob girls watched television the least frequently. Here, 58% (15/25) of them chose the "seldom never" response category.

There were strong differences between the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox schools in the extent of cinema attendance ( $p < 0,01$ ) (Tables 14.1 and 14.2). In the case of the Modern Orthodox schools, 50% (52/104) seldom attended cinema. In contrast, 78% (43/55) of the Ultra Orthodox furnished the same response.

There were no significant differences between the schools or sexes in the frequency of listening to the radio. There is, however, a trend in that a smaller percentage of the Ultra Orthodox listen to the radio less frequently than the Modern Orthodox. It is interesting that at the Torah Academy there is a bimodal distribution with the pupils either listening daily [41%; (12/29)] or not at all [45%; (13/29)]. (Table 14.1). This is consistent with their responses to television.

The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools read magazines much less often than their Modern Orthodox counterparts. ( $p < 0,05$ ) (22/55). While 44% (46/104) of the Modern Orthodox pupils read a magazine almost every day or once or twice a week the corresponding figure for the Ultra Orthodox pupils was (15/55).

Analysis of the incidence of reading of novels indicated a interaction effect ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) (Tables 14.1 and 14.2). Contributing to this effect were the responses of the Beth Jacob girls who read novels significantly more than the other respondents. While only 23% (6/26) of these girls seldom read novels, 52% (70/134) of all the remaining respondents seldom read novels. There was an indication that the girls read novels more frequently than the boys. While 56% (58/104) of the boys seldom read novels, the corresponding for the girls was 32% (18/36). The Torah Academy boys in particular, read novels very seldom.

Analysis of the responses of the frequency of reading a newspaper yielded a significant interaction effect (Tables 14.1 and 14.2). While only a small percentage the Yeshiva Boys [5%; (4/74)] never read a newspaper, over 33% (10/29) of the Torah Academy boys never read a newspaper. In contrast the girls' schools were more similar with 23% (7/30) of the Leila Bronner and 19% (5/26) of the Beth Jacob pupils never reading a newspaper.

**TABLE 14.1** COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH LEISURE ACTIVITIES.

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Participation in sport (B.3c)	Daily	26	,35	9	,30	12	,41	84	,31
	Weekly	26	,35	14	,47	13	,45	16	,62
	Seldom	22	,30	7	,23	4	,14	2	,08
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Frequency of watching TV (B.3d)	Daily	51	,69	16	,53	17	,59	5	,19
	Weekly	15	,22	12	,40	4	,14	6	,23
	Seldom/never	7	,09	2	,07	8	,28	15	,58
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,01	26	1,0
Attend cinema (B.3e)	Daily/weekly	7	,09	2	,07	3	,10	0	,0
	Monthly	32	,43	11	,37	4	,14	5	,19
	Seldom/never	35	,47	17	,57	22	,76	21	,81
	TOTAL	74	,99	30	1,01	29	1,0	26	1,0
Listen to Radio (B.3g)	Daily	40	,54	17	,57	12	,41	9	,35
	Weekly	9	,12	5	,17	3	,10	7	,27
	Almost never	8	,11	2	,07	1	,03	4	,15
	Never	17	,23	6	,20	13	,45	6	,23
	TOTAL	74	1,00	30	1,01	29	,99	26	1,0
Read Magazine (B.3b)	Daily/weekly	33	,45	13	,43	10	,34	5	,19
	Monthly	13	,18	6	,20	4	,14	3	,12
	Seldom	28	,38	11	,37	15	,52	18	,69
	TOTAL	74	1,01	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Reading of novels (B.3f)	Daily/weekly	17	,23	7	,23	6	,21	11	,42
	Monthly	20	,27	11	,37	3	,10	9	,35
	Seldom/never	37	,50	12	,40	20	,69	6	,23
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0
Read newspaper (B.3a)	Daily	47	,64	14	,47	12	,40	14	,54
	Weekly	18	,24	8	,27	5	,17	4	,16
	Almost never	5	,07	1	,03	2	,10	3	,12
	Never	4	,05	7	,23	10	,33	5	,19
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	26	1,0

**TABLE 14.2 LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO LEISURE ACTIVITIES**

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Participate in sport (B.3.c)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 0,13	4 2,84	6 9,84	2 0,13	2 2,71	2 7,00**
Watching of Television (B.3.d)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 3,60	6 36,55***	4 12,84**	2 3,60	2 27,31***	2 9,24***
Cinema attendance (B.3.c)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 2,76	4 4,93	6 17,74***	2 2,76	2 1,17	2 12,81***
Radio (B.3.g)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 3,81	9 11,98	6 7,31	2 3,81	2 4,67	2 3,50
Magazine (B.3.b)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 1,47	4 3,23	6 9,48	2 1,47	2 1,76	2 6,26**
Reading of Novels (B.3.f)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 4,83*	4 15,37	6 7,02	2 4,83	2 8,35**	2 1,19
Newspapers (B.3.a)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	3 8,15**	6 9,00	9 18,09**	3 8,15**	3 0,75	3 9,09***

\*Significant at 10%  
 \*\*Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\*Significant at 1%

### 14.3 DISCUSSION

Interviews with religious studies teachers at the various schools revealed a commonality about the rationale for leisure. The teachers all agreed that leisure is an essential ingredient of one's daily regimen. There was agreement that leisure ought not to be "for its own sake". Instead of what Reisman(1) calls "the modern cult of effortlessness", the role of leisure is to make the pupil more susceptible to the spiritual objectives of the curriculum. It is consequently not a mere concession breaking the monotony of cognitive study, but is an indispensable auxiliary of any educational program. All the rabbis and religious studies teachers of all the schools interviewed expressed sentiments similar to that of Mr D Emanuel, former headmaster of Beth Jacob:

On the contrary, leisure is not bitual zman [a waste of time]. A person has to have a healthy mind and spirit in order to be an Oved Hashem [servant of G-d]. So if a person needs to relax in order to serve Hashem [G-d] better, then it is mitzvah [positive rabbinic injunction] to relax(2).

It is for the above reasons that the schools encourage participation in sport and have P.T. lessons.

The acceptability of sport is demonstrated by the high levels of participation in all the schools and especially the Ultra Orthodox ones where well over 80% of the students play sport at least once or twice a week. The significant school effect on this variable between the Ultra and Modern Orthodox schools, may be attributed to the size of the schools. Since the Ultra Orthodox schools are smaller, the pupils are pressured to fill up available places in the teams. An

equally plausible explanation is that the Ultra Orthodox students do not have the same variety of leisure-based options as the Modern Orthodox pupils and hence spend a higher percentage of their free time playing sport.

While sport participation is halachically permissible, the remaining leisure activities tested, may encroach on the constraints and stipulations of Jewish law. There was consensus among the religious studies teachers and rabbis interviewed at all schools that the mass communication media undermine and impede the character and personality development the rabbis are striving to cultivate. The explanations given by the interviewees shared in common a logic which ran along the following lines: The prime educational objective is to develop a personality and character directed to holiness and purity. The religious studies curriculum accordingly has a prominent affective objective. The aim of the study of G-d's law and revealed scripture is to bring one closer to G-d, the source of holiness and purity. This requires great self-discipline. All temptations, especially in the realm of sexual behaviour must be countered. Today these temptations exist in the mass media - for example, the manner in which women dress is provocative, and the general conduct on the screen is regarded as promiscuous. The contact between the sexes which modern western society takes for granted lead to impure thought if not impure action. Strict separation of the sexes for learning activities and avoidance of the mass media are helpful in the constant struggle to overcome these temptations. Since the interviewees perceived the "outside" world to be characterised by sexual license, edicts governing

separation and avoidance of the mass media must be ever more rigidly adhered to.

An additional reason for avoiding contact with the secular culture in general and the mass media in particular, is that they challenge religious tenets. Materialism, hedonism, and desensitisation of human suffering were cited as "secular norms" propagated by the media, eroding and superseding the norms of what Bullivant termed the "Great Tradition"(3).

Brody(4) has asserted that television affords the opportunity for family members to be together and consequently the opportunity to interact. However, the religious way of life stresses the observance of the Sabbath and the participation of the family as a unit at the Sabbath meals. This reduces the need for television to act as a binding force. The family seated as a unit at the Sabbath table, observing the rituals together is a more effective setting for communication and the development of stable close knit relationships.

All the teachers and rabbis interviewed expressed particular concern about the negative effect of television on the religious activities of their pupils(5). Television was singled out from all the other agencies of the media on account of its accessibility. The television set itself is permanently present in the house, and merely requires to be switched on. By contrast, attending the cinema requires translocation of the person to the particular venue, transport, expense and general inconvenience.

The responses indicate that the schools are having mixed success in their battle against television viewing and cinema attendance. Besides the Beth Jacob pupils, a majority of the children at each of the other schools watch television daily. However, there are a substantial number of children at the Torah Academy who rarely watch. These children, in conjunction with the majority of Beth Jacob girls, provide the basis of the significant school effect.

It became evident to the researcher in the course of many social visits to Ultra Orthodox homes that in the cases where a television set was owned, its use was often severely limited. Sets were kept in a cupboard which remained locked. Since only the parents had a key, they could control and monitor their child's viewing. Furthermore, the set was hardly ever located in the lounge or diningroom, the prime rooms for entertaining visitors. Possession of a television set is thus counter to Ultra Orthodox norms and television viewing is considered a form of "deviant" behaviour(6).

The incidence of cinema attendance is consistent with the above pattern although the proportions are lower in the high frequency categories. While close on 5% of the Modern Orthodox children attend the cinema at least once a month, less than a quarter of the Ultra Orthodox children do so.

Although they have a number of characteristics different from the visual media, listening to the radio and the reading of popular magazines pose some threat to the values which religious teachers try to instil in the student.

The responses of the children to listening frequency, accord with earlier figures. Daily listening is the norm for Modern Orthodox children while "rarely/never" is the modal category for the Ultra Orthodox. A similar significant school effect is obtained in magazine reading where close on 80% of the Modern Orthodox children read such material at least once a month. A lower figure of 50% is obtained from the Ultra Orthodox.

Since there is a convergence of school philosophies on the issue of the mass media, the different attitudes of the pupils cannot be ascribed to differing school ideals. The schools differ in their practical management and guidance of pupils. The respective approaches of the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox schools are based firstly on different home backgrounds with different levels of religious observance, as was discussed earlier, and secondly, contrasting methods in winning over the pupils in the direction of authentic Torah Judaism.

An earlier finding of this study was that the Modern Orthodox schools provide for pupils from home backgrounds ranging from the non-practising to the Modern Orthodox way of life. These schools are cautious not to actively advocate withdrawal from the media such as television or the cinema, lest they antagonise and alienate their clientele. This could otherwise encourage removal of the pupil from an environment conducive to religious growth. The approach of Yeshiva

College and Leila Bronner is accordingly one of non-coercion. They deliberately turn a blind eye to such "deviant" activities in order not to militate against the conversion process. Their mode of altering the pupils way of life from non observant to observant is via gradual incremental steps. The religious studies teachers are aware of individual differences in the level of religious behaviour and have different role expectations from each.

In contrast to the above strategy of flexibility, the Ultra Orthodox schools are more active in campaigning against the media. This is due to the rigidity and lack of compromise in the Ultra Orthodox approach. It appears that the methods of the Ultra Orthodox schools demand an abrupt transition to the Ultra Orthodox way of life. Fundamental to their demand is an assumption as to the malleability of human nature. The following extract from a Torath Emeth Boys High School magazine "message" written by Rabbi J. Salzer highlights the Ultra Orthodox approach. The tone conveys the dogmatism inherent in Ultra Orthodoxy:

No compromise is valid in education. It endangers the spiritual health and mental well-being of the future adult. It cripples the child spiritually and makes him an invalid Jew for life. A compromise may save you money, but not the spiritual future of your child. Have your priorities right: "Educate the child according to his way..." The emphasis is on the first word: educate. Education must consider the individual ability and inclination of the child but, on the other hand, without letting them out of proper control and direction(7).

According to this view every pupil can be moulded and if not consciously, at least subliminally yearns to adopt the Ultra Orthodox way of life. This approach is made explicit to the parents at

enrollment. A modicum of parental sympathy with the aims of the school is a prerequisite for accepting the pupil. Alternatively, the pupil, must on his own desire wish to attend. In this way, the Ultra Orthodox schools attempt to filter out any potential rebels and malcontents. They are accordingly in a position to be more assertive and uncompromising than their Modern Orthodox sister schools. However, even with their strenuous efforts, a large number of Torah Academy children still are exposed to the mass media.

The Beth Jacob girls show an affinity for reading. This was previously demonstrated by their interest in Jewish literature and displays itself again in high incidence of novel and newspaper reading. Although a similar percentage of this group read a newspaper daily compared to the Yeshiva College students, their readership is higher than that of the other pupils.

The particularly high incidence of the reading of novels by the Beth Jacob girls can be ascribed to the active encouragement of reading by the religious and secular staff at the school(8). In keeping with the spiritual aims of the schools, only acceptable literature is prescribed. The sex effect with regard to the frequency of reading of novels as well as the generally higher incidence of involvement in some other leisure activities by the girls, can be explained in terms of sex typing in Orthodox Jewish religious culture. In the course of interviews with the dean of the Leila Bronner School as well as with the former headmaster of Beth Jacob, it became evident that the girls have an undoubtedly more liberal attitude towards leisure than the

boys. The flexibility shown towards the girls lies in the assumptions about human nature in the Jewish tradition. Tradition holds that intrinsic to the female makeup is a dimension of sensitivity and understanding lacking in man(9). It is partly an account of this "sixth sense" that women are exempt from the positive commandments bound by time(10). It is because of the girl's inherent insight she does not need an antidote to the animal instincts in the form of cognitive study:

Boys have a chiyuv [obligation] to learn, whereas girls don't. It is written in the Zohar that women in their natural state are on higher spiritual levels than men. I'm just thinking in very simple terms. A guy will look at a girl when she is walking down the street. Girls don't turn around and look at guys when they are walking down the street(11).

She is consequently not expected to take part in extra mural-Talmud classes or in as much lesson preparation as the boys. The pupil at Leila Bronner or Beth Jacob therefore has more time for leisure than her male counterpart.

#### 14.4. SUMMARY

It is evident from the responses, that the television and cinema are viewed by most of the group, with the exception of the Beth Jacob pupils. They compensate for this deficit by reading novels and newspapers.

The group as a whole are not isolated from the mass media and consequently participate in a crucial agent of socialisation of South African society. The high incidence of the watching of television by

the Torah Academy respondents suggests that certain Ultra Orthodox norms have not been successfully instilled. For them, as well as for their Modern Orthodox counterparts, leisure is perceived as a legitimate objective indulged in for its own sake. It is not solely for the purpose of educating the respondent about developments in society. It depends on the respondent's direction, tastes and proclivities instead of the normative religio-legal guidelines.

