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THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL MATRICULATE

(Abstract)

The purpose of the investigation was to discuss the manner in which Jewish Day School matriculates have developed; whether they have integrated into the adult community in ways which differ significantly from those of Jewish matriculates from Government schools; the extent to which the inclusion of Jewish studies and an appreciation of Jewish values in the school curriculum influenced their identification with Jewish aspirations, and their involvement in Jewish and general communal activities.

The Jewish Day School Experimental Group, comprising 70 males and 40 females matriculated between 1956 and 1962. These were the first seven years in which the school's pupils wrote the matriculation examination. A Control Group of 64 males and 52 females was established. An exactly comparable set of factors could not be found because the English-medium, co-educational schools which were suitable from the geographic, socio-economic and educational aspects, were established later than the King David School. Single sex schools which provided the other suitable factors were therefore selected.

The methods used for collecting data included records provided by the relevant schools; the administration of questionnaires; personal interviews; telephone conversations and correspondence.

2/Comparative

Comparative analysis showed that there were no significant differences between the standards of general education, academic achievements and adult occupations of the two Groups. On the matter of Jewish education it was found that, despite the obligatory inclusion of Jewish studies to matriculation level in the King David School curriculum, there was no significant difference between the numbers of matriculates who continued with post-school Jewish education. The conclusion was reached that the success achieved by the King David School in providing its scholars with a Jewish education (exclusive of the Hebrew language) was limited to study up to matriculation level. It appeared that influences other than those exercised by the school, such as parental example and the progress of the State of Israel, were responsible to some extent for the continuation of Jewish studies. A highly significant difference was found between the Groups in their post-school study of the Hebrew language. Assessment of the interpretation of Jewish values showed some evidence of difference between the Groups in their ranking of values, resulting possibly from the Jewish education provided by the King David School. The evidence also suggested that both Groups found difficulty in defining values which could be regarded as specifically Jewish.

A comparative study of attitudes towards Zionism and identification with Israel, showed a high degree of significant difference at the adult level.

3/ No

No proper evaluation of the degree of integration into the adult community in terms of personal commitment was possible, both because of the young age of the subjects of investigation, and their negative responses to the questions relating to their participation in South African activities.

Consideration of the attitudes of the matriculates to the King David High School showed a very high degree of significant difference, with the King David Group being much more likely to send their children to the King David High School in the future.

GERTRUDE KARK

THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL MATRICULATE

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

by

Gertrude Kark, B.A., B.Ed. (Rand)

May, 1972

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

1) This Thesis is my own work.

2) It has not been submitted to any other University.

Gertrude Kark.

GERTRUDE KARK

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I wish to record my sincere appreciation of the co-operation I received from the matriculates and those parents who took the trouble to reply to my questionnaires, and, in many cases to express opinions and provide additional information. The degree of comprehensiveness of this study is in no small measure the extent to which their co-operation was willingly given.

The co-operation of the Transvaal Education Department made it possible for me to find a suitable Control Group from among matriculates of a Girls' and a Boys' Government High School. The Principals of these schools, and members of their Staffs, willingly helped me, and I regret that Departmental regulations deprive me of the pleasure of expressing my thanks to them by name. Similar assistance was always available from the authorities at the University of the Witwatersrand. To them too, I offer sincere thanks.

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CHAPTER 1. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.

The purpose of this Study is to discover the manner in which Jewish Day School matriculates have developed and matured, and whether they have integrated into the adult community in ways which differ significantly from those of Jewish matriculates from Government schools. Have any trends emerged which are indicative of the desire for further education in the preparation for life? Has the inclusion in the school curriculum of Jewish Studies and an appreciation of Jewish Values exercised an influence on their identification with Jewish aspirations, and their involvement in Jewish and general communal interests?

Goss (1968) enunciates in the following terms what he believes to be the basic tasks of the Jewish Day Schools:

> "Our schools must be the vehicles which will convey at least some knowledge of Hebrew, of Jewish literature, of religion and history, for without these prerequisites no Jew is literate in a Jewish sense: without which no Jew can even begin to understand the Jewish heritage. A knowledge of all these is the basic minimum for an intelligent identification with the agencies that make for Jewish survival in the Diaspora. It should therefore be an imperative aim of our schools to help our children to have the wherewithal for identifying themselves with the constructive agencies on behalf of the Jewish people, the South African community and human society in general".

This brings to attention additional features of a more philosophical nature, such as the recognition by the young Jew of his heritage and his consequent obligations towards society.

A 'Jewish Day School' has been defined by Hallowitz (1959) as "an educational institution under private auspices which students attend in lieu of public schools. Instruction is provided in Judaism as well as in the studies normally offered in the public schools - primary and secondary". This definition is acceptable for the present Study, it being understood that in South Africa 'public schools' are schools provided by the Provincial Education Departments for the compulsory, free schooling of white children up to the age of 16 years. 'Under private auspices' means that the school, while complying with the basic requirements of the Education Department, is organised, controlled and maintained by the South African Board of Jewish Education, which draws its authority and finances from the South African Jewish community.

The inclusion of the word 'Day' in the title 'Jewish Day School', calls for additional explanation. There are several types of Jewish schools. There is the part-time afternoon or evening school, known as the Talmud Torah, or Cheder, or sometimes in the U.S.A. as the Sunday School, which provides only limited Jewish Studies programmes. Then there is the Yeshivah, a full-day religious school which concentrates on religious and Jewish studies and gives less attention to secular subjects. Finally, there is the regular daily school which provides both general and Jewish studies syllabuses, and is commonly called the 'Jewish Day School'.

The term 'matriculate', which is not commonly used, refers to the young man or woman who has passed the officially-recognised matriculation examination or its academic equivalent.

Pinsky (1961) states "The interest in the Day School at the present time makes it imperative that an attempt be made to evaluate its role and influence". This interest derives from the deep concern felt by Jewish leaders that adequate provision

provision be made for the Jewish education of successive generations of children. The opinion has been expressed by the acknowledged authority, Dushkin (1959 p.202), that "It is very difficult to give definite answers to questions regarding the results of any educational activity as it affects the culture, the attitudes, the personality of an individual or "group", and, he goes on, "any education that is linked to life values, to moral attitudes, must necessarily be difficult to measure and evaluate". Nonetheless, investigations to probe these values are important in order to try and achieve evaluation of the Jewish Day School concept. The need for such investigations is strongly felt, and the future of the concept, in greater or lesser degree, may depend upon the outcome of such assessments.

Pinsky's contention that "one measure of the fulfilment of the school's role is to be found in an analysis of the graduates produced by the school" has been accepted by the present investigator whose 'analysis' has taken the form of a comparative study of matriculates of the Jewish Day School known as the 'King David High School' (referred to hereinafter as KDHS), which was established in 1947 in the suburb of Linksfield, Johannesburg, South Africa, and of the Jewish matriculates of Government Schools (referred to hereinafter as the Control Group), in a similar area.

Schiff (1966), like Pinsky, writes of the need to evaluate the effectiveness of Jewish Day School education on its graduates, and refers to the fact that 'little research has been done in this area'. He mentions the studies of two investigators, the implication being that either he knows of no others, or he sets little value on those he does know. One of the investigators, Pinsky, did a follow-up Study on elementary school 'graduates' of an American yeshiva-type of Jewish Day School. The Study, which was not a comparative one, covered the 'graduate' years 1925 to 1949. The other investigator referred to, Hallowitz, studied the "Jewish Day Schools in the United States" primarily in relation to problems of administration.

The present investigator found that both these authors adopted different techniques from hers in that they did not direct their Studies to matriculates or graduates, nor did they make their assessments on the basis of comparison with data pertaining to other similar Jewish groups which had studied at undenominational, public schools.

A brief account of the history of Jewish education and summaries of the history of the South African Jewish community; the South African education system, and of Jewish education in South Africa, will be followed by an account of the development of the concept of the KDHS and of its establishment. A description of the selected KDHS and Control Groups of matriculates, and of the techniques used to collect and analyse data follows and leads to the presentation of the findings and conclusions of the study.

