

# **The Experiences of Non-Jewish Teachers In a Jewish School: Building Methodology about Relationship through Research**

Karen Rosauer and Julie White

*Faculty of Education, Latrobe University, Bundoora*

---

## **Abstract**

If we see relationships as central to the research endeavour, how might this colour our view of research? This paper develops a methodological approach based on ethnography, which places relationship at its heart. Starting with the impact of a relationship between a student researcher and her mentor (the authors of this paper), it moves through the development of a research question about the experience of non-Jewish teachers working in a Jewish school, and a methodology that emphasises reflexivity, relationship, centrality of writing, and working for change.

---

## Introduction

### **Karen's Perspective**

In a society that values 'productivity', 'busyness' and 'hard work', building deep, slow and meaningful relationships can easily get left behind, because the activities that go into building those relationships, are generally not valued, except as 'leisure time' activities. What might we discover if we think about research as an opportunity to build relationships? How might it change what we do or notice as researchers?

This paper tells three interlinking stories. One is a story about myself, and the development of the research question with which I was engaged, as I started to think about who I am as a researcher. The second is about ethnography and my explorations in developing a methodological approach which places relationship at its heart. And the third is about my relationship with Julie White, who was my lecturer and will soon be my PhD supervisor.

In 2005, as a first year Bachelor of Teaching student, I met Julie, a lecturer in the course. I liked her approach to teaching. This was someone I wanted to learn from. In the second year of the course, when the students had to conduct a research project, I deliberately chose a topic that Julie was supervising. The research topic involved ethnography ... I had never heard the word before, but because Julie liked it, and I liked that way that Julie thought about the world, I decided that I would learn about it.

In educational institutions, normally we are told ... choose a topic that you are interested in researching. Rarely are we told ... find a person who you'd like to learn with, who it would be fun to work with, and don't worry about the topic too much, the people are more important.

### **Julie's Perspective**

The aspect of creativity that is of most interest to me is that of risk taking (Nickerson, 1999) and Karen's approach to her studies has consistently demonstrated a willingness to take risks in order to develop her own creativity in both teaching and research. In 2005, as part of a Bachelor of Teaching degree, Karen was a student in the pedagogy and curriculum subjects I developed. She played a central role in developing that year's student curriculum opera (White, 2006). Despite her background in social work and Jewish studies rather than in the arts, Karen threw herself into the creation of performance, lending credence to my research interest in possibilities in 'democratic' rather than 'high' creativity (NACCCE, 1999; Craft, 2001, p. 241). The second area of interest, for this paper in particular, is the research project she completed in 2006. Karen's conceptualisation of the project was different. Who would have thought of focusing on non-Jewish teachers working in a Jewish school? And who would have imagined a pre-service education student becoming fascinated with contemporary ethnographic methodology? While her peers were developing relatively unadventurous studies, Karen saw it as an opportunity to grow and continue to take risks. Karen's focus in this paper is on her developing methodology. While new researchers are often inducted into a conservative research culture where 'playing it safe' (White, 2008 forthcoming) is considered appropriate, Karen casually stepped over these boundaries and began her investigation. This paper is based on her research project and will hopefully become part of her PhD studies.

## The Researcher

“All ethnographic studies start by having an important story to be told, a story that lies deep within the soul” (Gregory 2005, p.x).

What then is the story that starts this study? I will begin, as Gregory (2005) suggests an ethnographic thesis might start, with “a personal, often autobiographical introduction, leading to a definition of the problem, or big question to be investigated” (p.xix).

I was raised Jewish, the child of parents and grandparents who survived the Holocaust in Europe. Both of my parents arrived in Australia together with their parents, as refugees. My father was 16 years of age, and my mother was aged 7. English was the third language for both my parents, though you would not realise it, if you met them. Their English became the English of well-read university-educated professionals. My mother had many health issues and disabilities, which worsened, as she grew older, until her death in 1996. I am telling you all of this, because my experience growing up in this family had a significant impact on the type of research I have chosen to do. I am sure, that because of the great suffering that I witnessed in my mother and other family members, I return again and again, to the basic importance of human relationships, of listening and telling stories, of simple love and care for each other.

During my childhood, I tried desperately (not that I could have put words to it), to fit in with the ‘anglo’ girls who I went to school with. When I joined a Jewish Youth Movement, I found a place to belong. My youth leaders acted caringly towards me, and I loved being a part of a group of people with a vision, a passion and an ideology. My Jewish identity took on new and deeper meaning.

Growing up, I did experience overt incidents of anti-Semitism, but mainly my Jewish identity was simply ignored. I learned early that being Jewish was generally not something to talk about with non-Jews. In my mid twenties, I joined a women’s group that combined social activism, with sharing of our life-stories. It was here that I first experienced a group of non-Jews wanting to know about who I was as a Jew. It impacted me significantly, helping to propel me on a path that eventually led me back to Jewish involvement, and then to pursue a Master of Arts degree in Jewish education.