CHAPTER 14: OUT OF SCHOOL LEISURE ACTIVITIES. NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Reisman, cited in Lamm, N. 1971. Faith and Doubt. New York: Ktav. p. 190.
2. Interview with Mr. Emanuel. 7 October 1985
3. Bullivant, B.M. 1978a. op.cit. passim.  
It is to be noted that the viewpoint of the religious staff that secularization is resulting in the subversion of the sacred is diametrically opposed to that of Greeley. He argues that secularization is not rampant in modern society and that the sacred and traditional are holding their own, at least as well as in earlier societies.  
Greeley, A. 1972. The Denominational Society. New York: Scott, Foresman.
4. Brody GH, Stoneman Z, Sanders A.K. 1980. 'Effects of Television Viewing on Family Interactions : An Observational Study'. Family Relations. 29(2): 216-220.  
So too is Halloran's argument that since the television watchers are not passive viewers, the viewing situation is manipulated so that communication is facilitated.  
Halloran, J.D. 1970. The Effects of Television. London: Nicholls.  
The researcher contends that the discussion at the meal table triggered by the moral and ethical thought spoken at each meal known as the Dvar Torah, is more philosophical and humanising than a discussion provoked by television.
5. Reports in South African church journals show the church also to be gravely concerned about the impact of television.  
See: Heys, C. 'Die Voor-en Nadele van TV-eredienste'. Die Kerkbode. 9 June 1982;  
D'Assonville, V.E. 'Televisie in Diens van Christus of die Antichris'. Almanak 107, 1982.
6. The prime objection against television is its potential to undermine the virtuous life. This is the main motivation in the condemnation of television. The absence of television or low frequency of viewing does, however, have a beneficial corollary in the realm of family dynamics. The family unit may be strengthened and filial-parent relationships facilitated. There is a plethora of evidence in the literature to buttress and validate this contention. Comstock et al. in their study of American families found that television decreases the time available for having conversation.  
See: Comstock, G.A. et al. 1978. Television and Human Behaviour. New York: Columbia University Press.  
This is feasible when considering that television transmission coincides with the only time of the day the family members can be together. de Waal, in his study of white South Africans found

that video and television viewing competes with family activities and family communication.

See: de Waal, M. 1985. Die Rol wat Televisiekyk, Videogebruik en Enkele Ander Gesinsaktiwiteite in Gesinskommunikasie Speel. Navoringsbevinding KOMM N-110. Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.

7. Yeshivath Nathan and Betty Kahn "Torath Emeth" Bar Mitzvah 5739/1979. Magazine commemorating thirteenth anniversary. (pages not numbered).
8. Interview with Mr Emanuel op cit.
9. Babylonian Talmud. Niddah 45b.
10. For example, the donning of phylacteries, wearing ritual fringes on the corner of clothes and dwelling in booths during Tabernacles.
11. *ibid.*

CHAPTER 15    ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

## 15.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to describe the role of Israel and Zionism as perceived by the respondents. Earlier discussion indicated that the sectors of Johannesburg Jewry with which the schools are aligned have different official standpoints concerning Israel. We will now examine whether the attitudes, sentiments and attachment of the pupils accords with or is at variance with the official ideology of the schools.

## 15.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS.

There were no significant differences between the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox schools nor between the sexes in the perception that the founding of the State of Israel is an event hampering the coming of Messiah (Tables 15.1 and 15.2). The mean for the group as a whole was 3,37 indicating a tendency to disagree.

The Modern Orthodox schools, with a mean of 2,19 tended to agree that the Jewish State is the beginning of the flowering of the redemption (Tables 15.1 and 15.2). Their Ultra Orthodox counterparts with a mean of 2,76 tended to agree less strongly ( $p \leq 0,01$ ). Although not significant, there was a tendency for the boys as a group to agree more strongly than the girls.

Analysis of variance of the responses to the statement that the secular Zionist ideal as envisaged by Herzl and Ben Gurion is spiritually bankrupt, yielded differences between the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools ( $p \leq 0,01$ ) (Tables 15.1 and 15.2). The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools, with a mean of 2,51 tended to

agree. Their Modern Orthodox counterparts, with a mean of 3,08 were basically uncertain.

The Modern Orthodox pupils tended to believe that it is easier to lead a religious life in Israel compared to South Africa while the Ultra Orthodox were uncertain ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). There was a tendency for the boys to differ in their attitude more than the girls, resulting in a interaction effect ( $p \leq 0,10$ ).

There were no significant differences between the respondents of the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools or between the sexes to the statement that: "Every Jew should give serious thought to making his home in Eretz Yisrael" and to the statement that "Israel ought to become the Torah centre for Jews throughout the world". (Tables 15.1 and 15.2).

The Torah Academy were the only ones to show uncertainty in believing that Torah education is as good in Johannesburg as in Israel. The other schools showed a mean disagreement. ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). (Tables 15.1 and 15.2).

TABLE 15.1 MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND SAMPLE SIZES OF LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

STATEMENT		MODERN ORTHODOX		ULTRA ORTHODOX	
		Y.C.	L.B.	T.A.	B.J.
Jewish State hampers Messiah (D.13)	Mean	3,45	3,37	3,17	3,38
	SD	1,43	1,10	0,89	0,94
	n	74	30	29	26
Jewish State is beginning of Mitzvot (D.19)	Mean	2,12	2,37	2,66	2,88
	SD	1,05	1,00	0,86	1,24
	n	74	30	29	26
Secular Zionism is Spiritually bankrupt (D.16)	Mean	3,12	3,07	2,59	2,42
	SD	0,94	0,64	0,95	1,03
	n	74	30	29	26
Easier for religious life in Israel compared to S.A. (D.16)	Mean	2,38	2,83	3,24	2,96
	SD	1,06	1,23	1,35	1,04
	n	74	30	29	26
Make home in Israel (D.23)	Mean	2,08	2,07	2,52	1,88
	SD	1,12	1,23	0,87	0,77
	n	74	30	29	26
Israel must become Torah centre (D.20)	Mean	2,15	2,23	2,21	2,15
	SD	1,19	1,01	1,08	1,12
	n	74	30	29	26
Johannesburgh Torah education as good as Israel (D.5)	Mean	3,65	3,60	3,10	3,85
	SD	1,01	0,86	1,01	0,97
	n	74	30	29	26

TABLE 15.2. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO ISRAEL AND ZIONISM.

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155)

STATEMENT		SEX	SEX	SCHOOL	ERROR
		X SCHOOL			
Jewish State hampers Messiah (D.13)	Mean sq	0,709	0,148	0,054	1,481
	F	0,48	0,10	0,37	-
Jewish State is beginning of Redemption (D.7)	Mean sq	0,002	1,879	9,23***	1,084
	F	0,00	1,73	8,51	-
Secular Zionism is Spiritually bankrupt (D.11)	Mean sq	0,098	0,398	11,60***	0,820
	F	0,12	0,48	14,15	-
Easier for religious life in Israel compared to S.A. (D.16)	Mean sq	4,507*	0,256	8,202**	1,315
	F	3,43	0,19	6,24	-
Make home in Israel (D.23)	Mean sq	3,190	3,495	0,539	1,105
	F	2,89	3,16	0,49	-
Israel must become Torah centre (D.20)	Mean sq	0,158	0,008	0,004	1,270
	F	0,12	0,01	0,00	-
Johannesburg Torah education as good as Irael (D.5)	Mean sq	5,228**	4,021**	0,747	0,056
	F	5,47	4,21	0,78	-

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 15.3. DISCUSSION

In common with the Modern Orthodox, the Ultra Orthodox pupils did not believe that the establishment of the State of Israel hampered the arrival of the Messiah. Thus, they do not perceive the establishment of the State as a negative phenomenon. On the contrary, they have reservations about attaching a particular religious significance to its existence. While, as expected, the Modern Orthodox tended to agree that the State of Israel is the beginning of the flowering of the redemption, the Ultra Orthodox tended to agree as well but much less strongly, with the Beth Jacob girls tending to be uncertain.

The relative order of the means is consistent with the philosophies of the schools towards the State. A thinker who has influenced Beth Jacob (the school whose pupils are most ambivalent), Rabbi S R Hirsch affirmed that the substitution of secular nationalism and concepts of territory, language and political sovereignty for G-d, Torah and the religious commandments would be heretical(1). This philosophy has developed into a negative attitude by the parent community of Beth Jacob towards secular Zionism and an antagonism towards their Johannesburg Modern Orthodox coreligionists. In the course of observation of the constituent subgroups it was noted that there was frequent Ultra Orthodox condemnation of the co-operation of Modern Orthodox with the secularists and their acceptance of the basic Zionist principle, that attributes an ultimate value to nationalism(2).

The Torah Academy has a slightly, more positive attitude. In 1987, the principal convened a special assembly to commemorate Israel's Independence Day. Furthermore, at the beginning of each new Hebrew month a speaker from the aliyah department of the South African Zionist Federation speaks to the school on various settlements in Israel. However, Israel's national anthem is not sung nor taught to the pupils. The ambiguous attitude of the Torah Academy represents that of the world Lubavitch movement. Leaders of the State including Menachem Begin and Zalman Shazar have visited the Rebbe and been on the friendliest of terms. The Rebbe is also an extremist(3) regarding the claim of Jews to the land and in his insistence that the occupied territories lying within the traditional boundaries of the Land of Israel must not be surrendered(4). However, he has never visited Israel and does not recognise the State as the "beginning of the redemption"(5).

In contrast, the Yeshiva College and Leila Bronner pupils, in line with the above responses, have a favourable attitude towards the State.

The differences between the communities is highlighted by the noticeable and significant difference between the Modern and Ultra Orthodox on whether the secular Zionist ideal as propagated by Herzl and Ben Gurion is spiritually bankrupt. While the Modern Orthodox tend to be uncertain on this issue, the Ultra Orthodox tend to agree in their responses, with the Beth Jacob again the most extreme. However, it is surprising that the Ultra Orthodox are not even more negative in their responses.

At the time of the questionnaire completion, the Likud party was in power in the Israeli Knesset. Their former leader, Menachem Begin, although part of the secular Zionist camp was generally perceived by the Ultra Orthodox community to be sympathetic towards Judaism. His invocation of G-d's name in his speeches and his government coalition with an Ultra Orthodox party, may have caused the pupils to view secular Zionism in a more positive light.

The fact that the Ultra Orthodox are at best ambivalent towards the State of Israel as a Zionist State does not mean that they disapprove of the country as a place to go. They differentiate between Eretz Yisrael, the biblical land of Israel together with its religious and spiritual connotations, and the secular State of Israel of today. The Ultra Orthodox are uncertain and some disagree that they can be as religious in Israel as in South Africa. This is in contrast to the Modern Orthodox, many of whom perceive Israel as the place where they can best practise Judaism. There are no significant differences between the schools on the subject of settling in Israel. Most of the pupils strongly agreed that every Jew ought to give serious thought to making his home in Israel.

While it is true that aliyah is an essential element of Zionist ideology and Ben Gurion questioned the Zionist commitment of those who chose to remain in the Diaspora rather than come to Israel(6), the Zionist motive is not the only possible reason for settling in Israel.

Thus although the Ultra Orthodox group do not reject Israel, their "identification" rests on other motives. Religious ideological reasons lie at the core of the Ultra Orthodox pupils' reasonably positive perception of Israel. Together with the Modern Orthodox pupils they agreed on the role of Israel as the centre of Torah education and religious activity. This is evidenced by the mean of 2,18 for the group as a whole in the responses to the statement asserting that Israel must become the Torah centre for Jews throughout the world. The responses are consistent with a basic tenet of Judaism, that ultimately Jerusalem will become the educational centre and source of the Jewish people(7).

The fact that Torah education standards are likely to be higher in Israel is amplified by the general indication that the respondents believe that Torah education in Johannesburg is not as good as one can receive in Israel. The only group who demonstrate any uncertainty on this are the Torah Academy pupils. In contrast the Beth Jacob girls agree most strongly although the differences between them and the rest of the sample are not significant.

It is possible that the Torah Academy boys, with their long school day feel that their timetable is saturated with learning. On account of there being no scope for curriculum expansion, their education must be as good as elsewhere. Furthermore, the Torah Academy, with more pupils, has a larger staff than the Beth Jacob. Consequently, the change of teachers accompanying shift from form to form probably makes the work more interesting than at Beth Jacob with its small staff.

Here the possibility lies that the girls may have the same religious instruction teacher for their entire high school career.

#### 15.4. SUMMARY

The following general pattern emerges about the respondents perception of Israel. The Modern Orthodox tend to see it as "the beginning of the flowering of redemption" and consequently permeated with message and meaning. The group as a whole does not endorse secular Zionism. However, they all perceive Israel in a favourable light where they can practise their religion with greater ease than in South Africa. Israel is a desirable place in which to live. However, they do not recognise Israel as the only possible home of the Jew. They maintain that religious life can be more intense in Israel and hope that Israel will become the Torah centre for world Jewry. The group has some reservations about the current secular form of the State of Israel. Surprisingly, the Ultra Orthodox tend to agree as well, though they are less convinced.

CHAPTER 15 ISRAEL AND ZIONISM. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Hirsch, SR. 1962. Horeb Grunfeld, I. (Trans. and Ed.) (1972 Edn). London: Soncino Press. *passim*.
2. It is noteworthy that the above two viewpoints paralleled the ideological differences between the Mizrahi and Agudat Israel parties in Israel.  
See: Liebman, C.S. and Don-Yehiya, E. (Eds.) 1984. *op.cit.* pp.57-78.
3. Schneersohn. 1982a. *op.cit.*
4. Rabinowitz L. 1981. Jewish Herald. 24 March 1981.
5. Jacobs, L. *op.cit.* p.165.
6. Liebman, CS and Don-Yehiya, E. 1984 *op.cit.* p.5.
7. This concept is embodied in Isaiah 2:3.  
It is to be noted that the very existence of Jewish religious educational systems in the Diaspora is based on the premise that the Diaspora is a fait accompli at least until the advent of Messiah. Since the demise of the Diaspora is not imminent, the Jews remaining there will need local Torah centres to cater for them. Locally, the perception that the Diaspora will remain for many years to come may have been fuelled by the commonly accepted fact that Jewish emigrants from South Africa opt for Australia, the U.S.A., Canada and Great Britain rather than Israel as a new place of residence. Since official emigration statistics do not indicate religion or population group, one cannot ascertain the number of Jews who have left and their destinations.

CHAPTER 16 SOUTH AFRICA

## 16.1. INTRODUCTION

The key topics in this chapter include the nature, strength and attractiveness of the South African component of the respondent's identity. The interrelationship between the Jewish and South African subidentities is also examined.

## 16.2. PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

The South African and Jewish subidentities were not perceived by the group as a whole to be interrelated with over 70% of each school responding this way (Tables 16.1 and 16.2).

The relative potency of the Jewish and South African subidentities was assessed by means of the "Jewish - South African" continuum (Tables 16.3 and 16.4).

While the mean response in all the schools favoured the Jewish sub-identity there were differences between the schools. Both the Yeshiva College and Beth Jacob pupils were more favourable to their South African sub-identities than the pupils at the other schools ( $p < 0,05$ ).

Analysis of the statement which asserted that there are problems in South Africa because the Jews are not doing enough mitzvot, indicated differences between the Ultra Orthodox and Modern Orthodox schools (Tables 16.3 and 16.4) ( $p < 0,01$ ). The respondents of the Ultra Orthodox schools, with a combined mean of 2,8 tended to agree. In contrast, their Modern Orthodox counterparts, with a mean of 3,36 tended to disagree.

Analysis of variance elicited sex differences in the intention of the respondents to remain in South Africa for the rest of their lives (Tables 16.1 and 16.2) ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). The proportion of the girls who did not intend to remain in South Africa was 57,1% (32/56) while the corresponding figure for the boys was 35% (36/103). In addition, the boys displayed a higher level of uncertainty. With 53,4% (55/103) being undecided while the corresponding proportion for the girls was 35,7% (20/56).