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CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

1. Jewish Immigration to South Africa and Community Development.

There is no evidence that any observing Jews were in South Africa before the early 18th century. Gitlin (1950) writes that Jewish employees of the Dutch East India Company were living at the Cape in the 16th century, but they concealed their identity because the Company employed only congregants of the Dutch Reformed Church. Israel Cohen (1925) holds the same opinion. It was not until the 18th century that the Dutch East India Company relaxed their rules and Jewish employees were able to admit their identity. Their numbers were, however, very small. From the early years of the 19th century until about 1880, it is estimated that a few thousand Jews immigrated to South Africa from Germany, England and Holland.

In 1841, the first Jewish Congregation, Tikvat Israel was formed in Cape Town for the purpose of holding religious services on the Sabbath and Holy Days.

Two series of events of world-wide importance which occurred almost simultaneously in the second half of the 19th century had far-reaching effects on the development of South Africa generally and its Jewish community specifically. In 1869 and 1870 gold was discovered in the Lydenberg area and below Mount Anderson in the Eastern Transvaal. According to Cartwright (1962), Barberton was the scene of further discoveries in 1882, and in 1886 gold was struck on the Witwatersrand at Langlaagte. The second series of events which took place almost concurrently with the discoveries of gold in South Africa, were the Russian pogroms. Roth (1959) defines a pogrom as "an organised massacre for the annihilation of any body or class, especially with Government collusion; more specifically one directed against Jews". Parkes (1954) states that "In 1881, when the Tsar Alexander II was assassinated, the

Russian Government made a scape-goat of the Jews and the great exodus ..... (from Russia) ..... began". This exodus, according to Gitlin (1950), headed primarily for North America, a far smaller number going to England and thence some of them to South Africa, enticed by the lure of the recently discovered gold. Subsequently, as the stories of the opportunities for living in freedom and gaining a livelihood gathered strength, a larger number of Jews came to this country directly from Eastern Europe. These immigrants, unlike those who had come before them, brought an invaluable contribution to the existing Jewish community, for they possessed a deep Jewish consciousness, a knowledge of and respect for Jewish culture. Zwi Adar (1965) says, "The early immigrants from Eastern Europe, particularly Lithuania, brought a tradition of an ingrained Jewish life". Most of them had suffered extreme poverty and persecution of a degree exceeded only later by the mass murders of Jews under 20th century Nazi domination. They had not had the advantage of higher education and intellectual stimulation, having received, at most, a minimum of secular training. Their religious beliefs, together with their language problems, militated heavily against their integration into the local population.

TABLE 2 (i) GROWTH OF JEWISH POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

YEAR	NUMBER	
1911	46,919	
1918	58,741	"Union Statistics for Fifty Years" Jubilee Issue 1910 - 1960
1921	62,103	
1926	71,816	
1936	90,645	
1946	104,156	
1951	108,497	
1960	114,762	("South African Statistics 1970" Compiled by the Department of Statistics. Pretoria)

2. The South African Education System.

There are strictly differentiated educational systems for the White, Black, Coloured and Indian sections of the South African population. The brief survey given here refers only to the system for the White section, which includes the Jewish community.

According to Behr and MacMillan (1966), "the South African educational system owes much to the Western tradition in education, but has many facets that are of its own making". The early Dutch settlers in the Cape brought with them a tradition of religious education, which, under the watchful eye of the Dutch Reformed Church, dominated the educational system until the 1820's when secular schools were initiated in the British tradition. In 1839 the appointment of a Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape marked the transfer of the responsibility for education from the Church to the State,

The growth of South Africa and its constantly increasing and changing society led to adaptations of the school system and to the provisions of rural schooling; boarding schools to which country children could be sent; and the development of technical, vocational, secondary, and university education.

In 1909, Clause 85 (iii) of the South Africa Act put Higher Education, which was then in its infancy, under Government control through the Minister of Education. Education 'other than Higher', that is, Primary and Secondary, remained under the autonomous control of Provincial Authorities. In 1925, technical colleges, technical and commercial high schools, trades schools, industrial colleges, schools of home industries and housecrafts, and special schools for the physically handicapped, were transferred to the Union Government (later the Government of the Republic of South Africa). The Provincial Authorities still continue to provide the educational facilities required up to at least the compulsory school-going age, i.e., sixteen years. They also give financial grants to certain categories of Private Schools. Such Schools are not generally well patronised by the Afrikaans-speaking section of the community, which, according to Behr and MacMillan (1966) believed that "the State pattern of education based upon Christian principles will give their children the best education the community can provide".

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Those who support the Private English-medium schools are, by and large, those who support traditional English practices. Increasing State participation in educational matters in the Government Schools has increased the popularity of the Private Schools which may be State-aided or, as is the KDHS, financially independent. Whilst there are some Private Schools which are undenominational, most of them are Church schools. According to Behr and MacMillan (1966), both categories consider the provision of a religious basis to be of major importance. On the whole, Private Schools engage in experimental work in all fields of education to a far greater extent than do the Government Schools.

Parents have the right to exercise freedom of choice between Government and Private Schools. For this reason, and because the Government has accepted responsibility for schooling and must therefore concern itself with "kind and quality of education", Private Schools must be registered by the Director of Education as "approved" schools. Regulations laid down by Transvaal Section 105 (i) of the Education Ordinance (No. 29 of 1953) give the Education Authorities some control over the Private Schools, especially in regard to staff qualifications, basic curriculum, school buildings and calendar. Official school Inspectors have access to the schools at all times. In practice, however, the schools enjoy a high degree of freedom.

From 1956 onwards, there has been growing concern over the progress made towards the implementation of the doctrine of Christian National Education in South African schools. This concern, particularly in the Jewish sector of the population, must unquestionably have important effects on the development of the Jewish Day School Movement. For this reason, brief reference to Christian National Education is made here.

The philosophy of Christian National Education arose mainly as a reaction to the "Anglicization policy" in the Cape Province in the mid-19th century. However, the Transvaal Education Act of 1907 brought about safeguards, such as parental participation in control of education and the rights of the Dutch language. This led to satisfactory compromise and the amalgamation of Christian National Education and Transvaal State Schools. The subject of

Christian National Education was, according to Behr and MacMillan (1966 p. 56), revived as a result of the publication in 1930, of a book written by Professor J. Chr. Coetzee, entitled "Problems of Educational Politics". In 1939 an Institute was founded for the purpose of furthering Christian National Education. The Institute published a pamphlet in 1948 which, according to Behr and MacMillan (1966) "clearly sets out the theory of Christian National Education as seen by the orthodox Afrikaner who 'is a confirmed Christian and, more particularly, a confirmed Protestant, and more particularly still, a confirmed Calvinist'. The pamphlet declared that control of the schools, the teachers, and the content of education, will bring about the achievement of its aims, and strong endeavours towards this end have increased in impetus up to the present time. A "Memorandum on the need for a Union Education Policy and for the ending of the divided Control of Secondary Education", directed the attention of the three Afrikaans Churches towards bringing about a national education policy, and subsequent Parliamentary legislation achieved this in 1967.

The policy of Christian National Education sees the school as the focal point in the life of the people. Its protagonists talk of "the moulding of people in God's image so that they become fully equipped for every good work and of developing the Christian and National character of our nation". "Christian" means "based on Holy Scripture and expressed in the Articles of Faith of our three Afrikaans Churches". "National" is defined as "love for everything that is our own" ("Die Nasionale Beginsel van liefde vir die eie ...."). According to Professor Coetzee, the theory and practice of Christian National Education "was developed by Dutch-Reformed Afrikaners for the education of Dutch Reformed children (not for the education of other groups) and designed to serve as an example for people of other persuasions, who are by this policy invited to develop for their own groups comparable educational policies". He emphasises further "It is for us and our children only that we have developed a Christian-national educational policy. It is not intended and will not be prescribed for any other section of our multi-national and multi-racial South Africa - White, Black, Coloured, English-Afrikaans - or Bantu-speaking.

The extent to which Christian National Education has been brought into the Government schools has largely depended, up to now, on the teachers. The direction in which it is going is clearly apparent, however, and it seems to be only realistic to forecast that the Jewish Day School Movement will have to be strengthened in order to meet the challenge of Professor Coetzee.

It is against this brief account of the schooling system in South Africa that a short review of the early development of Jewish educational facilities in South Africa, and the establishment of the South African Board of Jewish Education and its fields of activities, can be given.

3) Development of Jewish Educational Facilities.

As the small and scattered Jewish communities developed throughout South Africa, the attempt to maintain a Jewish way of life led communal bodies to set up synagogues and classrooms where Hebrew and Jewish Studies would be taught in the afternoons and on Sunday mornings. This was done to ensure Jewish cohesion and continuity in this strange and bewildering freedom which bore no resemblance to the shtetl life to which they had been accustomed. Whoever was available to teach, gave lessons in the Hebrew language, an introduction to Jewish history, the Old Testament and Jewish Laws and customs. Most small boys and some girls attended such classes, the boys usually until their Barmitzvah; the girls usually dropped out earlier. The standards of teaching were generally low and the children were usually disinterested and bored. Some children in the higher and middle-income groups had private tuition, primarily in the Hebrew language. Most Jewish Studies teachers were clerics, the majority of them being untrained and out of date in their teaching methods.

Gamoran (1924), discussing the history of Jewish education throughout the world, says that it, "like the history of the Jewish people, is a story of continuity through change. In its struggle for self-preservation, the Jewish people found the ability to adjust as necessary as the power to conserve. In fact, adjustment was often the means by which the end, group preservation,

was attained". By and large South African Jewish communal leadership accepted Gamoran's views. He saw the problem of Jewish education as one of "transmitting the important values of the Jewish social heritage, and at the same time of effecting an adequate adjustment to the conditions of American life....". He suggested that "spiritual renewal without self-effacement - adequate adjustment without loss of individuality - these should be the watch-words of our educational policy".

From 1902 onwards sporadic attempts were made in South Africa to promote a national, uniform and comprehensive system for the teaching of the Hebrew language and of Jewish history, traditions and customs. According to Saron and Hotz (1955) "the question of safeguarding the future of the Jewish community was an ever-present problem in Jewish life. It was realised that only systematic Jewish teaching could save the younger generation for Judaism. A meeting of the Chevra Kadisha was held in October 1902 in order to discuss the problems associated with the provisions of Jewish education, but no practical results were achieved. A Conference of the South African Zionist Federation held in 1905 discussed the matter, but nothing positive was achieved. The 1908 Annual Report of the Jewish Board of Deputies for the Transvaal and Natal, refers to a decision to establish a large central Jewish school to provide Jewish education through the Hebrew medium, but this plan did not materialise. Nevertheless. the need for the establishment of a special co-ordinating body which would foster the idea of providing adequate Jewish education was strongly felt. For this purpose, the South African Zionist Conference of 1916 appointed an Education Commission under the Chairmanship of the late Chief Rabbi Professor J.L. Landau, but no positive results came from it either. The next major effort culminated in a joint meeting of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Zionist Federation in 1924. On this occasion a decision was taken to convene a special Conference for the purpose of promoting and co-ordinating Jewish educational efforts in South Africa; promoting the formation of organisations fostering education; giving advice to committees in control of Jewish schools and educational institutions;

ensuring the adequate inspection of such schools and institutions; furthering the training of teachers of Hebrew and religion; arranging for educational courses, lectures and examinations; furthering preparation and the publication of text books; making provision for scholarships and prizes; distributing grants for the benefit of schools, and allotting money for such objects; devoting special attention to the establishment of Hebrew Nursery Schools and Jewish Boarding Schools, and generally, furthering the cause of Jewish education.

4) Establishment of the S.A. Board of Jewish Education.

Most of the world's Jewish communities were provided by Eastern Europe with Jewish and Hebrew teachers. This applied also to South Africa but this country's immigration policies after World War I made it apparent that arrangements would have to be made for the training of teaching personnel in South Africa.

Protracted negotiations were held between the Government and the Jewish community. Slightly larger numbers of Jewish immigrants were admitted to the country in the later part of the 1930's, but there was increasing anxiety about the policy of the Nationalist-Labour Government, which was planning severe restrictions on immigration, particularly of Jews from Eastern Europe. It was clear that legislation to this effect was imminent when the 11th South African Zionist Conference met in 1928. This state of anxiety led Conference to the decision that a new body, the S.A. Board of Jewish Education (hereinafter referred to as The Board) should be created by the S.A. Zionist Federation and the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies. This new body would handle all aspects of Jewish education, including that of the training of teaching personnel. This decision, in fact, preceded the anticipated Quota Act by two years, the Act being passed in 1930.

For several years its terms of reference were explored and debated. In 1938 the late Rabbi J.L. Zlotnick was appointed Director of the Board. His first publication was a memorandum envisaging the establishment of educational institutions which would cover the child's development from nursery school through to university training. Some of the objectives outlined in

this memorandum have fallen away. Others were initiated and implemented with greater or lesser results. The educational institutions which fall under the jurisdiction of the Board, now include the Dr. J.L. Landau Educational Centre, the Rabbi J.L. Zlotnick Seminary for training Hebrew School teachers and Nursery School teachers; and the Jewish schools, including part-time chedorim and the all-day schools.

Two Jewish Day Schools, fully functioning from the kindergarten to matriculation exist in Johannesburg, in addition to other such schools in different centres of South Africa. The first of these to be established was the King David High School in Linksfield and it was subsequently followed by its counterpart in Victory Park. To complete the synopsis of the growth of the South African Jewish community's education programme, it is necessary to consider the history of the Jewish Day School Movement in South Africa. This Movement did not evolve in isolation, but fundamentally it followed the evolution of the concept in modern Jewish history.

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CHAPTER 3. HISTORY OF THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT

According to Roth (1959), the importance of providing religious education is demonstrated in the writings of the Pentateuch by constant reiteration of the duty to teach the young. Roth points out that later "Though only the Talmud and Jewish lore were taught, the wide ramifications of purely Jewish study contained many of the elements of general education" (p. 594). Certainly it is known that as far back as the period of the Judges, ability to write was not uncommon: "and he caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and enquired of him; and he wrote down for him the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, Seventy and seven men" (Judges 8.14.). Later, Josephus stressed "Our principal care is to educate our children well". The organisational pattern of education laid down in the era of the patriarch Judah I, that is, in the second century, C.E., was, according to Roth "the basis of subsequent Jewish educational organisation".

1. The World Scene.

It would seem that it was in Italy in 1584 that the first institution 'for providing, in a Jewish atmosphere, preparatory training before entering the universities' was planned by David Provenzale of Mantua. (Roth p. 594). In the seventeenth century in Amsterdam, the Sephardi community is reported to have supported a Talmud Torah which, for the first time, combined Jewish and secular education to a satisfactory extent. But such institutions were very few in number. The main concentration of education for Jewish children was on Jewish subjects until the latter part of the eighteenth century when the Haskalah Movement demanded educational reform and extension of all syllabuses to include general and secular subjects in addition to Jewish Studies. Roth (1959) refers to the Jews' Free School which was founded in London in 1817, and which was based on the principle of inclusion of secular subjects in the school programme. Gradually, however, the Jews' Free School and others like it, increased the secular and reduced the Jewish curriculum.

Schiff (1966) differs from Roth (1959). He suggests that the philosophy of the union of secular with Judaic learning and Jewish traditional observances was originally enunciated in the early 1820's in Mannheim by Rabbi Jacob Ettlinger. Schiff also states that Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch was responsible for the establishment of the first Jewish All-Day School, the Burger-und Realschule in Frankfurt in 1853, the motto of the school being Torah Im Derech Eretz (the Jewish Law together with secular knowledge).

It does seem that eventually in most western countries Jewish schools were succeeded by part-time, afternoon or 'Sunday schools', which only provided teaching in Jewish subjects after the scholars had completed their secular studies for that day. Some Day Schools, combining the general studies curriculum and a Jewish studies curriculum were established in Eastern Europe, but there appeared to be no serious attempts to do so in the western world.