In order to test the valence or attractiveness of being South African, the respondents were asked whether they feel that their fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of South Africa (Tables 16.1 and 16.2). Of the group as a whole, 21,4% (34/159) answered in the affirmative while 78,6% responded in the negative or "to some extent" only.

In order to assess the strength of feeling for South Africa, the pupils were asked to indicate their position on a seven point scale. The left pole read "a person with a strong feeling of being South African" while the pole adjacent to number 7 of the continuum read "a person with no feeling of being South African" (Tables 16.3 and 16.4). There were no significant differences between the schools or sexes. The mean for the entire group was 4,21. which suggests a moderate degree of identification with South Africa.

There were no significant differences between the schools or sexes on the perception of the respondents to the danger of anti-Semitism in South Africa (Tables 15.1 and 15.2). The group as a whole perceived there to be either no danger at all or only a slight danger.

The extent of identification with the "oppressed" groups in South Africa was assessed by the opinion to the pupils of the following statement: "Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa" (Tables 16.1 and 16.4). Analysis of variance of the responses indicated a significant interaction effect. ( $p \leq 0,05$ ). Both groups of schools tended to disagree. This was due to the Leila Bronner girls tending to agree while on average the other pupils tended to disagree. There was also a tendency for the Ultra Orthodox to disagree more strongly. ( $p \leq 0,01$ ).

The responses to the attitude statement asserting that the homelands policy of the government is the answer to South Africa's racial problems elicited a school effect. ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (Tables 16.3 and 16.4). The pupils of the Ultra Orthodox schools with a mean of 3,15 were uncertain. Their Modern Orthodox counterparts with a mean of 3,46 tended to disagree.

**TABLE 16.1. COUNTS AND PROPORTIONS ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNED WITH SOUTH AFRICA.**

VARIABLE	CATEGORIES	MODERN ORTHODOX				ULTRA ORTHODOX			
		Y.C.		L.B.		T.A.		B.J.	
		n	p	n	p	n	p	n	p
Jewish feeling vs. S.A. feeling (F.7)	Less than S.A. feeling	9	,13	2	,07	1	,03	1	,04
	More than S.A. feeling	10	,14	5	,17	5	,17	5	,19
	No relationship	71	,73	23	,77	23	,79	20	,77
	TOTAL	74	1,0	29	1,01	29	,99	25	1,01
S.A. feeling vs. Jewish feeling (F.8)	Less	15	,20	6	,20	7	,24	8	,31
	More	4	,05	1	,03	3	,10	1	,04
	No relationship	55	,74	23	,77	19	,65	17	,65
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	25	1,0
Will stay in S.A. (A.19)	No	30	,41	17	,57	6	,21	15	,58
	Undecided	35	,47	10	,33	30	,69	10	,38
	Yes	9	,12	3	,10	3	,10	1	,04
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	25	1,0
Fate and future bound with S.A. (F.5)	Some extent/no	56	,76	24	,80	21	,72	24	,92
	Large extent/	18	,24	6	,20	8	,28	2	,08
	Yes								
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	25	1,0
Danger of anti-Semitism in S.A. (F.1)	Slight/no danger	49	,66	16	,53	22	,76	16	,62
	Great/very great danger	25	,34	14	,47	7	,24	10	,38
	TOTAL	74	1,0	30	1,0	29	1,0	25	1,0

TABLE 16.2 LOG-LINEAR ANALYSES ON CATEGORICAL QUESTIONS REFERRING TO LEISURE ACTIVITIES

VARIABLE		FULL MODEL			PARTIAL MODEL		
		School x Sex	Sex	School	School x Sex	Sex	School
Jewish feeling vs. S.A. feeling (F.7)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 0,25	4 0,94	6 3,83	2 0,25	2 0,69	2 2,89
S.A feeling vs. Jewish feeling (F.8)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 0,23	6 2,97	4 1,27	2 0,23	2 1,70	2 1,03
Will stay in S.A. (A.19)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	2 1,99	6* 12,60	4 5,30	2 1,99	2*** 9,29	2 13,31
Fate and future with S.A. (F.5)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 1,73	3 4,64	2 1,92	1 1,73	1* 2,72	1 0,19
Danger of anti-Semitism in S.A. (F.1)	d.f. X <sup>2</sup>	1 0,03	3 3,50	2 1,32	1 0,03	1 2,21	1 1,29

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

**TABLE 16.3 MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND SAMPLE SIZES OF LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO SOUTH AFRICA**

STATEMENT		MODERN ORTHODOX		ULTRA ORTHODOX	
		Y.C.	L.B.	T.A.	B.J.
Jewish - S.A. (7 point scale) (C.a)	Mean	2,27	1,27	1,27	2,40
	SD	1,31	1,38	1,39	0,60
	n	74	30	29	26
Problems in S.A. because Jews not doing Mitzvot (D.19)	Mean	3,35	3,40	2,69	2,92
	SD	1,07	0,93	0,93	0,84
	n	74	30	29	26
Strong feeling S. African- No feeling S. African (7 point scale) (C.e)	Mean	4,22	4,43	4,04	4,10
	SD	1,71	1,65	1,93	1,65
	n	74	30	29	26
Because of persecution, Jews must identify with S.A. blacks (D.21)	Mean	3,47	2,87	3,59	3,81
	SD	1,01	1,01	1,09	0,69
	n	74	30	29	26
S.A Homelands Policy is solution to racial problems (D.10)	Mean	3,50	3,50	3,21	3,08
	SD	1,00	0,82	0,98	0,74
	n	74	30	29	26

**TABLE 16.4. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LIKERT-TYPE ITEMS REFERRING TO SOUTH AFRICA**

(degrees of freedom of effects = 1, degrees of freedom of error = 155)

STATEMENT		SEX	SEX	SCHOOL	ERROR
		X SCHOOL			
Jewish - South African (7 point scale) (C.a)	Mean sq	6,118	2,985	16,219	1,564
	F	3,91**	1,91	10,27***	-
Problems in S.A. because Jews not doing enough Mitzvot) (D.19)	Mean sq	0,285	0,66	10,82	0,969
	F	0,29	0,69	11,17***	-
Strong feeling S.A.- No feeling S.A. (7 point scale) (C.e.)	Mean sq	2,107	0,635	0,189	2,99
	F	0,70	0,21	0,06	-
Because of persecution Jews must identify with S.A. blacks (D.21)	Mean sq	5,70	1,236	9,278	0,96
	F	5,95**	1,29	9,65***	-
S.A. Homeland's policy is solution to racial problems (D.10)	Mean sq	0,28	0,048	3,66**	0,85
	F	0,33	0,06	4,28	-

\* Significant at 10%  
 \*\* Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\* Significant at 1%

### 16.3 DISCUSSION

In the course of analysing the questionnaire responses to questions and attitude statements relating to South Africa, two significant trends emerged. The first is that there is little relationship between the South African and Jewish sub-identities. They are largely viewed as two separate compartments in the respondents' life space. Although a noticeable minority of the pupils in each school (between 20 and 30%) demonstrated some discord between their Jewish and South Africa subidentities, between 65 and 75% of the pupils indicated that they see no relation between these sub-identities. This is consistent with Dubb's findings on adult Jewish South Africans(1). The responses stand in contrast to the harmony and compatibility prevalent between the Jewish and Israeli sub-identities of Herman's 1965 and 1970 study of Israeli students(2). While there is no interrelatedness between the two subidentities, the pupils exhibit different degrees of strength of feeling for each. This is evidenced by the means of each school attained in the "Jewish-South African" continuum which consistently lay close to the "Jewish" pole.

The absence of any apparent relationship between the Jewish and South African sub-identities and the lack of evidence of any strong form of South African nationalism, is consistent with the doubt and uncertainty whether the pupils can influence events and circumstances in South Africa. They do not believe that blame for the problems in South Africa could be laid at the door of the Jewish community. This is evidenced by their responses to the attitude statement suggesting that there are problems in South Africa because the Jews are not

performing enough mitzvot. This suggests that they are uncertain and tend to disagree that the Jews determine national consequences.

A second important trend is the low level of identification with South Africa. In the terminology of Herman, the South African sub-identity has a low "valence" and "potence". Two indicators suggest this. A very high percentage (over 85%) of the pupils display uncertainty on whether they will remain in this country. Similar percentages of pupils feel that their fate and future are only bound up with those of South Africa in a limited way. Noticeably, there are no significant differences between the schools indicating that these feelings are consistent and widespread in the religious community. These responses especially those governing remaining in South Africa, are consistent with the mean attained in the seven point "strong feeling of being South African - no feeling of being South African" continuum. Here the mean did not lie exactly in the middle but slightly towards the "strong feeling" pole. This indicates the operation of some feeling for South Africa although not a dramatic sentiment.

Anti-Semitism was discounted as a factor motivating this negative perception of South Africa. Most of the respondents (65%) were of the opinion that the threat was not very high. It can be inferred that they consequently do not perceive themselves to be threatened by anti-Jewish sentiment. It is pertinent, at this juncture, to refer to Shenhar's findings on the extent of anti-Semitism in South Africa(3). He found that only very few South Africans support anti-Semitism in the virulent and malicious form, although more than 50% of white South Africans are prone to negative stereotypes of Jews(4).

There is no evidence that the low valence of the South African subidentity can be ascribed to racial issues either. In the main, most of the respondents did not identify with the "suppressed" black groups in South Africa. On the contrary, they tended to see no relation between the experience of the Jews and the blacks. An exception was the Leila Bronner girls who were more uncertain with the statement that because of their own persecution, Jews should identify with the suppressed South African non-white groups. The attitude may be a reflection of their wider level of interest which embraces societal issues. On the other hand the lack of identification with the black cause does not mean that the pupils support the Homeland policy. While there is a greater tendency for the Modern Orthodox to criticise it more strongly, the Ultra Orthodox certainly do not favour it. From the group's mean of 3,36 it can be inferred that they tend to condemn this policy and hence see it as morally unjust.

Thus it is evident that the driving force behind the low identification with South Africa is rather the attractive "pull" of Israel as opposed to any negative "pushes" from within South Africa.

Thus the group may perceive themselves between two stools. On the one hand they do not identify with the aspirations of the blacks in the country and hence cannot support their struggle, but on the other hand they reject the Government's solution to the problem as well. Thus the attractive pull from Israel, meets little resistance from a

non-existent South African nationalism. The pupils are thus likely to emigrate.

#### 16.4 SUMMARY

There was no relationship between the Jewish and South African subidentities. The respondents did not believe their behaviour can influence local conditions and circumstances. The group does have some feeling for South Africa but has great doubt about whether they will remain in this country. Their contemplation of leaving South Africa is not directly due to anti-Semitism. Although the failure to find a solution to South Africa's racial problems is not viewed favourably, the attractive pull of other destinations especially Israel is the mostly likely reason for the pupils' possible departure from South Africa. This may be compounded by uncertainty over the future stability of conditions in South Africa.

CHAPTER 16      SOUTH AFRICA. NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1. Dubb, A. A. 1977. op.cit.
2. Herman, S.N. 1970a. op.cit.
3. Shenhar, S. 1985. 'Anti-Semitism in Contemporary (white) South Africa'. Chinuch 2(1): 7-13.
4. The Nationalist Party, since its 1948 election has retreated from its former anti-Jewish position. It was previously the major source of organized anti-Jewish sentiment and in the late 1930's had called for the introduction of restrictive and discriminatory economic measures against Jews.  
See: Shimoni. 1980. op.cit.

CHAPTER 17 CONCLUSION

## 17.1 INTRODUCTION

The future of the Jewish people depends on the ability of the community to transmit successfully Jewish values and beliefs to their children. The religious community, in particular, provides the vast majority of people who will observe the Jewish faith in the future. This study has examined the schooling, leisure activities, attitudes and practices of high school children attending four religious schools in Johannesburg in order to describe the norms that prevail amongst these children. Previous sections have contained an examination of a number of dimensions of activity and attitude of the sample. This chapter will contain a summary of these findings.

## 17.2 THE PUPIL AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The children demonstrated a common pride in their Jewish heritage and expressed a strong desire to identify with Jewish values in the future. They displayed a sense of concern and responsibility towards their fellow Jew and they recognised the interdependence of the Jewish community. At the same time, their response indicated that there was pluralism in the beliefs of the children and that there were differences in the willingness of the children to absorb converts into the fold.

The religious practice of children at the different schools reflected the religious norms of the sector of Johannesburg Jewry with which the school is associated. The children at the Modern Orthodox schools tend to have incorporated a number of compromises to the religious codes. While they obey the Sabbath laws and generally attempt to keep the

dietary laws, they selectively fulfill other laws and injunctions - for example, they tend to adopt the dress of teenagers of the modern culture in preference to the more dated and conservative dress demanded by the Jewish requirements of modesty. Their dating behaviour contains a modern slant in preference to the traditional approach. The Ultra Orthodox, in contrast, are more in keeping with traditional norms. In fact, they demonstrate a willingness to go beyond the letter of the law, for example, preferring kosher milk when the usage of the unsupervised product is condoned by the Beth Din.

Although there are differences in the level of religious practice between children at the Modern and Ultra Orthodox schools, it is imperative to refrain from attaching a value judgement on the degree of sincerity with which the Modern Orthodox practice their religion. Many of the children participating in the study, grow up in homes of non-observant parents. They must endure change and growth, while the children from Ultra Orthodox homes need only fit in with their current environment to act religiously.

The study indicates that, in the main, most of the children have experienced enhanced religiosity over the years. This demonstrates that religiosity should be perceived as a process and a journey. This suggests that practices which may be perceived as being too extreme at one point in a lifetime, may later be acted upon with enthusiasm.

As if to emphasise the dynamic nature of the practice of Judaism within the families, the pupils indicate that they are more religious

than their parents - for example, there is a greater level of Sabbath observance amongst the pupils than their parents. In fact, a noticeable level of stagnation seems to have set in amongst many parents. Nearly 50% of the fathers of pupils from Yeshiva College, Leila Bronner and Torah Academy rarely attend shiurim. While the percentage at Beth Jacob is markedly lower than at these schools, there are still a surprising number of fathers who do not attend shiurim.

The environment of the pupils is conducive to the reaching of religious goals. The children not only receive religious and moral instruction from the teachers but the school itself supplements the pressure to remain religious by being the main source of the childrens' friends. Peer pressure is a powerful reinforcer of religious practice. Many of the parents, on the other hand, grew up at a time when the melting pot was more operative. Their contemporaries may not follow Jewish law scrupulously. An unwillingness or inability to withdraw from their friendships may prevent the parents from following a more religious life. Differences in parental behaviour is consistent with differences at the schools. Parents of children at Ultra Orthodox schools tend to be more observant than their contemporaries whose children are at Modern Orthodox schools.

There is inherent conflict in the disparity of religious practice between child and parent. There is also a diversity between the schools as to how this operates. The Modern Orthodox parents, as

indicated previously, follow the least intense level of practice. Inevitably, they are less tolerant towards changes in their own well-ingrained life styles than they are of the changes which are occurring to their children. However well intentioned they are, they resist attempts by their more religious children to change. At the same time they are tolerant if their children adopt less religious postures. In contrast, the Ultra Orthodox parents are less willing to permit their children the opportunity to deviate from the parents' chosen path.

### 17.3 THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CHILD.

The school provides some of the core values of the children. At school, one develops skills and interests which may influence future orientations in life. The interest displayed in a number of school subjects may provide an indication of later directions.