It might have been anticipated that the large-scale emigration of Jews from Europe to the United States of America would result in a call for Day Schools in that country. But there were strong reasons which militated against this. The confined Jewish life of the immigrants, and their very serious problems of adjustment to the freedom and totally different way of life, left them neither the time nor thought to consider the need for special, Jewish education for their growing generation. Added to this was the fact that for the first time in Jewish history, the children were freely admitted to the State schools. Furthermore, the bulk of the immigrant population was in no economic position to consider the establishment of special Jewish schools. There were, however, those who brought with them the desire for the type of traditional Jewish learning which they knew in Russia or Poland. And there were those who realistically faced the need to provide secular, in addition to traditional instruction. Some of those who called for this provision did so, according to Schiff (1966 p.30) "because of the apprehension..... regarding the atmosphere and influence of the public school on religious youths". Others, according to Klaperman (1955), saw in a dual syllabus the

means "to pave the way for the integration of the two streams of cultural values that the immigrant Jews in America were being called upon to preserve".

The Yeshiva Etz Chaim, established in 1886, is said to have been the first in the United States, and was organised as a dual syllabus College Institution. But it was not until the second decade of this century, that All-Day Schools, combining general, or secular studies, and Jewish studies, were set up in many parts of the United States to cater for children of primary school age.

The 20th century re-development of the concept of the Jewish Day School, was influenced to a considerable extent by the Zionist Movement, which encouraged the establishment of such schools. It also brought about the inclusion in the curriculum of the teaching of Hebrew as a modern, living language. This impetus was strengthened by the position of the Jewish communities in the western world during this century. In addition to their commitments as citizens of the countries in which they live their predominant and major responsibilities have been the collection and channelling of assistance and rehabilitative measures for the more unfortunate Jewish communities which have suffered persecution and discrimination; the perennial battle against anti-Semitism; the re-establishment of the Jewish State; and planning for the maintenance and improvement of existing Jewish community life. The termination of World War II, during which more than one-third of world Jewry was destroyed, heralded the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. By 1950, many Diaspora communities were able to devote an increasing amount of their time, organisational abilities and finances to their local community needs. According to Dushkin (1963) "In the priorities given within the community programmes there has been a gradual but continuous shifting of central emphasis from social services and defence activities to cultural undertakings, particularly through the Jewish education of children and youth".

American influences in all spheres of thought increased considerably after World War II and re-shaped the Western world's thinking on many issues. An apt example would be the United

States change of concept from the "melting-pot approach" to Americanization to that of religeo-cultural pluralism. The long-held American belief had been that the closest possible association between and similar treatment of all immigrants, from whichever countries they had come, would result in a mighty turmoil of cultures, customs and habits, but out of this turmoil or "melting-pot" would come a single, unified people showing all the same beliefs, customs and habits. Religeo-cultural pluralism, which succeeded the "melting-pot concept" called for acceptance of differences in religious practices, and in all aspects of culture, between the various racial groups. Such acceptance would bring about harmony and unity and, at the same time, the strengthening of the race and its continuity. This concept was widely accepted, not only among the conglomerate population of the United States, but in many countries. The concept favoured and popularized the Jewish Day School Movement in the United States and drew attention to it in other countries. When it came to the type and character of the Day School Movement, the fact that most of the refugees from European countries to the United States had come from Eastern European countries where the Jewish High School had flourished, shaped the form which would be adopted, not only in the United States but in other free countries.

The growth and development of psychology as a science and the popularity of psychological study after World War II, led to increased interest in the influences working on the child during its formative years. The belief was enunciated that Jewish children required protection from the "barbs of anti-Semitism" to which they might be subjected at undenominational schools. Here was another influence working towards the popularisation of the concept of the Day School. Post-war consciousness of the importance of high standards of education added to the enthusiasm of Jewish parents.

Regardless of the extent of their religious beliefs or practices, Jewish people have continued to think of themselves as "the People of the Book", and this helped to make them receptive to the propaganda that the Jewish Day School would automatically provide the highest possible standards of teaching. Pinsky's (1961) opinion suggests a further factor, namely, that in the two decades since World War II, support for the Jewish Day School

Movement resulted, in part, from the higher socio-economic status which Jewry attained, leading to dynamism in developing Jewish cultural and educational institutions.

It is not possible to give a more accurate account of the development of the Jewish Day School System in the United States because the available literature does not differentiate clearly between the "Yeshiva" and the "Day School" in the connotations known in South Africa.

Schiff (1966) has it that the first Day School in Canada was started in Montreal in 1875. No further historical information about the Movement in Canada is known to the investigator. In England, the late Rabbi Kopul Rosen was the pioneer of the Jewish All Day School which he established at Newbury in 1948. Carmel College, as it is known, is regarded by many as the prototype of the Diaspora Jewish Public School (it should be remembered that 'Public School' in England is virtually synonymous with 'Private School' in the United States of America and in South Africa). Under the influence of the Movement in England, Day Schools have been established in Australia, and in Rhodesia a kindergarten and primary school are in existence.

2. South Africa.

In the Republic of South Africa, there are at the present time, Jewish Day Schools in the main centres of White population concentration.

The period from the establishment of the S.A. Board of Jewish Education in 1928 until 1937 was primarily one of ideological conflicts among the leadership. A little experimental work was, in fact, undertaken, but the community was largely disinterested.

The growth of Nazi power in Germany led to a greater awareness on the part of the South African Jewish community of the need to make better provision of educational facilities for its children. On the one hand, it was imperative to strengthen their feelings of Jewishness and, on the other, to provide for the training of teachers of Jewish subjects. The establishment of the Day Schools was seen as the most powerful means of catering

for both these needs. Such schools would also provide training in Jewish leadership.

In 1942, the first fund-raising campaign specifically for educational purposes was conducted, and this led to the opening of a hostel for the use of Jewish scholars coming into Johannesburg from outlying rural areas. A Hebrew Teachers' Seminary was also established, and was followed in 1946 by the creation of the Rose Gordon Model Hebrew Nursery School.

The events in the Middle East from 1947 onwards, which centred about the defence of Jewish Palestine and led to the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, brought about a much closer identification of the South African Jewish population generally with international Jewish affairs. The need for earnest measures to meet the problem of Jewish education became more widely appreciated, and the concept of the Jewish Day School took root in the minds of the local leadership. Increasing numbers of parents wished their children to attend a school where 'Jewish Studies' would be part of the general school curriculum. Some agreed with the Chairman of The Board, Mr. L. Sachs (1967) that the Jewish Day School, where their children's Jewishness would not be an "appendage", would "train scholars throughout the whole educational field and.... prepare them for rightful and responsible positions, as fine South African citizens".

After the Second World War, a widespread belief arose to the effect that the war had created a 'lost generation' of Jews. This so-called 'lost generation', almost totally ignorant of Jewish history, customs and practices, was considered to be incapable of providing its children with essential Jewish knowledge. Many parents were deeply concerned about this, and saw in the establishment of a Jewish Day School a solution of their problem.

The Proclamation of the State of Israel in May 1948, its establishment and subsequent consolidation, increased considerably the pride, dignity, self-respect and sense of identity of Jews everywhere. This happened very noticeably and effectively in the South African community, where there developed a growing

appreciation of the importance of a knowledge of the Hebrew language, of the meaning and methods of celebration of Jewish festivals, and a knowledge of Jewish history, quite apart from any calls to religious observance. At the same time there was a strong feeling that everything that contributed to the happy and healthy upbringing of South African children should be included in the school curriculum.

A number of conditions favouring the development of 'Private' by contrast with Government schools for the white South African children obtained and continue to do so. The increasing domination of the Education System by the Church, and the rapid strides towards the full implementation by the State of the Calvinist doctrine of "Christian National Education"; the English and Afrikaans language medium conflict; and concern over the increasing political indoctrination of scholars, have probably been the strongest forces at work. Teacher shortages, particularly in the English-language medium schools, and the low standards of teaching in some Government schools, especially in country, village and small town areas have played their part.

A spirit of religious revival was noticeable among most sectors of the white population, including the Jewish one, after the Second World War. For some parents, support of a Jewish Day School was a logical consequence of their religious observance, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of some of them with the inadequate degree of religious instruction which the school provided when it was first established.

Milton Himmelfarb (1960), referring to the American scene, points out that increasing numbers of Jews there are turning to Private schools. His suggestion that this is a way of showing that they as Jews, feel that they have 'arrived' as Americans, may, or may not, be an acceptable one. But this type of reasoning was not found by the present investigator on the South African scene. There was, however, a small number of parents of KDHS matriculates, who felt that they were emulating, and thereby becoming part of that section of English-speaking South Africans which preferred the Private to the Government schools.

Completely different and possibly unique sets of conditions conducive to the use of Private schools in South Africa relate to the very high general standards of living at comparatively low costs; the virtually unlimited availability of domestic labour; and the excellent climate. The combination of all these conditions has resulted in a relatively high percentage of families who can afford to give their children 'the best available', which they usually consider to be the Private schools. There has also developed a large, leisured class of mothers, whose freedom from domestic chores and child-care has led to keen interest in sport and other social activities, so that they welcomed the school system where all possible extra-mural classes for their children were concentrated on the school campus. This system released them from the onerous and time-consuming duty of transporting their children from one lesson to another.

For all the reasons mentioned, the promotion of the KDHS became a popular Cause in the Jewish community. And there were additional reasons. Except in Israel, the fear of the development of anti-Semitism remains everywhere for the Jewish people. It is generally accepted that the importance to the individual of an awareness of 'belonging' is an essential factor in his satisfactory adjustment to his society. This sense of 'belonging' is particularly important to the Jewish child for his preparedness to face anti-Semitic influences. Lewin (1948 p.198) claims that "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 .... A strong feeling of being part and parcel of the group and having a positive attitude toward it is ..... the sufficient condition for the avoidance of attitudesbased on self-hatred". Anti-Semitism, which has manifested itself in many ways throughout the ages, has caused feelings of self-hatred among Jews which have often resulted in total breakdown. Lewin suggests that to build up a feeling of group belongingness "on the basis of active responsibility for the fellow Jew, should be one of the outstanding qualities in Jewish education".

The great majority of Jewish parents has always acknowledged the responsibility to train its children to deal with anti-Semitic behaviour patterns which they will inevitably experience. But many parents have not been adequately adjusted and equipped to carry out this responsibility themselves. It has been claimed that for this reason alone Jewish Day Schools should be available to assume such responsibility on their behalf.

Some of the Jewish leaders in South Africa saw in the Jewish Day Schools the best way to ensure that Jewish children develop into good and devoted South Africans above all else. Others, whose energies were spent on Zionist activities, saw in the school the best possible means of orientating the school-going generation towards Zionist activities and, possibly, emigration to Israel.

For many Jewish people, the fear of assimilation is as great or even greater, than that of anti-Semitism. Some of them thought they saw a 'social advantage' in restricting their children's associations to other Jewish children. They thought that early association with and friendship between school-mates at a Jewish co-educational school, would prove a strong deterrent to assimilation through inter-marriage. The increased Jewish awareness stimulated by attendance at the Jewish school would also help to reduce assimilation.

An ideological fantasy has also been instrumental in furthering development of the concept of the Jewish Day School. This is the hope that all socio-economic levels within the Jewish community could be integrated through the mixing in the classroom of the children who came from different socio-economic levels.

Turning from these lofty ideals, reasons for supporting the Day School are to be found on much lower levels. For example, Sandler (1971) informed the investigator that the school has always provided a special teacher for scholars preparing for the Batmitzvah and Barmitzvah Ceremonies. The syllabus has always been that of the United Hebrew Institutions (see Appendix V and Appendix VI). Classes are held from 7.45 a.m. to 8.30 a.m. daily for those scholars who participate in sport during the afternoons.

Afternoon classes are also available. The Barmitzvah and Batmitzvah celebrants are examined by their own Congregational Rabbis.

This arrangement holds many advantages. Primarily it eliminates the expense of special private tuition, or attendance at part-time schools (chederim), and, in a country where so much emphasis is placed on sport, it gives the Jewish scholar as much time to participate as the non-Jewish.

In the early years, the undertaking that the School would organise smaller classes than the Government schools; provide a wider range of experimental studies; a full range of extra-mural activities; and would attract more highly qualified and better-equipped teaching personnel, proved to be effective in attracting scholars.

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CHAPTER 4. THE KING DAVID SCHOOL.

The background against which there developed in South Africa the pressures leading to the establishment of the Jewish Day Schools has been outlined, and the more important of the practicalreasons for its support by the Jewish community have been referred to. The Board purchased a site in the north-eastern suburb of Linksfield in Johannesburg and at the beginning of 1947, the King David Nursery School and Standards One and Two of the Primary School were opened.

The protagonists of the King David School were remarkably successful in their efforts to popularise it; to provide the buildings, equipment and personnel; and to enrol increasingly large numbers of pupils. The High School was opened in 1955, and the first group of scholars wrote the matriculation examination in 1956. Table 4(i). shows the school's rapid growth in numbers of pupils, in the size of the matriculation groups, and the continuing good examination results.

TABLE 4(i). GROWTH OF KDHS (1955 - 1969)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. PUPILS	MATRICULATION GROUP	MATRICULATION RESULTS		
			1st	Pass	Failure
1955	103	0	0	0	0
1956	169	8	3	5	0
1957	325	15	6	9	0
1958	529	12	0	12	0
1959	622	38	16	22	0
1960	634	71	35	32	4
1961	646	53	19	33	1
1962	637	102	39	61	2
1963	602	115	37	78	0
1964	619	106	49	57	0
1965	670	109	55	52	2
1966	719	96	52	43	1
1967	742	116	57	55	4
1968	802	131	54	75	2
1969	875	143	63	75	5

There were strongly conflicting views as to the objectives of the school's educational policy. Ottoway (1960) says : "The educator in accordance with the aims he accepts, attempts to develop the personality of the child and to prepare him for membership of his Society". Which is th 'Society' for which the Day School scholar is prepared? A study of records of the Board; reported speeches and conference reports, and personal discussions with past and present leaders of the Day School Movement, made it clear that the interpretation of 'Society' has changed over the past approximately ten years. Prior to, and for some years after the establishment of the KDHS, the 'Society' was generally accepted to refer to the South African community. The ideology which led to the establishment of the Day School in the first instance, was based on the assumption that there would be minimal Jewish emigration from South Africa. The possibility that the work of the World Zionist Movement would result in the establishment of the State of Israel by the mid-century, was beyond imagination, and it was not anticipated that the call to go to Palestine would meet with much response from South African Jewry. Nor were the political developments in South Africa anticipated. The retention by the young generation of their Jewish identity, and their avoidance of assimilation on the one hand, and their full acceptance of their loyalty to and responsibilities as citizens of South Africa on the other, were considered by the school's founders to be its raisons d'etre. They would agree with Ottoway (1960 p.9) that "one of the tasks of education is to hand on the cultural values and behaviour patterns of the Society (i.e. both the South African White and and Jewish society) to its young and potential members. By this means Society achieves a basic social conformity, and ensures that its traditional modes of life are preserved".

Theoretical discussions and academic differences of opinion which had persisted since the idea of a Day School had been mooted, became submerged in the serious ideological conflicts within the Jewish community. These began with the opening of the King David School and have continued throughout the years. Two diametrically opposed groups had battled over the original

school syllabus. The Orthodox group was interested in a strong religious background including a full knowledge of the prayers and precepts, and an entirely religious way of life on the patterns of observance which had been maintained over the centuries. The opposition group, which, according to Leibowitz (1966 p.52) was "undoubtedly influenced by the emergence of the State of Israel", expressed the conviction that not religious observance, but the inculcation of the Jewish National traditional heritage was what was required. This latter group called for intensification of the study of Hebrew as a spoken language, and the need for the child to be imbued with a national spirit and a love for Israel, though the traditional aspect was not to be ignored. An uneasy compromise was reached. The syllabus would include the study of the Torah and preparation for intelligent participation in religious services, without demanding an entirely religious way of life. At the same time, the child would gain a knowledge of Hebrew and would learn to love the spirit of Israel. It would seem that the efforts to increase the emphasis on the national heritage have been increasingly successful.

Parallel with the ideological conflict in regard to the extent of inculcation of religious observance in the scholars, was another more fundamental and almost as bitter clash within the community. This clash of opinion was based on the advisability of segregated schooling for Jewish scholars. During the earliest years of the school this conflict had divided the Jewish community, but it came to be accepted that it was for the parents to decide whether or not they wished their children to have this segregated type of schooling. In 1954, however, the conflict flared up when the late Rabbi Kopul Rosen, then Principal of the Carmel College Jewish Boys' School in England declared that "only the Jewish Day School could produce a completely integrated Jew, who would be equally at home in the Jewish and non-Jewish world". Whilst some agreed with his statement and even today continue to believe in educational segregation as the pre-requisite for an "integrated personality", others, equally vociferous, regarded such segregation as inimical to the development of the Jewish child as a normal member of South African society. In 1957, the then Chief Rabbi,

Professor L. I. Rabinowitz (1957 p.32), defined the aim of Jewish education as "the integrated personality, the child at peace with himself and at peace with his environment". He asserted further, that this could be achieved by "arming the child with inner reserves of strength" through Day School education.