While as might be expected, there is little interest in Afrikaans as a language, there are also many children who display a lack of interest in Modern Hebrew. While this might be less surprising amongst the Ultra Orthodox, nearly 40% of the Modern Orthodox display at best an indifference to the subject. This is in contrast to the greater level of interest in English.

It may have been expected that the Modern Orthodox should display a particular affinity for Modern Hebrew due to their relationship with the State of Israel. The lack of interest may portend poorly for future immigration to Israel.

Perhaps the interest in history is of more consequence. The Modern Orthodox clearly span the divide between an acculturated and an enclaved group. This is again emphasised by the equal interest in general history and Jewish history and is in contrast to the interest displayed by the Ultra Orthodox in Jewish history. The balance which the Modern Orthodox insist on, is highlighted by their claim that secular education is not necessarily less important than religious education and by their more critical attitude towards the secular education provided by their schools.

As indicated earlier, the religious groups in the study are not homogeneous in all aspects. They emphasise different aspects of Jewish culture. This may explain differences in response to the level of interest in Jewish literature. However, more probably, the differences may be ascribed to differences in teaching skills.

The children display a general high level of interest in the core religious subjects. The boys display a particular interest in Gemmorah, while all the children are interested in Chumash. This suggests that the children not only take their religion seriously but that they enjoy the stimulation in their religious studies as well.

While schooling absorbs the majority of time in a day, leisure activities are likely to comprise most of the balance. These activities can be partitioned into two types. While the students are often pressurised into playing sport, they indulge in other leisure activities on a voluntary basis.

The playing of sport is regarded as a legitimate activity by all the schools. It is probable that differences between the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox pupils in the frequency of participation is due to differences in the relative sizes of the schools. The smaller schools are likely to insist that the pupils participate so that complete teams may be fielded. However, even if it is not the intention, the consequence is that these schools dictate and control the after hours activities of their students and limit the opportunity for the children to stumble across undesirable elements in the outside environment.

Nevertheless, the children encounter outside influences. Besides the Beth Jacob girls, most children are in contact with the mass media - in particular, television. Thus, they will certainly be influenced to some extent at least by prevailing fashions and trends. However, it would seem that for the time being at least, the schooling and home influences prevail to make Jewish religious demands dominate.

The Beth Jacob girls lead particularly insulated lives. Only 19% of them view television on a daily basis. These children tend to compensate by reading both novels and newspapers. Since it is thus probable that this material is somewhat controlled in the homes, it may be assumed that the majority white South African culture impinges on their lives only moderately.

#### 17.4. NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION.

It was indicated earlier that the schools have definite ideological viewpoints both with regard to Israel and the Diaspora. While it was - expected that the more Diaspora based Ultra Orthodox schools would attach less religious significance to the establishment of the State of Israel, it was surprising to find that the Ultra Orthodox sample tended to believe that the establishment of the State was the "beginning of the following of the redemption" (although less than the Modern Orthodox). This suggests that through at least some contact between the various groups in the religious community, there is some sharing in values and beliefs as well.

Secular Zionism is not only rejected by the Ultra Orthodox sample, it is not supported by the Modern Orthodox. Thus the identification with Israel is not unconditional. Most of the respondents indicated that they would at least contemplate living in Israel. The Modern Orthodox indicated a belief that they could live a more religious life there while the respondents from all schools tended to believe that Israel was the Torah centre for the Jews. Thus it may be concluded that there is a strong attachment with Israel although the indications are that the Ultra Orthodox are slightly less attached to the State.

This is in contrast to the general attitude towards South Africa as a State. While there is at least some positive feeling towards the country, it is largely based on sentiment and not nationalism. Many of the children suggest that they may not remain in the country. This was found not to be due to a fear of anti-Semitism. South Africa's racial

policies do not encourage the pupils to stay but the attractive pull of other countries and particularly Israel is likely to predominate as a reason to leave. This does mean that the children see themselves as isolated from the South African community at large since they view their South African and Jewish subidentities as distinct.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REFORM AND ORTHODOXY

Orthodox Reform ideologies are seldom an issue among the rank and file Jew. Modes of religious membership seem to be predicated more on traditional affiliations than fundamental categories of religious observance(1). Recently, there has been relative peace between the two groups, although friction periodically occurs, often emanating from the lay and rabbinic leadership of both sides. The bickering is contained by the cardinal principal underlying the community's philosophy of internal and political affairs - namely, that community solidarity in all matters which concern survival, be the paramount consideration(2). Orthodox and Reform Jews share a common concern for the well-being and prosperity of Israel. When working together for this unifying cause, Orthodox-Reform relations usually become irrelevant.

In their condemnation of Reform, Orthodoxy makes a clear distinction between Reform laity and the Reform rabbinate. The Orthodox attitude towards the Reform laity is lenient. They have no quarrel with them but see them as transgressors, as "beloved brethren confused by their spiritual mis-leaders"(3). The Reform laity are akin to a tinok shenishba, a baby led astray from his roots in need of rehabilitation in the direction of Orthodoxy. The Reform rabbis are regarded as the culprits who have deceived their flock(4).

The Orthodox view the emergence of Reform as an alien importation, a disruptive element fraught with grave danger to the Jewish people. Orthodox rabbis hold the sincere conviction that the halacha is immutable and cannot be expediently bent. There is only one right and proper way, namely, to remain faithful to authentic Torah Judaism. Since Reform has deviated from halachic standards and procedures, Orthodoxy sees them to sanction heresy and creating a schism within the Jewish people(5). By repudiating those laws which determine personal status, for example, marriage, conversion and divorce, Orthodoxy sees Reform to be jeopardizing and undermining the unity of the Jewish people(5). Orthodoxy fear that instead of a uniform halacha, there will be two or more halachot. Orthodoxy perceives reform as "assimilationist" leading Jewish children to the Baptismal front.

Reform retorts that Orthodoxy is not entitled to be Judaism's sole legitimate exponent. Reform would like Orthodox recognition of their view of pluralism and diversity in Judaism. Alternative approaches ought to be equal in validity to the Orthodox approach. According to Reform Rabbi N. Mendel, "an attempt to freeze independence is a violation of the Jewish spirit itself"(7). Reform also asserts that the large majority of Orthodox Jews are hypocritical in that they are not the best exemplars of traditional piety and are guilty of many of the sins imputed to Reform, for example, smoking on the Sabbath, omitting to don phylacteries(8) and eating non-kosher foodstuffs. The

Orthodox counter argument is that they are not heretics nor apostates from the whole Torah and have a conscience and sense of guilt.

In 1955, at the biennial conference of the South African Board of Deputies, an agreement designed to bring a measure of peace, stability and dignity between Orthodox and Reform was promulgated. In terms of this concordat negotiated secretly between Johannesburg's senior Reform minister, late Rabbi A.S. Super and Chief Rabbi B.M. Casper, a civility was introduced into Jewish affairs which had hitherto been singularly lacking. At the annual memorial meeting at Westpark cemetery, organized by the Board of Deputies, a Reform minister was to be seated on the same platform as the Orthodox minister. It was agreed that only Orthodox ministers would recite prayers at public functions and serve as military chaplains. In social, welfare and other non-religious matters, Reform and Orthodoxy were to co-operate as indeed was already the practice, in the general communal interest. However, the fundamental basis of the concordat was the concept of an "unbridgeable gulf" between Orthodoxy and Reform(9).

The concordat triggered vigorous controversy within the ranks of Reform and was in fact repudiated by Reform's Central Ecclesiastical Board and never accepted by the South African Union for Progressive Judaism(10). When Rabbi Super was taken to task for his failure to consult his colleagues in the matter, he replied that it was just a private argument between him and Rabbi Casper to meet the needs of the local situation(11). From the Reform perspective, the concordat has worked against the interests of Progressive Judaism(12). Reform feared that by abdicating the right to recite prayers at public functions they would lose rights for which they had fought long and hard(13). They felt they were accepting a position of inferiority vis-a-vis the military authorities by forfeiting the right to appoint chaplains and depending on the goodwill of the Orthodox chaplains to gain access to their boys(14). What particularly perturbed Reform was that equality of status was not given to them. Condoning the "unbridgeable gulf" concept would be tantamount to surrendering Reform's claims to share in the Jewish community(15). From Orthodoxy's perspective there was no other option since the halacha could not be compromised. As the Reform movement was not adequately provided for by the agreement, it was declared defunct in 1980(16).

The Orthodox leadership in South Africa is concerned that the friction between Orthodoxy and Reform remain confined to the local community and not manifest in the macro gentile society. Since the Jewish community is a minority within a white minority, the Orthodox leadership feel it important that the Jewish community project an image of a basic unity and solidarity. This was evident after the bomb blast at Temple Israel in Johannesburg (which preceded the Progressive movement's golden jubilee celebrations by a matter of hours). The Chief Rabbi and other Orthodox rabbis and leaders were present at the subsequent protest meeting where they expressed solidarity against the anti-Semitic attack. The Orthodox party did not, however, enter the temple as that would condone Reform principles.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REFORM AND ORTHODOXY NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Aschheim. op.cit. p.213.
2. *ibid.* p.218.
3. South African Jewish Times. 8 February 1974. p.4. 'Orthodoxy Refutes Reforms "Blackmail"'.  
4. See South African Jewish Times. 28 June 1985. p.3.
5. For a discussion of the Orthodox-secularist dilemma in Israel, see: Abramov, S.Z. 1976. Perpetual Dilemma in Jewish Religion in the Jewish State. New Jersey: Associated University Presses: pp.377-378.
6. According to Israel's Law of Return, the Israeli Beth Dins do not accord Jewish status to non-halachic converts.  
See: Schiffman, L.H. 1985. 'Who will be a Jew?' Federation Chronicle. September 1985, pp.11, 28.
7. Zionist Record and South African Jewish Chronicle. 27 November 1981. '100 Hear Orthodox, Reform viewpoints'.
8. The donning of phylacteries. These are square leather boxes worn every day, except on the Sabbath and religious holidays during morning prayers.
9. South African Jewish Times. 2 July 1965. p.5. A full text of the concordat is published here.
10. Sherman. op.cit. p.45.
11. *ibid.*
12. Blumenthal, W. 1981. 'Our First Fifty Years - An Overview'. The South African Union for Progressive Judaism Golden Jubilee. A commemorative brochure. p.8.
13. *ibid.* p.44.
14. *ibid.*
15. *ibid.* pp.44-45
16. Blumenthal. op.cit. p.11.

ELEMENTS OF ADATH JESCHURUN PHILOSOPHY

The Adath Jeschurun Ultra Orthodox congregation of Johannesburg, represents the continuation in Johannesburg of the separatist Ultra Orthodox community in Frankfurt established in 1849 and led by Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch after 1851. In order to understand the ideology of the Adath Jeschurun and the mitnaged Ultra Orthodox subgroups of Johannesburg, all of which are philosophically aligned, Hirsch's views must be explained. The Adath's ideological point of departure to Hirsch will also be elucidated.

Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888) was born in Hamburg one of the germinal centres of the Reform movement. From early youth, this giant of German Orthodoxy and eminently successful leader and educator, vigorously fought against the Reform movement. Hirsch was not satisfied with the Austritt; the partial withdrawal of his Orthodox Religious Association, the Religionsgesellschaft from the Kehillah, the official overall Jewish community(1). He insisted that the differences between Orthodox and Reform were greater than the gulf between Catholicism and Protestantism(2). It was therefore mandatory for traditionalists to secede entirely from the Frankfurt Kehillah(3). Hirsch's separation policy and its movement, the Trennungsorthodoxie caused a furor among the majority of Orthodox rabbis of the Kehillah. The renowned "Wurzburger Rav", Seligman Ber Bamberger, a vigorous champion of Orthodoxy, protested against this separation which he regarded as setting a precedent for sects in Judaism(4). Hirsch was adamant and asserted that not he, but the central community had virtually resigned from Torah authentic Judaism, known as Gezetzstreu by their rejection of tradition(5).

He formulated a philosophy of strictly traditional Judaism, which without surrendering one whit to modernity, could satisfy the modern mind no less than that of the influential reformists Holdheim or Geiger(6). Hirsch was personally responsible for Denkgläubigkeit, meaning enlightened Orthodoxy. Staunchly traditional, and simultaneously a completely modern western man, he synthesized and harmonised the two traditions and outlooks. He tried to formulate a Jewish humanism, demonstrating that the humanism so popular in Europe of his day, had Jewish roots(7). Hence his "superman", the Yisroelmensch the 'Israel-Man'. This is the ideal religious-ethical and humanistic Jew who attains spiritual fulfilment in a just and holy life(8).

Hirsch's thesis and educational philosophy can be summarized in the slogan "Torah Im Derech Eretz"(9). Its original meaning and usual conception as a combination of Torah and secular education or with a wordly occupation is simplistic. Hirsch interpreted the phrase derech eretz to be the civilization of the times, not just wordly knowledge(10). Rabbi Dr J Breuer, grandson and chief expositor of Hirsch has pointed out that this reflects to the relationship between

Torah and the civilization of a given epoch - it refers to the historic Jewish task of the application of the values of the Torah to a given civilization(11). A Jew's behaviour transforms mundane activities into a kiddush Hashem, sanctification of G-d's name(12).

Breuer, following Hirsch, has broadly defined derech eretz to embrace every aspect of a Jew's existence:

His means of livelihood, general decorum, civility, propriety of dress, interaction with his fellow, level of integrity in business and personal relationships fulfillment of the law of the land, relationship to non-observant Jews, attitude toward purveyors of non-halachic "streams" of Judaism(13).

While affirming the immutability of halachic norms, except where the internal dynamic of the halachic process itself led to the introduction of modifications, Hirsch fully accepted the value of European culture. For him, a secular education and active participation in the life of the general community were not merely concessions to the times. There was an inbuilt necessity for Judaism to participate and absorb the economic, cultural and political life of the society in which it found itself, and to express Jewish ideas and values in its terms(14) without compromising the minutiae of its laws(15).

Hirsch's rationale for reconciling any dual loyalties between the Torah and western mode of life, particularly secular education, runs counter to the expedient compartmentalization inherent in Richelieu's maximum of: "acting in matters of State as if one were not a cardinal and in matters of religion as if one were not a statesman"(16). Torah and wisdom were not regarded by Hirsch as deadly enemies, requiring an either - or choice between them(17). It is true that he gave Torah primacy over secular education if a choice had to be made(18). From his critique of Maimonides and Mendelssohn who approached Judaism "from without", and from his development of his autochthonous attitude to Judaism, it would seem that Hirsch believed in the original identity of Torah and the secular disciplines which now appear but in different forms(19). Hirsch studied Judaism originally "from within", in German "von innen heraus"(20). In fact, one of his mottos was "sich selbst' begreifendes Judentum"(21). This means no outside criterion or preconceived hypothesis can be applied to Judaism which must always be comprehended from within. One cannot therefore speak of an essential conflict between the sacred and secular. Hirsch believed in the employment of secular learning as a means of supporting and strengthening religious education(22). The following statement by Hirsch conveys the temper and contents of his brand of synthesis:

Pursued hand-in-hand, there is room for both [Jewish and general studies], each enhancing the value of the other and producing the glorious fruit of a distinctive Jewish culture which at the same time, is pleasant in the eyes of G-d and man(23).

Hirsch refuted the notion that general studies was a corrupting influence(24). He believed in a fusion of Torah and general culture, not as a compromise and emerging measure but as an integral part of the Jewish weltanschauung(25). According to Hirsch, the study of contemporary philosophical thought and civilization has the purpose of enabling a Jew to expound the Torah. The absence of any "cultural schizophrenia" is evident in the following extract taken from the autobiography of Rabbi I. Breuer:

G-d caused to rise among the nations the exceptional man Kant, who on the basis of the Socratic and Cartesian scepticism, brought about that "Copernican turn" whereby the whole of man's reasoning was set in steel limits within which alone perception is legitimized. Blessed be G-d who, in His wisdom, created Kant! Every real Jew who seriously and honestly studies the Critique of Pure Reason is bound to pronounce his "Amen" on it. "Go not about after your own heart and your own eyes", or, in Kantian language, "pursue not the messages of your inner and outer experience - for, pursuing them, thou wilt be unfaithful to me": the whole Kantian theory of perception is the most adequate commentary on this fundamental injunction of the Torah(26).

The researcher has discerned an anomalous situation among devotees of the Adath Jeschurun congregation in Johannesburg and aligned Ultra Orthodox subgroups. These spiritual heirs of Hirsch are extremely loyal, staunch and uncompromising in their attitude to the Jewish tradition. They are also involved in the South African economic life. However, they appear to have a negative even hostile attitude to general education, particularly at the tertiary level, and a consequent narrowing down of intellectual horizons. The subgroup has rejected the advances of modern culture, even including modern dress and participation in the secular and social life of South African society.

Although they have accepted purely technological developments, for example, the motor car, aeroplane, telephone and modern medicine, they prefer to live within a self imposed cultural ghetto. Contact with the outside world in this enclaved society is kept to a minimum, usually determined by economic factors. Many Ultra Orthodox adherents do not watch television or read a daily newspaper. Granted, the extent to which individual Ultra Orthodox reject gentile culture varies considerably, but there are certain norms, conformity to which is a condition of membership. They have not imported Hirsch's wider interpretation that Judaism must go together with the culture, science and society of the place where the Jews live. The dislocated attitude to the secular world is compounded when considering that Hirsch attached objective value to secular knowledge and general science beyond the pragmatic necessity for acquiring a livelihood. Hirsch in fact, had reverence for secular culture.

Interviews with Ultra Orthodox rabbis and lay leaders lead the researcher to ascribe this aversion to secular culture as a psychological reaction to the Holocaust. "Proof" of the so called "bankruptcy of secular culture" was how world-famed representatives of German science and university scholarship ignominiously succumbed to the barbarism of Hitler.

This rejection of secular culture and the consequential challenges it proffers to Jewish attitudes and behaviour, concords more with the conservative position(27) of Rabbi Moses Sofer (Schreiber) (1763-1839) of nineteenth century post emancipation Pressburg (a former Frankfurter). The Chatam Sofer, as he was called, eschewed trying to absorb modernity into a Jewish framework. In his rigorous fundamentalist viewpoint, this great rabbinic authority saw the intrusion of modern and worldly ideas as something hostile and inconsistent with Judaism and therefore to be rejected or shunned. He advocated that Orthodoxy continue with their nineteenth century version of Jewish traditionalism. He attacked even moderate reforms under the slogan: "What is new is forbidden by the Torah". The Hebrew word for new, chadash, is used in rabbinical literature to refer to the new cereal crop which is indeed forbidden to be eaten until the omer offering is brought on the second day of Passover(28). The slogan is thus a well-known halachic rule, which by play on words, was used by Hungarian Orthodoxy to sum up its attitudes to reform and innovation. Sofer and his pupils in the Austro-Hungarian Empire led a counter-attack on reforms of any kind and insisted that the standards of the nineteenth century should remain unchanged(29). The preservation of Jewish tradition in its totality, not only as far as its contents were concerned, but also with respect to its form, system of thought and linguistic expression, could only be done at the price of social and cultural isolation(30). Rabbi Sofer was prepared to pay this price and so do the Ultra Orthodox communities of Johannesburg, Bnei Brak, London, Brooklyn and elsewhere live up to his standards and demands.

ELEMENTS OF ADATH JESCHURUN IDEOLOGY: NOTES AND REFERENCES

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ESSAY WRITTEN BY A PENITENT WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE VILNA GAON TORAH CENTRE.

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title: "NOT JUST AN ORDINARY PICNIC"

On the sixteenth of December 1982, my life came to a dramatic turning point. On that day I was invited to go on a picnic with the Torah Centre CHEVRA. So, you may say, a picnic - a big deal. But this was no ordinary picnic. It was to be the first of many encounters with HA RAV HAGADOL Moshe Sternbuch and the Torah Centre.

I arrived at Rav Sternbuch's house to be greeted by the most fascinating characters - some wearing long "KAPOTAHS" and even "PAYOS", the women with scarves on their heads, and as for their sheitels. WELL! This all intrigued me, but their faces interested me most. They were so serene, so satisfied with life.

I must admit I felt nervous at first, and to top it all I was given the honour of taking the Rabbi and his wife in my car! What could I possibly talk to them about. As it turned out we discussed everything I thought the RAV would never discuss. As that fateful journey proceeded it developed into the turning point of my life.

My marriage 3 months later to the girl I had not yet met, was arranged, signed and sealed between Johannesburg and Rustenburg. Just as importantly the previous Saturday was to be the last SHABBOS on which I could ever work. My days of non observance through ignorance were happily over for ever. I remember going to my siser for the first time with a YARMULKAH and TZITZIS. They were really proud of me. (Nu sis when you start wearing a SHEITEL, I'll be proud of you).

From now on it was to be daily SHIURIM from SHABBOS to SHABBOS, with each SHABBOS the highlight of the week. I remember asking my first question at a GEMORAH Shiur. I went red as a beetroot when everyone looked at me. I thought the question probably had no relevance to the subject, but I received the same well thought out answer as the other participants. Some of the time I could not make out what was being discussed, but the little I understood gave me the will and urge to learn more.

The SHABBOSIM. They are something else. I clearly remember my first feelings. Everyone was scrambling to ask me over for a meal. The DAVENING took to my heart because of the sincere "KAVONAH". This was no "sitting back and listening to a concert". The ZEMTROS and talks on the PARSHA made the tranquility which is unbeknown to anyone who is not SHOMER SHABBOS. I got the feeling that even nature enjoyed the SHABBOS together with me.

Along came my wedding. The most beautiful event of my life. "HALEVAI you should one day enjoy what we enjoyed".

My hopes and ambitions are that my YIDDISHKEIT should grow and develop to levels far beyond my present conception. I have stepped onto the train. HASHEM is my driver. He will guide me on the safest, most treasured journey of my life.

SELWYN JOFFE.

THE LUBAVITCH

## 1. THE ORIGINS OF THE LUBAVITCHER MOVEMENT

Chassidism (in Yiddish, chassidus) was founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (the Besht) born in Okup a small town on the border of Volhynia and Podolia(1). Followers of the movement were termed the chassidim (singular chassid) or "Pious Ones". The Besht stressed the importance of serving G-d with joy, of loving him and surrendering oneself to Him with hitlahavut (exalted joy and in a state of ecstatic fervour). His key concept was devekut (cleaving), a state one achieves on joining oneself to the emanations of the Divine Ein Sof (the Infinite), and discovering oneself as a part of creation and ultimately as chelek Elokah Mima'al (part of the transcendant Divinity). The Chassidim, with their transcendant optimism were able to perceive everything, even seemingly trivial matters sub specie divinitatis (almost from a Divine point of view)(2).

The movement originally stressed emotional mysticism and played down the intellectual, rational and logical analysis of the Talmud, mitzvot and related matters. Chassidism's affective approach involved joyful living, socialising and festive dance. Central in chassidic doctrine was the great importance attached to the ideal man, the tsaddik (saintly or pious one) who forms a connecting link mediating between creator and creation.

The tsaddikim added to and in some cases amended the teachings of the Baal Shem. The movement soon developed into numerous competing dynasties, each centred around a miracle-working tsaddik. Chassidism's rapid spread was due to the charismatic appeal of these saint-mystics as well as to its popularity as a way of escape for the ignorant peasantry. These ordinary people were suffering from the despair and degradation following the large scale persecution, torture and massacres under Bogdan Chmielnicki and other Cossack and Haidamak leaders in the decade of 1648-1658(3).

Chabad (alternatively known as Lubavitch) Chassidism was developed by Rabbi Schneur Zalman of Liadi (1745-1812), a disciple of the Besht's successor, Rabbi Dov Ber of Meseritz (?-1772)(4). Schneur Zalman's approach was less intuitive and more rational. He stressed the necessity for regular theory which could be studied. The quintessence of his teachings can be found in his Likutei Amarim (collected sayings) better known as the Tanya, after the first word of the treatise. The Tanya is accepted to this day as the principle text of the movement and is studied and memorised by Lubavitch Chassidism(5). Another methodological change in the approach to Chassidism instituted by Schneur Zalman, was to replace the concept of the tsaddik by the idea of the Rebbe, who is respected for his great scholarship and knowledge of Torah(6).

Schneur Zalman advocated a more cognitive approach. He synthesized and harmonized the two conflicting ideals of 18th century Judaism: the intellectual and rational school of Lithuanian Rabbinism with the affective mystic fervour of Chassidism. This ensured that Chabad was firmly based in halachah. he set the ideological tone of Chabad, and one which persists to this day. The intellectual orientation and doctrine of Chabad is evident in its name which is an acronym for:

Chochmah-indicating the acquisition of wisdom or concept;  
Binah-understanding, meaning the development of independence in learning;

Daat-indicating the penetration of the personality by wisdom, resulting in the right attitudes and right action. These three concepts are used in the Kabbalah to designate the three highest of the ten sephirot (emanations) flowing from G-d(7).

The founder's son and successor, Rabbi Dov Baer (1773-1827), known popularly as the Mittler Rebbe, settled in the Lithuanian town of Lubavitch, hence the name by which the group is now known. This was the centre of the movement for 102 years prior to its dispersion during Russian persecutions. Third in the line of leaders was Rabbi Menachem Mendel (1789-1866), son-in-law of Dov Baer and the son of Schneur Zalman. He is known as the Tsemach Tsaddik after the title of his voluminous Talmudic response. The fourth leader, Menachem Mendel's son, Rabbi Shmuel (the Maharash (1834-1882) was succeeded by his son, Rabbi Sholom Dov Baer (1860-1920). In the sixth generation came Rabbi Joseph Issac Schneersohn (1880-1950). In 1920, he accepted leadership of the Chabad hierarchy on the death of his father. There followed a period of intense activity in which the foundation of yeshivot, or Talmudical academies, to spread the influence of Chabad, was a seminal achievement. As a result of his far-reaching public activities, his watchful defence of the rights of Russian Jewry and his constant fight against the local and central authorities, he incurred the displeasure of the Communist regime. He was imprisoned several times and finally fled to Riga in Latvia. After moving to several other centres, he emigrated to America in 1940 and established his "court" in Brooklyn. The present Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneersohn (1920- ) is the son-in-law of Joseph Isaac and the great-great-grandson of the Tsemach Tsaddik. These biographical details are relevant since, in the Lubavitch doctrine, great significance is ascribed to the personality and "soul-root" of each rebbe, past as well as present(8).

## 2. THE ROLE OF THE LUBAVITCHER REBBE

The Rebbe commands personal reverence of his followers wherever they may be and of large numbers of people of different ideological shadings who turn to him for inspiration or counsel. His charisma is partly of his own making due to his scholarship(9), his imposing countenance and him being the personification and embodiment of the core values they hold dear. The Rebbe's charisma is also partly due, however, to his lineage which is traced to great leaders. He thus carries the prestige of decent from these world famous historical figures.

The prestige the Rebbe occupies in the social fabric of Lubavitch and the great reliance placed on this one man, can be analysed in terms of the following three roles that he performs: decision maker, the ultimate Torah authority, and source of comfort and security(10).

As a decision maker, the Rebbe has shaped Lubavitch goal orientation on the community, as well as on the personal, individual level. Decision making via participating democracy is completely alien to Lubavitch. The Rebbe has rendered strategic and tactical decisions and counsel on a variety of problems. Advice is sought on issues ranging from vocational choice, business mergers, approval of a marriage partner, to medical judgement on a risky surgical procedure, to a family conflict problem, to South Africa's current socio-political situation(11).

Among the many decision making areas, the one involving the application of religious law is especially noteworthy. True, authority in this sphere is vested in all individuals who have received rabbinical ordination, so that small daily problems, for example, on dietary laws, are handled by local clergy. But when larger questions with community wide implications arise, the Rebbe is called upon to render a verdict. For example, no lesser Lubavitch figure will take it upon himself to decide whether or not it is in accordance with halacha for Israel to hand back the Sinai to Egypt, to initiate operation Peace for Galilee(12). To cite further examples, the Rebbe has also ruled on the practice of birth control(13) and on the age of the Earth(14).

An important component of the Rebbe's social role is to provide comfort and security to members of Lubavitch(15). His portrait is to be found like an ikon in the homes of each of his adherents. No Chatad wedding is quite complete without a message of blessing and encouragement from the Rebbe. To have prayed in the Rebbe's shul(16) located at 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York(17), represents a status symbol in the Johannesburg Lubavitch community. The Rebbe is often called upon to pray for sick individuals, to intercede with G-d to send blessing and prosperity.

The extent of the Rebbe's authority in these areas can only be appreciated when considering that his Torah scholarship is beyond question. In addition, Lubavitch chassidim have the absolute trust, that as a saintly individual, their master has Divine assistance. This prevents him from erring in any matter, let alone those involving what they see as his main mission in life - to lead the entire Jewish people on the right way as prescribed by the Torah. His status is comparable to that of the earlier tsaddikim. His followers believe him to be endowed with a special soul and his efficacious prayers consequently having special access to G-d. While perhaps less hailed as a miracle worker than the leaders of other dynasties, the Rebbe enjoys an authority of a more absolute kind. His orders and advise are followed diligently with unquestioning obedience by his devoted and adulated followers(18).

### 3. THE ATTITUDE OF LUBAVITCH TO ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

The Lubavitch attitude to the State of Israel is somewhat ambiguous. Lubavitch view the State within the context of exile and redemption. The end of the current major Disapora and the totality of return will only ultimately come about through the intervention of the Divinely appointed Messiah, descendant of King David who will usher in the rebuilding of the Temple. The Rebbe does not recognise the emergence of the State of Israel as the "beginning of the Divine redemption"(19). On the other hand distinct Messianic overtones can be discerned in his messages, and he has stated that the occupied territories(20) lying within the traditional boundaries of Israel, for example, Judea, Samaria, Gaza and Sinai must not be surrendered. The Rebbe is, in this regard, a hawkish extremist(21) in his views on of the sanctity of the Land and the claim of Jews to it. Leaders of the State, including Zalman Shazar and Menachem Begin have visited the Rebbe and been on the friendliest of terms. Nevertheless, the Rebbe has never set foot in Israel and has been sharply critical of some aspects of Jewish life in the State. For example, he has criticized the 1950 Law of Return which fails to explicitly state that conversion must be conducted in accordance with halacha(22).