A major criticism which was levelled at the Day School Movement was that in a country like South Africa, it would be better for children to learn from personal experience how to get along with others who racially, religiously and ethnically, are different. Himmelfarb (1960) discussing the American scene, answers this criticism on the grounds that even in integrated schools, there is a minimum of mixing between Jewish and non-Jewish children. He states that such research work as he has seen confirms his view that there is no difference in inter-group attitudes between Day School and other Jewish children when age, social class and parents' education are comparable. He makes the point that if there is inter-group experience in terms of class and culture rather than of race, religion and ethnicity alone, it can be shown that some Day Schools "are quite broadening". The present investigator has no evidence to support or refute Himmelfarb's claims.

CHAPTER 5. PROCEDURE OF INVESTIGATION.

The initial task was to choose the subjects for investigation. The first matriculation class of KDHS scholars wrote their examination in 1956, and this set the year of the first group of matriculates to be included in the investigation. The questionnaire was sent out in 1968 to those pupils who had matriculated between 1956 and 1965 inclusive. However, the first glance at the replies showed that no information of value, in terms of the purpose of this study, could be anticipated from matriculates who had been out of school for only 2, 3 or 4 years. Many of the males had spent the greater part of one year in military training; few of either sex had had the time to complete either professional, academic or technical training; few had married, or were ready to take their place as adult members of the Jewish and South African community. It was then decided to limit the investigation only to those matriculates of the years 1956 to 1962 inclusive. In fact, as analysis of the findings will show, even these years included matriculates who were still involved in professional and academic studies, and had not started to take their places in adult society.

1. KDHS SUBJECTS.

The total number of KDHS matriculates between the years 1956 to 1962 was 299. This number was made up of 183 males and 116 females. Of the 183 males, one had died and the whereabouts of 10 could not be established. One hundred and seventy-two questionnaires were therefore sent out to KDHS males and 70 replies were ultimately received, increasing in number from 4 in each of the years 1956, 1957 and 1958, to 23 in 1962. The 116 females included one inaccesible chronic sick and 5 who could not be traced. Of the 110 questionnaires sent out, 40 replies were received, increasing from the first 2 in 1958 to 11 in 1962.

2. CONTROL GROUP.

It was necessary to establish a Control Group in order to discover whether there were differences between the attitudes

and values of Jewish Day School matriculates and Jewish matriculates of undenominational Government schools. The choice of such a group raised some problems. A completely and exactly comparable set of factors did not exist; those co-educational schools which were considered suitable from the geographic, socio-economic and educational aspects having been started later than the KDHS. Eventually the problem was settled by the choice of separate Boys' and Girls' High Schools. Through the good offices of the Transvaal Education Department in Pretoria and the ready co-operation of the School Principals, matriculates from these schools were studied, and provided the suitable and adequate controls. The condition was imposed that the names of the schools and their Principals would not be mentioned in this Report. Both schools teach through the English language medium, draw their pupils from more or less the same geographic areas and approximately the same range of socio-economic levels as the KDHS.

The Boys' School was one of the earliest Government High Schools for Boys in the Transvaal. It opened in Johannesburg after the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War under the Milner Scheme for the re-organisation of education. This school has been conducted along the same lines and on the same site for some 60 years. It is remarkable how small and insignificant have been the changes since the pattern of the school was set by the original Headmaster and his five members of staff, despite the great changes in the world and its affairs, and especially in the standards and ways of life in Johannesburg. Lord Milner hoped that the school would become the South African prototype of the English Public School. The teaching staff, certainly most of the senior personnel over the years, have been men educated in English Public Schools and they were imbued with the determination to pursue the same pattern.

Apart from new immigrants, the great majority of scholars have always come from English-speaking homes. The small numbers of Afrikaans home-language children result, it is believed, from the fact that comparatively few Afrikaans-speaking families had settled in the suburbs from which the scholars were drawn

and values of Jewish Day School matriculates and Jewish matriculates of undenominational Government schools. The choice of such a group raised some problems. A completely and exactly comparable set of factors did not exist; those co-educational schools which were considered suitable from the geographic, socio-economic and educational aspects having been started later than the KDHS. Eventually the problem was settled by the choice of separate Boys' and Girls' High Schools. Through the good offices of the Transvaal Education Department in Pretoria and the ready co-operation of the School Principals, matriculates from these schools were studied, and provided the suitable and adequate controls. The condition was imposed that the names of the schools and their Principals would not be mentioned in this Report. Both schools teach through the English language medium, draw their pupils from more or less the same geographic areas and approximately the same range of socio-economic levels as the KDHS.

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during the years under investigation. The Girls' School chosen was established well before the turn of the century. Its traditions are similar to those of the Boys' School and emphasis is laid on high academic standards; good sportsmanship; self-respect and personal pride.

It is possible that a Government Co-education School of approximately the same length of standing as KDHS might have yielded results different from those obtained. This is, however, not considered likely.

The curricula and time-tables of both Control Schools comply with the regulations laid down by the Transvaal Education Department. The fact that the KDHS also complies with the regulations is confirmed by Mr Norman Sandler, Principal of the KDHS in the following personal communication (1970):

> "The King David High School has always observed the same regulations laid down by the Transvaal Education Department as whose which govern the Control Group Schools, while reserving the right to go beyond such regulations ... "

Table 5(i). provides a summary of the numbers of matriculates during 1956 to 1962 in the KDHS and Control Groups.

TABLE 5(i). SUMMARY OF NUMBERS OF MATRICULATES (1956-1962)

GROUP	TOTAL NO. OF MATRICULATES	NOS. TO WHOM COMMUNICATION SENT	NUMBERS WITH WHOM CONTACT ESTABLISHED	REPLIES IN %
KDHS m	183	172	70	41
KDHS f	116	110	40	36
Control m	264	222	64	29
Control f	331	163	52	32

It is clearly necessary to try to account for the numbers of matriculates who did not respond to the questionnaire.

The 282 questionnaires which were sent to KDHS matriculates included reply-paid envelopes. It soon became apparent that it had been wrong to accept the offer of the use of the reply-paid postal address of the Board even though a rubber stamp directive indicated that the envelope would go unopened to the investigator. It had been anticipated that this would help to establish the bona fides of the investigator and enlist the co-operation of persons to whom the questionnaires would be addressed. In fact, many matriculates and their parents assumed that the investigation was being carried out on behalf of the Board. The covering letter which had accompanied every questionnaire (Appendix I) was discredited by some and they withheld co-operation. During the follow-up, it was established that anxiety lest personnel of the Board would have access to the information supplied and would use it for their own purposes, had stopped people from co-operating with the investigator. Some of the damage was retrieved through careful follow-up by means of postcards, personal telephone calls from the investigator who is well known in the Jewish community, and personal visits. During the follow-up it was emphasised that the material should be sent to the investigator's personal address rather than to the Board's offices and that the material received would be treated in strict confidence.

3. METHODS OF COLLECTING RAW DATA:

The methods for collecting raw data were - the use of records made available by the Principals of the schools; the distribution of two sets of questionnaires, the first being sent to all relevant matriculates and the second to the parents of those who had completed and returned the first one; personal interviews, telephone conversations and correspondence.

(i) School Records

Information was taken from the fairly comprehensive KDHS files and additional material was supplied by the Principal of the school, either from other sources which contained information not appearing on the record cards, or from his

personal recollections, which he always verified.