Chabad has been very active in Israel, through Kfar Chabad, its major centre, and through the network of Chabad settlements and institutions there. Among its "outreach" programs and facilities have been mass bar-mitzvahs for war orphans, Purim and Chanukah gifts for soldiers of the Israeli Defense Force, vocational training, yeshivas, schools and girls seminaries(23). This strategy of constructive engagement with the State and its people, is in contrast to some Ultra-Orthodox groups who are anti-Zionist and advocate severance of association with Israel. Lubavitch has never displayed nor condoned the rabid militant anti-Zionistic ideology of the Satmar chassidim. Satmar attribute demonic significance to the State and Zionism(24). They believe that in the interim period before the Messiah, no human dare intervene in history, for G-d alone will redeem Israel in a supernatural, miraculous manner. The Lubavitch attitude towards Israel and Zionism is summarised by Rabbi M. Lipskar, a Lubavitch representative in Johannesburg. He maintains that Israel has to be guarded on two fronts, the spiritual and the practical. Refuting the charge that Israel's Ultra Orthodox people do not serve in the Israeli army, he stated: "To me the Jewish soldier is doing a noble act, no less noble than is the Yeshiva student who is creating spiritual vitality - the two complement each other"(25).

THE LUBAVITCH NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Baal Shem Tov (Hebrew) - "Master of the Good Name", abbreviated to Besht. 1700-1760.
2. See: Eichenstein, M.T. 1948. 'Pri Yeshoshua'. Blanchard, T. (Trans). Tradition 18(2): 181-191.
3. See Patai, R. 1980. The Vanished Worlds of Jewry. New York: Macmillan, pp.22-55.
4. Date of birth is unknown.
5. A Pretoria edition was published in 1985. The original was first published anonymously in 1797.
6. See: Chavel, C.B. 1953. 'Shneyur Zalman of Liady'. Jewish Leaders. Jung, L. (Ed). 1964. Jerusalem: Boys Town Publishers. pp.52-77;  
Lubavitch 1970. Challenge: An Encounter with Lubavitch-Chabad. Stamford Hill, London: Lubavitch Foundation of Great Britain.
7. See: Schneersohn, J.I. 1965. On Learning Chassidus. Posner, Z.I. (Trans). New York : Kehot Publications, p.7;  
Carmell, A. 1976. 'Live Teaching'. Jewish Study Magazine. Spring 5737. pp.11-14.
8. Lubavitch, 1970. op.cit. pp.9-63.  
Jacobs, L. 1975. 'The Lubavitch Movement'. Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1985-1976. pp.161-165.
9. Already by the early age of Bar Mitzvah, he was considered a Torah prodigy. The Rebbe is also equipped with a good secular education. He is erudite in maths, physics, astronomy and metaphysics. He studied the sciences at Berlin University, and later in Paris, at the Sorbonne.  
See: Jacobs. op.cit. p.162;  
Smolar, B. 1982. 'Between you and me', Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Released on 26 March 1982.  
For exploration on the preconditions for the nature of and consequences of charisma see:  
Bosk, C.L. 1979. 'The Routinization of Charisma: The Case of the Zaddik'. Sociological Inquiry. 49(2-3): 150-167.  
Sharot, S. 1980. 'Hasidism and the Routinization of Charisma'. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. 19(4): 325-326.  
Camic, C. 1980. 'Charisma: Its Varieties, Preconditions, and Consequences'. Sociological Inquiry. 50(1): 5-23.  
Bosk, C. 1974. 'Cybernetic Hasidism: An Essay on Social and Religious Change'. Sociological Inquiry. 44(2): 131-144.  
Miyahara, K. 1983. 'Charisma: From Weber to Contemporary Sociology'. Sociological Inquiry. 53(4): 368-388.

10. See: Rubin, I. 1972. Satmar: An Island in the City. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. pp.59-62, for the application of these facets of leadership to the late Satmar Rebbe, Rabbi Joel Teitelbaum.
11. Although no public disclosures have been made, the researcher has it on reliable authority that the Rebbe's counsel was sought on the current unrest and state of emergency in South Africa.
12. Shneersohn, M.M. 1982a. 'Peace for the Galilee', adapted from an address by the Lubavitcher Rebbe. Pretoria Jewish Chronicle. September 1982 pp.91-21.
13. 'Lubavitcher Rebbe Condemns Family Planning'. South African Jewish Times. 18 June 1980. p.4.  
Segal, M. 1980. 'Drive on Family Planning'. Zionist Record and South African Chronicle. 20th June 1980.
14. Shneersohn, M.M. 1976. 'A Letter on Science and Judaism'. Challenge: Torah Views on Science and its Problems: Carmell, A and Domb, C. (Eds.). London, Jerusalem: Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists. Feldheim Publishers. pp. 142-149.
15. This has extended outside the ambit of Lubavitch into the gentile world.  
See: 'Reagan writes to the Lubavitcher Rebbe'. South African Jewish Times, 30 April 1982. p.6.  
A personal congratulatory letter sent by President Reagan on the Rebbe's eightieth birthday is reproduced here.
16. Shul is the Yiddish for synagogue. The Ultra Orthodox hardly ever use the word synagogue but always refer to their house of worship as shul.
17. The neighbourhood is called Crown Heights. It is middle class on the edge of Eastern Parkway some three miles from Williamsburg.
18. See Abramowitz, L. 1980. 'Yehidus with the Rebbe'. Jewish Affairs. November 1980, pp.47-49. Here an account is given of a private "consult/interview" with the Rebbe.
19. See: Jacobs. op.cit. p.165.
20. Schneersohn, 1982a. op.cit.  
Rubin. op.cit.
21. Rabinowitz, L. 1981. 'The Rebbe on the Land of Israel'. Jewish Herald. 24 March 1981.
22. See: The Lubavitcher Rebbe Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson: A Brief Biography. Booklet published in honour of the fiftieth wedding anniversary of the Rebbe. Kislev 14, 5689-5739. Brooklyn: Merkos L'inyonei Chinuch, Inc. (2nd Edn.). p.16.  
Liebman, C.S.; Don-Yehiya, E. 1984.op.cit. pp.106, 107, 109, 110.

23. ibid. pp.14-20. 'The Lubavitcher Rebbe turns 80'. South African Jewish Times. 9 April 1982. p.10.
24. See: Lamm, N. 1971a. 'The Ideology of the Neturei Karta-according to thr Satmarer Version'. Tradition. 13(1): 38-53.  
Rubin. op.cit. passim.
25. 'Explaining a Lubavitcher'. Jewish Herald. 15 March 1983.

SUPER-EMPIRICAL KNOWLEDGE: THE BASIS OF THE CURRICULUM CONTENT

The importance of religious and ethical instruction is perhaps most succinctly stated in the Shma, one of the holiest Jewish prayers, recited several times a day by observant Jews. The first paragraph of the Shma, taken from Deuteronomy 6:6-7 states:

An these words which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; and thou shall teach diligently unto they children, and shalt ask them when thou sittest in they house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou lies down, and when thou risest up.

This exhortation was presented by Moses in the name of G-d to the Jewish people. In it, we can discern the direction taken in later times by Jewish religious education. For centuries, the Torah has furnished the principal curriculum of Jewish education in which the child begins his schooling and continually returns to. To the observant Jew, the Torah is the supreme and unquestioned authority in religious life. Its laws could be interpreted and expanded upon but not changed; they could be questioned, but not challenged.

The Torah, together with the Nevi'im and Ketuvim constitutes the spiritual roots of the Talmud. This embraces both the Mishna and Gemmorah. The Mishna is an elaboration of the Torah. Written in Hebrew, it is a systematic arrangement of law (halacha). The Gemmorah, written in Aramaic Hebrew jargon, is the analysis, elucidation and interpretation of the Mishna. The Talmud is hence the repository of thousands of years of Jewish scholarship. It is a conglomerate of law, legend, philosophy, history, science, shrewd pragmatism, anecdotes and humour. It is stressed in the curriculum of the religious boys schools. Girls are exempted from Gemmorah study.

The Shulchan Aruch was prepared by Joseph Karo and has been in use since the sixteenth century. In Hebrew it means a "set table" and combines the Ashkenazic and Sephardic traditions of legal and religious discussion and codification as put down in the codes of Maimonides in the Mishneh Torah and Arba Turim of Rabbi Jacob Tur. The Shulchan Aruch is methodically arranged into the following four parts:

- (i) Orach Chayim ("way of life") deals with the duties of the Jew at home and in the synagogues, day by day including Sabbaths and festivals;
- (ii) Yoreh De'ah ("teacher of knowledge") furnishes instruction in things forbidden and permitted, such as dietary laws, mourning, vows, respect to parents, charity, etc.
- (iii) Even ha-Ezer ("stone of help") encompasses the laws of personal status, marriage, divorce and family matters;

- (iv) Choshen Mishpat ("breastplate of judgement") describes civil law and administration. Subsequent writers further condensed this codification, and the Kitzur Shulchan Aruch is also a basis for the curriculum of the boys schools.

In essence, the guidelines for curriculum in Judaism throughout Jewish history has been the following passage from Mishna Avot.

The five-year-old learns Torah, the ten-year-old learns Mishna, the thirteen-year-old is obliged to fulfil commandments, the fifteen-year-old learns Talmud, the eighteen-year-old marries(1).

Reference:

1. Ethics of the Fathers. Chapter five. Gemara Ketuvot, 50a.

A REPORT ENTITLED "RELIGIOUS STUDIES AT YESHIVA COLLEGE BY RABBI Y. PFEUFFER, HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES. TRANSLATED FROM HEBREW BY MRS M BLACKMAN.

SOURCE: THE YESHIVITE 1984-5745. pp.10-11

One of the main causes which makes the learning of Gemarrah difficult for young students is their lack of knowledge of the Mishnah and the method the Gemarrah connects one subject to another, linking a Mishnah which is found in a certain tractate, to another found in a different tractate, or to bring proof from a Mishnah learnt in a different tractate to the principle that is being learnt at present.

Students who have failed to learn a required amount of Mishnayot, lack the basic concepts and each section or new idea in the Gemarrah seems to them to be a problem on its own. In addition to this we have the difficulty of the language in the Gemarrah since the method of the Gemarrah is precise and brief. This lack of knowledge of Mishnah greatly undermines the study of Gemarrah. Our sages, who formulated methods of study, specified that the learning of Mishnah should precede that of the Gemarrah and according to the Mishnah found in the Ethics of the Fathers, Chapter 5, Mishnah 23, we find that a child of 5 years of age should learn Tanach, of 10 years of age should learn Mishnah, 13 years old should perform the Mitzvot and 15 years old learn Gemarrah. Our Sages said quoting from the tractate of Baba Metzi'ah, page 33: "always run to learn Mishnah".

Baruch Hashem, this year, with the L-rd's help, the students at Yeshiva College have grown in their Torah studies and piety and have diligently learnt the Mishnah with its explanations. A great many Mishnayot were learnt off by heart with commentaries by many boys who have participated in this venture. We are privileged to have "Talmidei Chachamim" who set aside many hours of their free time for learning Torah. We hope and pray that with Hashem's help, all the students of Yeshiva College will grow from strength to strength in Torah learning observance. We find in the Ethics of the Fathers, Chapter I, Mishnah II that Shimon the Righteous, who was one of the last sages of the great assembly, used to say:- "Upon three things does the world stand, upon Torah, work and deeds of loving kindness." This Mishnah acted as our flaming Torah in educating the Yeshiva students, together with the learning of Torah which we mentioned above and will be mentioned again further on.

We have a "Chevrat Hamatmidim" of approximately 30 boys who come every day, half an hour before the commencement of their Jewish studies, at 7.15 in the morning. These boys have their own Minyan which is made entirely by the boys themselves and the finest feature of their Minyan is the fact that no frivolous conversations take place throughout the entire service. Immediately following the service is a Shiur on Halacha and this year, Baruch Hashem, we have successfully managed to revise the laws of Shabbat many times. In addition to this, many new laws were studied. As is well known, the meaning of the word "on work" in the above Mishnah refers to the work performed in the Temple.

However in our days, the meaning is: the work which is in the prayer. "Upon deeds of loving-kindness"-this year we formed a group of "Visiting the Sick". We certainly have not neglected the "Ideology of Virtues"-and many of the Yeshiva Students visit the Old Aged Home from time to time during the week. The students are educated from an early age to practice what they learn-to help and concern themselves with the needs of others. Learning Torah and acquiring virtues ensures that "the name of the Lord becomes beloved by your deeds" as is testified in the language of the Gemarrah in tractate Yuma page 65: "And you shall love the L-rd thy G-d, so that the name of Heaven shall be beloved by you so that you will learn Torah and Mishnah, serve wise men and deal truthfully in business, speak kindly to people-what then do people say about him?-happy is his father who taught him Torah, happy is the Rabbi who taught him Torah-see how pleasant all his ways, how correct are his deeds, about him Scripture says:-'And he said-You are my servant in Israel in whom I will glorify'."

Half an hour before the commencement of the prayer service at "Chever Hamatmidim," at 6.45am, a lesson in the Prophets takes place. We have managed to complete the entire Book of Joshua and are about to complete the Book of Judges. Next year, G-d willing, we shall learn the Book of Samuel.

After school, there is a daily Shiur in Mishnah for half an hour in which we try to learn two Mishnayot. The boys have already studied Succah, Ta'anit and others. At present we are learning Shabbat.

We at Yeshiva, are privileged, Baruch Hashem, to have an outstanding staff of Rabbis who, because of their dedication have brought us up to our present standard. In Gemarrah we have learnt "Baba Metzia", Chapter "Elu Metziot" from page 21-31 and there are students who have completed the whole of "Elei Metziot" as well as the Chapter Ha-Mafkid from page 33-38. In the coming year we will G-d willing, learn "Baber Kama" Chapter 8, "Ha Choveil" and the Chapter "Aarba Avot".

In Chumash we have studied "Bamidbar" and we hope, G-d willing to complete the entire book this year so that we shall complete a book per year and in so doing complete the five books of Moses by Standard 9. In their final year they will study the Parshiot of the week. In the coming year the Book of "Va'Yikrah will be studied.

In Halacha we have covered from the "Kitzar Shulchan Aruch" all the laws pertaining to prayer, as well as the laws concerning the month of Elul, Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur from Siman Aleph to Siman Chet. Our syllabus for the coming years will be to cover most of the laws in Sefer Kidusha. Next year we will learn the laws of Shabbat.

A Religious Library will be shortly established. This will be, G-d willing, a centre for General Torah learning, and in particular for the students of Yeshiva College, plus the congregants of Glenhazel Shul. The library will house hundreds of valuable books which, up to now, have not been stored in a suitable place. Many stylish translations of valuable books will be available such as: the Mishnayot, Shas, Chumashim and Meam Loez. Anyone at any level will be able to make use of this library. There will be a special section for

books dealing with the laws and works of great Jews. Yeshiva students will be able to borrow these books to read at home. It is rather appropriate at this stage to ask all those who have borrowed books in the past from the Yeshiva to return them as soon as possible.

Dear Friend,

I am a researcher seeking to learn about the attitudes and opinions of high school pupils of the Johannesburg Jewish religious community. My survey is supervised by Professor Steinberg of the University of Cape Town. This study has the support of and encouragements of your teachers and principals.

The value of any survey depends on frank and sincere answers. You will note that YOU ARE NOT REQUIRED TO GIVE YOUR NAME. YOUR ANONYMITY IS PRESERVED.

The schedule comprises questions covering a wide range of topics. In most cases you are simply asked to check the statement which most closely approximates to your opinion.

There are no right or wrong answers. The only correct answer is the one which reflects your opinion.

Please answer the questions on your own, without help or advice from anybody. If you feel you cannot answer a question, you may leave it out.

The results of this survey will be scientifically analysed and it is hoped that they will be most helpful in present and future educational and communal planning.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, and with best wishes.

Jeremy Hayman

JEREMY HAYMAN



10. Do you consider yourself to be religiously observant? Write the appropriate number on the dotted line.

- 1. Very observant,
- 2. Observant,
- 3. Somewhat observant,
- 4. Not observant at all. ....

11. Which influences or factors do you think made you become more observant?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. How often do your parents attend shiurim? Write the appropriate number on the dotted line.

- 1. None
- 2. Daily
- 3. Weekly
- 4. Monthly

Father .....

Mother .....

13. Is your mother shomeret Shabbat?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No .....

14. Is your father shomer Shabbat?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No .....

15. Compared to my mother, I am :

- 1. More religious
- 2. As religious
- 3. Less religious .....

16. Compared to my father, I am :

- 1. More religious
- 2. As religious
- 3. Less religious .....

17. If your parents are frum, how long have they been that way? .....

What made them become frum? .....

.....  
.....

18. Do you intend to continue to study when you leave school. Write the appropriate number on the dotted line.

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Not sure .....

If you answered YES, what kind of study do you intend doing and at which institution?

.....  
.....

If you answered NO, or NOT SURE, what are you thinking of doing?

.....  
.....

19. Do you intend to remain in South Africa all your life? Write the appropriate number on the dotted line.

- 1. Yes
- 2. Undecided
- 3. No .....

If yes, would anything change your decision and in what way?

.....  
.....

If undecided, on what will your decision ultimately depend?

.....  
.....

If you answered no, why not? When would you leave and where will you go?

.....  
.....

20. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?  
Write the appropriate number on the dotted line.

- 1. Agree
- 2. Disagree

"What I have learnt in Jewish studies at my school has brought me into conflict with my parents because of the practices in my home".

SECTION B

- 1. ( i) How interesting do you find the subjects listed below?
- (ii) Do you feel they should be given more emphasis, less emphasis, remain the same or be omitted altogether?

Please write the appropriate number on each of the two dotted lines next to each subject that you are studying.

INTEREST

EMPHASIS

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Very interesting | 1. More emphasis      |
| 2. Interesting      | 2. Less emphasis      |
| 3. Indifferent      | 3. Remain the same    |
| 4. Uninteresting    | 4. Should be left out |

INTEREST

EMPHASIS

- |                        |       |       |
|------------------------|-------|-------|
| a) Modern Hebrew       | ..... | ..... |
| b) Biology             | ..... | ..... |
| c) Music               | ..... | ..... |
| d) Domestic Science    | ..... | ..... |
| e) Computers           | ..... | ..... |
| f) Dinim               | ..... | ..... |
| g) Gemorah             | ..... | ..... |
| h) English             | ..... | ..... |
| i) Music               | ..... | ..... |
| j) Business Economics  | ..... | ..... |
| k) Pirkei Avot         | ..... | ..... |
| l) History             | ..... | ..... |
| m) Nevi'im             | ..... | ..... |
| n) Shoftim             | ..... | ..... |
| o) Afrikaans           | ..... | ..... |
| p) Chumash             | ..... | ..... |
| q) Typing/Shorthand    | ..... | ..... |
| r) Musar               | ..... | ..... |
| s) Geography           | ..... | ..... |
| t) Jewish Lit & Poetry | ..... | ..... |
| u) Drama               | ..... | ..... |
| v) Chassidus           | ..... | ..... |
| w) Accountancy         | ..... | ..... |
| x) Art                 | ..... | ..... |
| y) Woodwork            | ..... | ..... |
| z) Jewish History      | ..... | ..... |

2. With whom and how often have you studied: Gemora, if you are a boy, Limudei Kodesh if you are a girl, OUTSIDE SCHOOL-TIME, this past year or so? Write the appropriate number on each dotted line below.

- 1. Almost every day.
- 2. Once or twice a week.
- 3. Several times a month.
- 4. Almost once a month.
- 5. Several times a year.
- 6. Rarely or never.

- a) Alone .....
- b) Friend/Chevrusa .....
- c) With a class .....
- d) With a parent .....
- e) Other, please specify .....

3. In your free time, how often do you engage in the activities listed below? Write on each dotted line the most suited number.

- 1. Almost every day.
- 2. Once or twice a week.
- 3. Several times a month.
- 4. Almost once a month.
- 5. Several times a year.
- 6. Rarely or never.

- a) Read a newspaper  
Give name(s): .....
- b) Read a weekly or monthly magazine  
Give example(s): .....
- c) Do sport  
Example(s): .....
- d) Watch T.V.  
Which programme(s): .....
- e) Attend movies  
Title(s): .....
- f) Read popular novels  
Title(s): .....
- g) Listen to the radio  
Which programme(s): .....
- h) Attend shiurim  
Which Rabbi(s) and which topics are discussed? .....

7/...

Below are five rating scales - at one end of the first scale appears the word 'Jewish', and at the other end, 'South African'. Indicate your position on this scale by placing a tick (✓) over the appropriate number on each example.

TO THE EXTENT (DEGREE) THAT THE MARK IS NEARER TO 'South African', IT MEANS THAT YOU FEEL YOURSELF TO BE MUCH MORE SOUTH AFRICAN THAN JEWISH. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE MARK IS NEARER TO 'Jewish', IT MEANS THAT YOU YOURSELF FEEL SO MUCH MORE JEWISH.

The same principle applies to the other examples that follow.

NOTE : THE TICK (✓) SHOULD BE PLACED OVER THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER BETWEEN THE POINTS ON THE SCALE.

- |    |   |                           |   |
|----|---|---------------------------|---|
| a) | Jewish  | 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7 | South African                                   |
| b) | Previously more observant                             | 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7 | Previously much less observant                  |
| c) | Jewish  | 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7 | Private individual                              |
| d) | A person with a strong feeling of being Jewish        | 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7 | A person with no feeling of being Jewish        |
| e) | A person with a strong feeling of being South African | 1 ; 2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7 | A person with no feeling of being South African |

The statements listed below cover many different points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with a number of statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps being uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way as you do.

INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH EACH STATEMENT BY ENTERING ONE OF THE FOLLOWING NUMBERS ON THE DOTTED LINE.

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Neither agree or disagree
- 4. Disagree
- 5. Strongly disagree

THE BEST ANSWER TO EACH STATEMENT IS YOUR PERSONAL OPINION.

- 1. A Jew wherever he may be, even in Timbuktu, is part of one Jewish people. ....
- 2. All Jews are responsible for one another. ....
- 3. Campus (university) life is without any doubt immoral. ....
- 4. I would rather support a shop owned by a non-Jew than one owned by a mechalel shabbos Jew. ....
- 5. Johannesburg offers facilities for Torah education as good as in Israel. ....
- 6. For a boy, a secular education is more important than for a girl. ....
- 7. The State of Israel is the beginning of the flowering of the redemption. ....
- 8. The Shulchan Aruch ought to be the guide for every Jew's life. ....
- 9. For a boy, a Torah education is more important than for a girl. ....
- 10. The Homeland's policy of the Government is the answer to South Africa's racial problems. ....
- 11. The secular zionist ideal as visioned by Herzl and Ben Gurion is spiritually bankrupt. ....
- 12. In the frum community there is far too much machlokes (dissent). ....
- 13. The founding of the State of Israel is an event hampering the coming of Maschiach. ....

9/...

- 14. A Jewish person should change his Jewish sounding surname if that is the only way for him to obtain a good position in the non-Jewish world. ....
- 15. A good secular education is more important than a good Torah education. ....
- 16. One can lead a more religious life in Israel than in South Africa. ....
- 17. King David School is doing a disservice to Jewish education. ....
- 18. The Lubavitcher Rebbe is the potential Mashiach. ....
- 19. There are problems in South Africa because the Jews are not doing enough Mitzvos. ....
- 20. Israel must become the Torah centre for Jews throughout the world. ....
- 21. Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa. ....
- 22. Every Jew should look upon himself as if he were a survivor of the Holocaust. ....
- 23. Every Jew should give serious thought to making his home in Eretz Yisrael. ....

SECTION E

1. Below is a list of occupations. Please rank them in order of who you think deserves more prestige. Place a 1 on the dotted line next to the man you would give most respect, and go down to 9 for the person deserving least respect.

- Rosh Yeshiva .....
- Doctor .....
- Lawyer .....
- Mohel .....
- Limudei Kodesh Teacher .....
- Businessman .....
- University Professor .....
- Shochet .....
- Science Teacher .....

2. Rank in order of importance the qualities you admire most in a friend. Put a 1 on the dotted line for the most admired quality, 2 for second best, etc.

- Sportsman .....
- Handsome/Pretty .....
- Rich .....
- Knowledgeable:- Torah .....
- Knowledgeable:- Secular .....
- Distinguished home background .....
- Joker/Clown .....
- Good Middot .....

3. Below are some periods/events of history. Describe your attitude to each of them by putting one of the following numbers on the dotted line.

- 1. Pride
- 2. Neither pride nor shame
- 3. Shame
- 4. Lack of knowledge

- Ezra and the Scribes .....
- Second Temple .....
- Golden Age in Spain .....
- Jewish Shetl in Eastern Europe .....
- The entry of Jews into the social and cultural life of Western Europe .....
- The behaviour of Jews during the Holocaust .....

11/...

SECTION F

PLEASE WRITE THE MOST SUITED NUMBER ON THE DOTTED LINE.

1. How would you estimate the danger of anti-semitism in South Africa?
  1. Very great danger
  2. Great danger
  3. Slight danger
  4. No danger at all .....
  
2. If you were to be mistaken for a non-Jew, would you correct his mistake?
  1. Yes
  2. I am not sure but I think I would
  3. I don't know what I would do
  4. No .....
  
3. If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be born a Jew?
  1. Yes
  2. It makes no difference to me, but on the whole, yes.
  3. It makes no difference to me, but on the whole, no.
  4. No .....
  
4. Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew(ess)?
  1. I would not agree under any circumstances
  2. Yes, if he/she converts
  3. Yes, just as with a Jew/Jewess
  4. Yes, I would prefer to do so .....
  
5. Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of South Africa?
  1. Yes, definitely
  2. To a large extent
  3. To some extent only
  4. No .....
  
6. Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of the Jewish people?
  1. Yes, definitely
  2. To a large extent
  3. To some extent only
  4. No .....

7. When I feel more Jewish.

- 1. I also feel more South African
- 2. There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African
- 3. I feel less South African .....

8. When I feel more South African:

- 1. I also feel more Jewish
- 2. There is no relationship between my feeling South African and my feeling Jewish
- 3. I feel less Jewish .....

SECTION G

1. How strict are you about Kashrut?
  1. Very strict
  2. Strict
  3. Sometimes strict
  4. Don't care .....
  
2. Do you travel on Saturday?
  1. Often
  2. Once in a while
  3. Seldom
  4. Never .....
  
3. Do you listen to Kol Isha? (Boys to answer).
  1. Often
  2. Once in a while
  3. Seldom
  4. Never .....
  
4. Do you wear jeans?
  1. Often
  2. Once in a while
  3. Seldom
  4. Never .....
  
5. How strict are you about Chalav Yisrael?
  1. Very strict
  2. Strict
  3. Sometimes strict
  4. Don't care .....
  
6. How do you feel about 'dates' with the opposite sex?
  1. It is a good idea
  2. I don't mind
  3. It is out until I'm ready for marriage
  4. The Shidduch system is the only way .....

SECTION H

1. Depending on whether you agree or disagree, place one of the following letters next to each of these statements.

A. AGREE

B. DISAGREE

a. My school provides an excellent secular education compared with the best schools/colleges in Johannesburg. ....

b) I am completely satisfied with the Jewish education I have received at my school. ....

c) My secular education could have been more interesting and profitable if the teachers had been better trained and more stimulating. ....

d) What I have learnt in Jewish knowledge at my school is of value to me beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge. ....

2. For which reasons do you think your parents sent you to your present school?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

3. What are the disadvantages and/or benefits you have derived from your school?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



ESSAY WRITTEN BY STD IX PUPIL OF THE LEILA BRONNER GIRL'S HIGH SCHOOL  
ON THE FOLLOWING TOPIC OF A HALACHA EXAM:

"THE DELICATE ISSUE OF HONOURING ONE'S FATHER AND MOTHER FACING A  
RELIGIOUS CHILD GROWING UP IN AN IRRELIGIOUS HOME"

DATE: JULY 1984.

This is indeed a delicate issue. It is difficult enough for a religious child to try and stay religious in an irreligious home, but on top of this he has to respect his parents, despite their views.

Obviously, this is very difficult. The child apparently knows the laws and wants to be enthusiastic about being Jewish. The parents, out of ignorance or a feeling of "I know better", do not share his views and therefore have a house in which it is difficult to respect the parents.

Often it is not only the practicing of laws which cause difficulties, but also conflicting ideologies. It is very difficult not to get into heated argument (in which some disrespectful things are said) over what you believe in.

It is difficult to respect parents who know the laws and yet refuse to keep them, and make keeping them difficult for you.

It is difficult to try and explain laws which have no reason to parents who will only believe and fulfill them when they have a reason to do so.

Yet, no matter how many problems there are in this situation, the child must uphold his religious beliefs, do whatever he can in difficult situations, and have respect for his parents who should be setting a correct example.

How do we know that we should honour irreligious parents? We are told in Shulchan Aruch that by honouring parents we honour G-d, and we owe our parents (religious or irreligious as they may be) a debt of gratitude for bringing us into the world and for raising and supporting us throughout our childhood.

GLOSSARY

- ALIYAH (Lit. "going up"). Immigration to Israel.
- AHAVAT YISRAEL A love and concern for the Jewish people, or one who harbours such feelings.
- ASHKENAZI (Lit. "German"). This name applied to the Jews of Germany and Northern France from the tenth century onwards. In the sixteenth century the term came to include the Jews of Eastern Europe as well. The Ashkenazim have developed a set of distinctive customs and rituals different from those of the Jews from the Mediterranean countries and North America.
- BAR-MITZVAH (Lit. "Son of the Commandment"). Refers to the boy who has reached the age of thirteen, and is expected to accept adult religious obligations. This "coming of age" is the occasion for a ceremony in the synagogue where on the first Sabbath of the fourteenth year the boy reads a part from the day's portion of the Torah. Usually marked by informal celebrations.
- BARUCH HASHEM Please G-d.
- BAT-MITZVAH (Lit. "Daughter of the Commandment"). The equivalent of Bar Mitzvah for girls. The ceremony was introduced into South Africa by the Reform movement and has gradually been adopted by Orthodox congregations. It involves the confirmation of girls at age twelve and is usually performed for several girls simultaneously on a single annual occasion.
- BATLAN (Lit. "unemployed man"). A person who frequents the houses of study and studies and has no other profession. Also, a professional scholar.
- BETH DIN (Lit. "House of Judgement"). An ecclesiastical court comprising three ordained Rabbis where the principles of Halacha are followed. It can deal with civil, criminal and religious cases.
- BETH MIDRASH (Lit. "House of Study"). Denotes study hall which may be used alternatively as a place for prayer. In central Europe it was sometimes called the klaus or kloiz, akin to the Latin term for cloister.
- BITACHON Faith in G-D.
- BLATT (OF GEMMORAH) (Yiddish, from German meaning page). Usually used for one double page of the Talmud.