The records made available by the Principal of the Girls' School gave name and parents' names and address at the time of the girls' matriculation, in addition to the category of matriculation pass attained. The establishing of contact with these matriculates involved expenditure of time and resources far in excess of any other section of the investigation. Most of the girls had married and had changed their surnames; many parents had moved to other addresses and telephone numbers, and some of them were not prepared to co-operate to the extent of revealing the whereabouts of their daughters. The social columns of the school's annual magazine were of some help, but not all matriculates join and maintain contact with the Old Girls' Club and therefore there are probably more exclusions than inclusions of marriage announcements, births, academic results and so on. Furthermore, the records which were made available did not state which of the girls were Jewish. Although the then Principal assisted the investigator to list which were the Jewish scholars, a fair number of non-Jewish girls was initially included. It may therefore be assumed that a number of Jewish girls was also excluded from the Control Group. Sixty-four girls, which was considered to be a sufficiently large number, were ultimately traced, either through the communal contacts of the investigator, or with the assistance of a few matriculates from the relevant school classes.

The authorities at the School of the Boys' Control Group, provided names, birth dates, dates of entry to the School, matriculation examination results and the name, address and father's occupation at the time of matriculation. It was much easier to trace the boys than the girls, and it was helpful to find that most parents were still living at the same addresses. Several, however, were not prepared to reveal their now adult son(s) whereabouts, most of which were ultimately traced through University records.

The addresses of some matriculates in the KDHS and in the Control Groups who were known to be in Israel, were found

through the office of the S.A. Zionist Federation there.

(ii) Pilot Questionnaires:

Two pilot questionnaires were prepared in order to test the general reactions of university students to questionnaires; to check the clarity of the questions; and to decide on the form in which certain questions should be presented.

The first of these was submitted to the participants in the Winter School conducted by the S.A. Federation of Jewish and Zionist Students during the July vacation in 1966. They were all university students attending various South African universities. The investigator received permission to speak to the group. She explained the reason for the questionnaire, and the manner in which it was to be answered within a fixed time limit. At the end of the allotted time the completed questionnaires were handed in and a brief period was devoted to questions and comments from the participants. Subsequently, the replies were analysed and notes were made of them and of the verbal comments and criticisms. The second pilot questionnaire was drawn up in the light of this information. No group comprising a cross-section of the matriculates could be found as a testing ground for the second pilot questionnaire, which was therefore held over until the S.A. Federation of Jewish and Zionist Students Winter School of the following year. On this occasion the questionnaires were sent to the Winter School organisers who submitted them to the seminarists on a much less formal basis.

(iii) Questionnaire:

A questionnaire (Appendix I, p.126) was compiled in the light of the reactions to the pilot questionnaires, and the information received as a result of interviews and discussions with matriculates; and with communal workers of varying status, age groups and interests.

The material contained in the questionnaire included matters relating to the domestic status of the matriculates, such as marital status, religious observance, size of family,

place of residence and occupation. It sought information about their secular and Jewish education, and knowledge of the Hebrew language; their interpretations of 'Jewish Values', and their attitudes to Zionism and identification with Israel. The questionnaire also sought the extent to which the matriculates had become involved in adult Jewish and non-sectarian voluntary services. Finally, it called for their evaluations of the KDHS and their plans for the schooling of their own children.

In order to obviate the boredom and disinterest which affected some of those who had been asked to complete a pilot questionnaire, it was decided to use as wide a variety of question forms as possible. "Open" free answer questions; questions allowing for multiple choice answers, and the use of rating and ranking scales were introduced. Also, an overlapping system was used to direct questions and, elsewhere in the questionnaire, attitude scales were used to cross-check certain types of information.

In preparing the material for the questionnaires, various technical problems were encountered when it came to the matter of enquiry about the extent of Jewish Studies, knowledge of Hebrew and extent of Religious Observances. Advice was sought from three recognised South African Jewish and Hebrew educationists whose suggestions were adopted. This applies to the question pertaining to Jewish Studies which was divided into five subjects, namely, Hebrew language, Jewish history, Jewish literature, Biblical studies and religious studies, to which Zionism was added in the question relating to post-school studies. It was also agreed that it would be adequate, when enquiring about the extent of observance of Religious Practices, to ask for reply of 'Yes', 'No', or 'Some', and that space be provided to permit of elaboration of the answer 'Some'. The question which sought to elicit information about the extent of knowledge of the Hebrew language was scaled according to the suggestions of the advisers, as were the ratings of the replies.

Some questions had, of necessity, to be differently phrased for the KDHS and Control Groups (see Appendix I p.126) and

Appendix II p.137). For example, the question 5 to Control Group matriculates asks about the continued study of Jewish subjects after reaching Batmitzvah or Barmitzvah. This question was not asked of KDHS matriculates since those subjects were included in the school curriculum. Similarly, there are minor differences in the question (22 KDHS and 21 Control Group) seeking information about friendships with other Jewish scholars and with non-Jewish scholars, and assessing the extent of preparedness for association with non-Jewish age-mates.

(iv) Parents' Questionnaires:

A different questionnaire (Appendix III p.140 and Appendix IV p.150) was sent to the parents of those matriculates who had sent in their replies. This was done because the investigator believes in the importance of the home as an educating force, and was anxious to establish contact with the matriculates' parents in order to try to determine the relative influences of home and school insofar as Jewish education is concerned. This attitude follows the teaching of Brembeck (1966 p.9) who states: "We need to examine the family as a teaching institution in order to see how what is taught in the home influences what is learnt in school".

The general experience of research workers has shown the reluctance of parents and their children to provide information about the home. It is unfortunate that in this study the search for information about the home was also often treated with suspicion and the co-operation of parents, particularly those of the KDHS Group, was very poor. The investigator had decided to try to avoid the accusation of prying into the homes through the children, and chose to make the direct approach to parents through a specially-constructed questionnaire in the hope that opposition would be avoided. Before completing the questionnaire, discussions were held with several matriculates individually and in small groups. They all expressed the view that their parents would not react kindly to questions probing their educational background, occupations, economic position, extent of religious observance, knowledge of

Jewish studies or the Hebrew language no matter how such questions might be phrased. They also warned that, for varying reasons, their parents would resent any questions which might possibly reveal their political views and, in some cases, their attitudes towards Israel. Several matriculates expressed the view that parents who did not have an academic background - and their children, too, - would resent and reject questionnaires, regardless of their content. It was found that this view was not without foundation. But, the actual finding was that some parents, and some matriculates in this category, while refusing to write anything, voluntarily expressed willingness to answer questions or explain their attitudes verbally. It was not possible to follow up this offer in many cases, but where personal contact was established, it became obvious that frustrations relating to their socio-economic or educational attainments were often the cause of non-co-operation. In a smaller number of cases, language difficulties or physical or mental ill-health caused non-co-operation. The majority of this category included in their comments various reasons why they did not wish their opposition to the Board or some of its personnel, the Zionist Organisation or the teaching or administrative personnel of the KDHS to become known. As a result of the low number of responses received from the parents, it was not possible to make any comparisons between their opinions and attitudes and those of the matriculates. For this reason all the material relating to the parents' questionnaires is presented in Appendix XIV page 164.

v. Personal Interviews.

As many interviews as possible were conducted. In some cases, telephone conversations or correspondence were substituted for face to face interviews. Subjects for personal contact were selected to provide an intellectual, socio-economic and a geographically distributed cross-section of the two Groups.

4. HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis on which the present study was based, consisted of three parts. Firstly, it was postulated that the KDHS would provide its matriculates with a Jewish education and an appreciation of Jewish values which they would pursue in their future lives. The Jewish education would form a part of a high standard of general education which would lead the school's matriculates to a more adequate preparation for their chosen careers than would be the case for the members of the Control Group.

Secondly, it was postulated that the KDHS matriculates would be more stimulated by the spirit generated at their school to commit themselves to participation in Jewish communal affairs, and to maintain close links with Israel, than would the members of the Control Group.

The third part of the hypothesis postulated that the KDHS matriculates would, because of the aims of the originators of the school, participate in South African activities to a greater extent than would the Control Group.

The task is now to compare the KDHS matriculates' responses with those of the Control Group.

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CHAPTER 6. GENERAL STUDIES.

In this chapter the matriculation results and the post-school training of the KDHS and Control Groups will be examined. The KDHS has always had a very high reputation for its academic standards. This aspect of the work at KDHS has been the subject of a fairly recent study by Land (1968) in which a group of 67 pupils in the matriculation year at KDHS was compared with a group of 37 Jewish pupils in the same year of study at a State high school.

Both the KDHS and Control Group pupils in Land's study answered questionnaires, as did their parents. The answers from these questionnaires were used to compare socio-economic background, occupational aspirations, parental and pupil motivation towards school work and future occupations. Land had obtained the Intelligence Quotients of both his groups, and he used the pupils' matriculation results as his final measures for comparisons.

There was no significant difference between the I.Q.s of Land's KDHS and Control Groups. KDHS mean I.Q. 113.45, s.d. 12.20; Control Group mean I.Q. 112.1, s.d. 12.7. (It is noted in parenthesis here that the difficulties associated with trying to get the I.Q.s of both KDHS and Control Groups of the present study, resulted in the decision to omit them entirely). There was a similar lack of significant difference in the majority of comparisons made by Land, including those ranging from time spent on homework to their views on the importance of doing well at school; the accessibility of reading material; the desire to follow in their fathers' footsteps in the choice of occupation; the sphere in which they wished to be remembered at their school, and their views as to the most important characteristics of their picture of the ideal job. Non-significant differences were also found in the educational standards reached by both parents; their occupations; their specific aims for their children; their interest in their child's work as shown by their assisting with homework and by discussing work and school reports. The finding of no difference of significance between the two Groups applied also to the parents' views on what school should do for the child; and replies to questions relating to their desire for their

children to continue with post-school education, either at university or elsewhere.

There were, however, significant differences in the comparison of several items, the first of which was not subjected to any test. The overwhelming majority of Control Group parents declared that they had chosen their school because of the high standard of education. The KDHS parents' replies to the same question were evenly divided between the school's high standard of education; its programme of Hebrew instruction; and the religious and Judaic background of the school. This was not surprising as these are the specific characteristics of the school.

On the matter of parents' occupations, KDHS showed superiority. The KDHS Group also showed a significantly greater interest in club membership of various kinds, both within and out of the school.

On the matter of what the scholars were looking forward to in their future careers, there was a significant difference at the 1% level, the emphasis being laid by KDHS on success, happiness, security and independence. Comparison of matriculation results shows that, although both Groups did very well, KDHS results show a significant difference at the 1% level ($X^2 = 9.23$, d.f. 2). Both Land's KDHS and Control Groups showed the Jewish scholars' results to be superior to the other white groups in the Transvaal. In view of these very few significant differences in the variables examined by Land, it can only be assumed that the superiority in examination results of the KDHS pupils would have to be attributed to factors within the school.

The present study covers a field which differs considerably from that of Land. A description of the subjects for study by the present investigator is found in Chapter 5, and indicates the differences. Only matriculates of the years 1956 - 1962 inclusive were included in this study. They had to be traced to their addresses in 1968 and there was no obligation on their part to reply to the questionnaire. Land's KDHS Group, scholars who wrote the matriculation examination in 1967, and who knew him personally because he was then a senior Master at KDHS, were obliged to reply to his questionnaire, and it is understood that the same applied to their parents.

But even more important is the fact that Land's study was confined to an investigation into the factors that led to the KDHS' excellent matriculation results. His title "The Jewish High School Pupil - a Motivational Study with special reference to King David High", defines his purpose, namely, a motivated study of KDHS scholars. The present study, however, is a study of the matriculates who had matriculated from KDHS at least five years prior to the commencement of his investigation. Nevertheless, despite these fundamental differences, it has been of considerable interest to compare the findings of the two investigations and this has been done wherever possible.

Attention should now be focussed on the subjects of this investigation. The KDHS produced its first group of matriculates in 1956, whereas the Control Group came from well-established schools which had been in existence for more than half a century. It was, therefore, to be expected that over the period covered by the present investigation, the numbers of matriculates from KDHS would increase, whereas those of the Control Group would remain fairly static. The study of the year of matriculation would confirm or refute this expectation, and was conducted for this purpose. Comparison of the ages of the scholars at the time of matriculation should add to the background picture presented by the Groups. Also, it might be found that age at matriculation could influence the subsequent life of the matriculate. Other questions arise. Did the KDHS and Control Groups obtain similar matriculation results? If not, what caused the difference? Was there any difference of significance in the number of boys who passed through post-school compulsory military service? Another set of considerations that would be of importance to the investigation raises the question whether there were significant differences in the categories of post-school training? Did either Group produce more university entrants, a greater percentage of academic or professional workers, and so on.

i. Age at Matriculation.

Attention is drawn to the fact that the final questionnaire was sent out after material had been provided by the KDHS, and by the school of the male section of the Control Group. The material which had been provided included that of age at the time of matriculation and this information was therefore not sought in the questionnaire. Subsequently, it was found that the information about the female section of the Control Group was not readily available. A follow-up of the questionnaire for this purpose was not considered to be worthwhile. Table 6 (i) gives the ages of the KDHS male and female and Control male groups at the time of matriculation.

TABLE 6 (i). AGE AT MATRICULATION.

GROUP	16 YEARS	17 YEARS	18 YEARS	19 YEARS	NO RESPONSE	TOTALS
KDHS m	11 16%	38 54%	12 17%	1 1%	8 12%	70 100%
KDHS f	8 20%	22 55%	1 2%	0	9 23%	40 100%
Control m	9 14%	42 66%	12 19%	0	1 1%	64 100%

It is noted that the ages of 8 KDHS males, 9 KDHS females and 1 Control male were not available.

It is also noted that the KDHS females comprised the highest percentage of those matriculating at 16 years, and that the highest numbers of all Groups matriculated at 17 years of age.

The age distribution of the males of both Groups at the time of matriculation was considered in isolation in order to see whether there was any significant difference between the two Groups.

Table 6 (ii) gives the age distribution and confirms that there is no significant difference in age distribution between the two Groups of males.

TABLE 6 (ii). AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES AT MATRICULATION

GROUP	16 YEARS	17 YEARS	18/19 YEARS	TOTALS
KDHS	11	38	13	62
Control	9	42	12	63

χ^2 = 0.574, d.f. 2, P > 0.05, N/S

(Note: Throughout this study, it has been accepted that where

P = more than 5%, i.e., P > 0.05, there is a relationship of No Significance, indicated N/S;

= less than 5% and greater than 0.01, i.e., 0.05 > P > 0.01, there is some significance, indicated *;

= between 0.01 and 0.001, i.e., 0.01 > P < 0.001, there is a high degree of significance, indicated **;

= less than 0.001, i.e., P < 0.001, there is a very high degree of significance, indicated ***.

ii. Distribution of Matriculation or Exemption Examination Results.

Land (1968 p.9) discusses the matriculation results of KDHS by comparison with those of the Transvaal as a whole. Although he states (p.12) ".... comparison is difficult because of the small numbers of King David pupils involved", he finds that "outstanding matriculation results (are) obtained by the pupils of King David High School" and there was an outstanding difference between his KDHS and Control Groups. The present investigation, whilst undertaking a different comparison, shows in Table 6 (ii). that

the KDHS results would appear to be better than those of the Control Group, but a chi-square analysis reveals that there is no significant difference between the two.

Table 6 (iii) (a). shows the distribution of matriculation results as follows:

TABLE 6 (iii) (a). MATRICULATION RESULTS.

GROUP	UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE FIRST CLASS	OTHER	HIGH SCHOOL LEAVING (Non-Univ.)	NO RESPONSE	TOTALS
KDHS m	41 59%	26 37%	3 4%	0 -	70 100%
KDHS f	21 53%	12 30%	6 15%	1 2%	40 100%
Control m	30 47%	28 44%	6 9%	0 -	64 100%
Control f	21 40%	27 52%	4 8%	0 -	52 100%

It is notable that only 4% KDHS males, 15% KDHS females, 9% Control males and 8% Control females did not get a University Entrance pass.

Using the results from this Table, two chi-square analyses were made. In the first, the males and females in both KDHS and Control Groups were combined, as in Table 6 (iii) (b). No significant difference between the two Groups was found in the type of matriculation certificates obtained.

TABLE 6 (iii) (b). MATRICULATION RESULTS.

GROUP	UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE FIRST CLASS	OTHER	HIGH SCHOOL LEAVING (Non-Univ.)	TOTALS
KDHS	62	38	9	109
Control	51	55	10	116

$x^2 = 4.50$, d.f. 2, $P > 0.05$ N/S.

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