BORAI OLAM	Creator of the World
CHALAV YISRAEL	Milk that has been processed only under Jewish religious auspices.
CHALLAH	Special loaves of bread baked for the Sabbath and Festivals.
CHANUKA	The Festival of Lights or, literally, "rededication". It commemorates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem after its recapture from the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes by the Maccabees in 165 B.C.E. Tradition has it that the Maccabees found a cruse of oil that was supposed to last only a day but miraculously continued to burn for eight days.
CHAVRUSA	Study partner
CHASSID	(Lit. "pious"). A Jew who follows the teachings and customs of any one of the numerous charismatic religious leaders who trace their authority back to the eighteenth century founder of the Chassidic movement, the Baal Shem Tov.
CHEDER	(Lit. "means room"). Also called a Talmud Torah or Hebrew School. Classes in Hebrew language, Judaism and Jewish culture are held before or after government school hours.
CHEVRA	Fellows
CHESHBON NEFESH	Appraisal of the Soul
CHUMRA	Custom or practice which exceeds the letter of halacha.
CHINNUCH	Jewish education
CHUMMASH	(means five). The Five Books of Moses, or Pentateuch.
CITRON	One of the four species carried and symbolically shaken as part of the feast of Tabernacles celebration. Believed to be the "fruit of a godly tree" referred to in the Bible. (Leviticus xxiii, 40).
DAVENING	Prayers
DUGMA CHAYA	Living example
EMUNAH	Faith or trust in G-d's protection of the fate of the individual and the community.
ERETZ YISRAEL	The Land of Israel.

FABRENGEN	(means in Yiddish, a joyous celebration). A Chassidic festival in which the Rebbe or group's Rabbi speaks at some length on a Torah subject, followed by group singing, sometimes dancing, and refreshments.
FRUM	Pious or observant. Connotation of this term for the mainstream Orthodox is that of an extremely, almost fanatically observant Jew.
GABBAI	The synagogue officials in charge of services and distribution of honours.
GAON	(Lit. "grandeur"). A title given to an outstanding Talmudic scholar. Originally applied to the heads of the Sura and Pumbedita Talmudical academies in Babylonia. circa 589 C.E. - 1038 C.E.
GEMMORAH	Analysis and interpretation of the Mishna. Loosely refers to the entire Talmud.
GLATT KOSHER	(Yiddish from German "glatt" meaning smooth, beyond question). Refers to kosher meat which is subjected to special supervision. Such meat has no question or doubt about its dietary usability. The degree of stringency is more extreme than for general kosher meat.
GREENER	A new immigrant
HALACHA	(Lit. "the way to walk"). Throughout the course of this dissertation, Halacha refers to the Jewish path. The part of Jewish teaching dealing with ritual and behaviour, the legal side of Judaism as contained in the Shulchan Aruch, the code of practical Jewish law.
HALEVAI	An exclamation, equivalent to "Please G-d.
HANHALA	Committee or governing body.
HASHEM	Hebrew for "The Name". Used to refer to G-d in everyday discussion apart from prayers.
KAPOTAH	Gown.
KAVONAH	Meaning, intention
KIDDUSH	(Lit. "sanctification"). A prayer of sanctification over a cup of wine recited by the head of the household on Sabbath and Holydays preceding the meal.
KOLLEL	Advanced postgraduate institution for Talmudic study.
KOSHER	(Means fit, proper) Food ritually fit or prepared for use. Supervised or approved by an Rabbinic authority.

LITVAK	Any Jew from the region of Lithuania
MATZAH	Unleavened bread eaten on Passover. A flat, cracker-like baked product made of flour and water. The only kind that may be eaten during the Passover holyday. A reminder of the Israelites swift flight from the Egyptians. They did not have enough time for the dough to rise, as they raced towards freedom.
MELAMED	(Lit. "teacher") Instructor in religious matters.
MELAVE MALKA	In Hebrew this signifies "accompanying the Sabbath Queen". It is the name of a special communal meal after the termination of the Sabbath, with special songs and customs.
MENORAH	The eight branched candelabrum used on the festival of Chanuka. (q.v.)
MEZUZAH	A religious amulet which is permanently placed on the upper right doorpost of the Jewish home. The phial contains passages from the Pentateuch in which the Israelites were exhorted to remember G-d's Commandments by writing them "on the doorposts of your houses and upon your gates" (Deuteronomy, 6:9).
MIKVAH	Ritual bath used for self purification by women after their menstrual period, by men before the Sabbath and Holydays, and to purify new cooking utensils and dishes.
MISHNAH	(Lit. "oral study"). The collection of laws upon which the Talmud is based.
MITNAGDIM	(Lit. "opponents"). Describes those who opposed the Chassidim. Mitnagdim were and are further differentiated by their greater emphasis upon Talmudic study and by specific prayer rites.
MITZVAH	(Lit. "commandment"). A prescribed religious performance, or a good deed. The Torah lists a total of 613 injunctions - 365 negative and 248 positive. There are also numerous commands of post-Biblical origin.
NEVI'IM	Prophets, including Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
PARSHA	Weekly portion of the Torah
PASSOVER	Anniversary holiday of Israel's liberation from Egyptian bondage on the fourteenth day of Nissan. It is observed for eight days. It is also the Spring festival of the Jewish year cycle.

PAYOS	Side locks, in conformance with the Biblical precept of Leviticus xix, 27
PENTACOST	Commemoration the harvest of the first fruits and the revelation at Sinai. (Leviticus, xxiii, 15-21).
PHYLACTERIES	(from the Greek, meaning amulet). Two small leather boxes, about one and half inches square, containing passages from the Bible. They are strapped onto the left arm and forehead during morning prayers, by males over the age of thirteen as a reminder to obey G-d's laws. (Deuteronomy 6:8).
PURIM	The Holiday of "Lots" commemorating the salvation of the Jews as described in the Book of Esther. Celebrated on the fourteenth day of Adar. Commemorates the day on which the Jews of the Persian empire were saved from Haman, leader of their oppressors. Celebrated with great merriment, masquerades, gifts to the poor, and with many rituals and customs, and special foods.
RAMS HORN	(in Hebrew, Shofar). Sounded during the High Holy Days at the end of the morning service in the month of Elul. The sound is intended to awake a calling for repentance.
REBBE	The religious leader of a Chassidic community. Serves as an intermediary between the Heavenly Powers and man.
ROSH YESHIVA	Head of a Yeshiva.
ROV	A religious leader of a religious Jewish congregation who was ordained by well-known religious scholars. He has great familiarity with the halacha.
SEPHARDIM	(means Spaniards, Jews from whose forebears came from, Spain and Portugal). Their customs, rituals, services and Hebrew pronunciation differ from those of the Ashkenazim.
SHA'ATNES	Any item of clothing which contains wool and linen sewn or woven together. Such a combination is prohibited by Jewish religious law.
SHALOM BAYIT	(Lit. "peace of home"). Connotes tranquillity and domestic bliss in a Jewish household.
SHEITEL	(Yiddish for "wig"), Worn by Ultra Orthodox women in fulfillment of the ordinance that a married Jewish women is not to walk about with her hair uncovered. Talmud Shabbat 6:5; Nazir 28b.

SHOMER SHABBOS	Observes the Sabbath
SHTIEBEL	Yiddish from German "Stube", meaning room. Such conventicles were common in Eastern Europe.
SHIUR	A Jewish study class
SHTETL	A small European Jewish village community. The inhabitants lived devoutly religious lives with study of the Bible and Talmud a major source of their spiritual and intellectual sustenance.
SHUL	House of worship or synagogue. From German "Schule" meaning school.
SHULCHAN ARUCH	(means a set table). The code of Jewish law. The basic religious code consisting of four parts, compiled by Rabbi Joseph Karo (1488-1575) of Toledo, Spain.
SIDDUR	(Lit. "orderly arrangement"). Prayerbook.
SMICHA	(means "placing of the hands"). Rabbinic ordination vesting authority to render decisions in ritual matters and monetary disputes.
SUKKOT	Time of the last harvest of the year. Reminds Jews of the time when their forebears wandered in the desert for forty years after the exodus from Egypt, living all the time in tabernacles or booths. (Leviticus, xxiii, 33-43).
TALMUD TORAH	In South Africa also called the cheder.
TALMID CHACHAM	(Means disciple of a wise man). A scholar whose study of Torah and Talmud is never ending.
TANACH	The books of the Hebrew prophets, apocryphal literature. Hebrew acronym for the Bible. Consists of Torah (the Pentateuch); Nevi'im (Prophets); Ketuvim (Hagiographa).
TANYA	Classic work of the Chassidic movement, written by Schneur Zalman of Liadi (1745-1812), founder of Chabad Chassidism.
TORAH	Literally instruction or teaching. Usually refers to the entire Jewish law, culture and teaching. Specifically refers to the Pentateuch.
TORAH LISHMA	The study of Torah for a higher spiritual purpose. Literally means "study for its own sake".
TSADDIK	An extremely righteous man.

TZITZIT	A white shawl usually of silk or wool with fringes on the four corners worn by adult men during prayers (in accordance with Numbers 15,38).
YARMULKA	Skull-cap.
YESHIVA	An institution for higher rabbinical learning, dating back to ancient times. It developed into a formal institution in Babylonia. It is headed by the rosh yeshiva (equivalent to today's chancellor of a university) who commands an unquestioning reputation and authority in the domain of religious values, attitudes and practices.
YESHIVA BACHUR	Young unmarried yeshiva student
YESHIVA GEDOLA	Advanced yeshiva
YIDDISH	Judeo-German language, with a large sprinkling of Hebrew terms, that became the prime language of the Jewish of central and eastern Europe. Including also some Slavic words, the language is written in Hebrew letters. Over a period of centuries was used by Torah and Talmud students to interpret and comment on the sacred texts. Since the Holocaust, the language has been on the decline.
YIDDISHKEIT	(From German, Juedischkeit). Basic religious pious spirit, morals and ethics of traditional Judaism.
YIRAT SHAMAYIM	(means fear, awe of G-d). The Bible says that fear of G-d is "the beginning of knowledge" and "the beginning of wisdom".
ZEMIROS	Hymns sung at the Sabbath tables to traditional melodies

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## Parameters, Estimates of Log Linear Models

Variable	Response Categories	School		Sex		School x	Sex
		Est	S.E	Est	S.E	Est	S.E.
Fate and future with Jews (F.6)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prepared to marry non-Jew(ess) (F.4)	If convert	-,06	,21	-	-	-	-
	No	-,41**	,20	-	-	-	-
If mistaken for non-Jew, would correct (F.2)	Don't know/ think yes	1,93	-	1,86	-	-1,88	-
If born again would choose to be a Jew (F.3)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Travel on Sabbath (G.2)	Often/ occasionally	,31**	,13	-	-	-	-
Kosher dietary laws (G.1)	Sometimes strict/don't care	,71***	,19	-,31**	,14	-	-
	Strict	-,25*	,15	,34**	,14	-	-
Supervised milk (G.5)	Sometimes strict/don't care	,59***	,10	-	-	-	-
Dating opposite sex (G.6)	Good idea/ don't mind	,50***	,09	-	-	-	-
Wear Jeans (G.4)	Often/ occasionally	,76***	,21	-	-	-	-
Pupils level observance (A.10)	Not observant/ Somewhat observant	,41**	,16	-	-	-	-
		,33**	,12	-	-	-	-
Sabbath observance (A.13,14)	Both parents observe	-,33**	,12	-	-	-	-
Mother shiur attendance (A.12)	Daily	-,02	,15	-	-	-	-
	Monthly/ never	,35***	,13	-	-	-	-
Father shiur attendance (A.12)	Daily	-,55***	,16	-	-	-	-
	Monthly/ never	,38***	,12	-	-	-	-
Five best friends (A.9)	All religious	-,33**	,14	-,35**	,14	-	-
	Mostly non-observant	,21	,17	,42**	,19	-	-
English (B.1.h)	Interesting	-,97	-	,80	-	-,95	-
	Indifferent	-,85	-	,98	-	-,1,01	-
	Uninteresting	-,84	-	,85	-	-1,07	-

KEY Est Estimate  
 S.E. Standard Error  
 \*Significant at 10%  
 \*\*Significant at 5%  
 \*\*\*Significant at 1%

Variables	Response Categories	School		Sex		School x Sex	
		Est	S.E	Est	S.E	Est	S.E
Afrikaans (B.1.a)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Modern Hebrew (B.1.a)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jewish History (B.1.Z)	Interesting	,20	,16	-,09	,15	-	-
	Indifferent	,12	,18	-,44**	,17	-	-
	Uninteresting	,29	,25	,57**	,29	-	-
History (B.1.ℓ)	Interesting	-	-	-,03	,14	-	-
	Indifferent	-	-	-,42***	,14	-	-
	Uninteresting	-	-	,37	,25	-	-
Gemmorah (B.1.g)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jewish Literature (B.1.t)	Interesting	-,89	-	,67	-	-,64	-
	Indifferent	-1,25	-	,98	-	-,1,39	-
	Uninteresting	-,41	-	1,25	-	-,68	-
Nevi'im (B.1.m)	Interesting	-1,00	-	-1,13	-	1,11	-
	Indifferent	-,68	-	-,44	-	,35	-
	Uninteresting	2,99	-	2,46	-	-2,31	-
Chumash (B.1.p)	Interesting	-,03	,16	,20	,16	-,24	,16
	Indifferent	,06	,22	,04	,22	-,26	,22
	Uninteresting	,21	,26	-,11	,26	,35	,26
Satisfied secular education (H.1.a.)	Agree	-,22**	,09	-	-	-	-
Secular teachers could be better (H.1.c)	Agree	-,16**	,08	-	-	-	-
Jewish knowledge is more than knowledge (H.1.d)	Agree	-2,09	-	-1,84	-	1,95	-
Satisfied Jewish education (H.1.b.)	Agree	-	-	,18**	,09	-	-
Participation in sport (B.3.c)	Weekly	-,25**	,12	-	-	-	-
	Daily	-,13	,13	-	-	-	-
Frequency of watching T.V. (B.3.d)	Weekly	,03	,23	-,53***	,21	-	-
	Seldom/never	-,96***	,24	-,52**	,23	-	-
Attend cinema (B.3.e)	Daily/weekly	,07	,23	-	-	-	-
	Monthly	,31*	,17	-	-	-	-
Listen to radio(B.3.g)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*Significant at 10%  
\*\*Significant at 5%  
\*\*\*Significant at 1%

Variable	Response Categories	School		Sex		School x	Sex
		Est	S.E	Est	S.E	Est	S.E.
Read Magazine (B.3.b)	Daily/weekly Monthly	,25**	,12	-	-	-	-
Reading of novels (B.3f)	Daily/weekly Monthly	-	-	-,14	,12	-	-
Read Newspaper (B.3.a)	Daily/weekly Monthly Seldom/ never	,64**	,29	,22	,29	,46	,29
		,00	,40	,37	,40	,72*	,40
		,49**	,24	,23	,24	,65***	,24
Jewish feeling vs S.A. feeling (F.7)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
S.A. feeling vs Jewish feeling (F.8)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-
Will stay in S.A. (A.19)	No Undecided	-	-	-,31**	,13	-	-
		-	-	,13	,14	-	-
Fate and future bound with S.A. (F.5)	Some extent/ No	-	-	-,18	,11	-	-
Danger anti-Semitism (F.1)	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*Significant at 10%  
\*\*Significant at 5%  
\*\*\*Significant at 1%

(A.20). "What I learnt in Jewish studies at my school has brought me into conflict with my parents because of the practices in my home".

Effect	Est	S.E
S X R X C	,10 ,41**	,17 ,18
R X C	-,53*** -,05	,17 ,17
S X R	,23 -,22	,17 ,18
S X C	,04	,13

KEY: S School  
R Relative Religion  
C Conflict

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