Of course, when I undertook to do a piece of educational research in a Jewish school, I brought all of this history with me. Kanpol (1997), argues that there is an intimate connection between a "critical" ethnographer's personal history and the data collected, and that we can effect change in schools, much more effectively, when we understand and are open about, where we are coming from, in relation to the research we undertake.

When I began this research project, I knew that I wanted to do something related to being in a Jewish school, though I did not know exactly what. So I spent a number of weeks in the school observing, thinking about what the Jewish studies teachers told me, watching and listening to what went on in the staff room, at meetings and in the

classrooms, reflecting and writing in my journal. What research could I do that would be meaningful, genuinely interesting to me, and of value to the participants? I knew that I wanted to hear people's stories, and tell people's stories – but which stories would be of value to tell, and to hear? In my journal I wrote big questions – “What makes a Jewish school Jewish? Why have Jewish Schools? What is important for the identity and workings of a Jewish School?” “What is a Jewish school about? What is valuable about it? What is hard about it? What is the culture? What do people get from it? What do people expect of it?”

### Extract from Personal Research Journal 25<sup>th</sup> July 2006

War in Israel – Jewish Studies teacher sends an email to help homeroom teachers answer students' questions.

Israeli teacher bursts into tears in the staff room, everyone understands what is going on – I want to cry myself, but feel I don't have the right, I am not Israeli, though I have family there, and have lived there.

I look at the horrific front pages of the Age, day after day, blood-splattered people in Lebanon. What upsets me the most, is the sense of the world being against Israel and the Jews – so much focus on this war, so anti-Israel, so little understanding of what it is about. It's not that I support the war – but I'm so busy feeling unsafe, with so much anti-Israel sentiment, and worried about my relatives in Israel, that I don't even think my own opinions. As a Jewish teacher in a Jewish school, I can express my horror about the media to other teachers – though other teachers are not that interested to talk about it – it's old hat for them (for me I've rarely been in a Jewish environment where I could talk with others about it). But I know that I am surrounded by people who are *my* people, and by non-Jews, who mostly have worked in this Jewish school for several years – they are allies, they choose to be here, in this somewhat crazy environment, this school of ours.

*Author's Research Journal, July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2006 – August 23<sup>rd</sup> 2006*

## The Question

We sat, perhaps 80 teachers from all four campuses of the school, curious and many of us rather cold, in the beautiful hall of the senior campus. What security briefing was so important that they had they brought us all together? We listened as the head of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria's (JCCV) Community Security Group told us about the increased security threat at all Jewish institutions, and in particular Jewish schools, with the onset of the war between Israel and Hezbollah, and of the new security measures that were being instituted at our school. We sat and listened, many of us unsurprised, and yet, as I discovered in later conversations, I was not the only one, who felt a bit scared. As Jews, we are used to being a part of a people who are targeted around the world, but it can still make us feel scared at times.

But what is it like for the non-Jewish teachers at our school? The question had not occurred to me, but it had to our principal, who proceeded to address these teachers in particular – giving them some background to the situation, a potted history going back 100 years or so, and addressing the strangeness and perhaps scariness, of working in a school with guards at the gates, and increasingly high levels of security awareness. I

was impressed by the awareness and thoughtfulness of our principal. And finally I knew what aspect of the culture of this Jewish School I wanted to investigate: “*What is the experience of non-Jewish teachers in this Jewish school?*” Unlike many of the other questions I had thought to investigate, this was one to which I genuinely did not know the answer, and about which I was genuinely curious. It also satisfied my other criteria for a research question – I wanted to have conversations with people, to hear about some aspect of their lives, that they might find interesting to talk about, and that I and others might be interested to hear about. I wanted to do research that involved the potential for meaningful conversation.

Part of my aim in investigating this question, is the hope that it might bring valuable understanding to the school administration about the experiences of some of their teachers, and ideas how to support them. In what ways do we need to be thoughtful of non-Jewish teachers, what is hard for them, what special insights might they offer us? This is a question, with which researchers of Jewish schools and Jewish education have not yet concerned themselves, as far as I am aware.

I chose the approach of ethnography because it seemed like an approach that fitted with my values and my research interest, and, as I have previously mentioned, because I wanted to understand what ethnography is. In the next section of this paper, I will look at the nature of the field of ethnography, and then more specifically at research in Jewish Schools, and research about the experience of non-Jewish teachers in Jewish schools.

## Methodology

Ethnography is about listening, watching, asking questions, exploring, making connections and telling stories. Fetterman (1989) defines it as “the art and science of describing a group or culture” (p.11). Ethnographies can be conducted using a variety of methods, including: “participant observation; life histories; interviews; case-studies; surveys and other statistical methods” (Gregory 2005, p.xx).

Use of the term ethnography is “wide ranging, with different associations and traditions within different disciplines” (Taylor 2002a, p.1). These disciplines include education, sociology, feminism, geography and anthropology (for a range of examples see Grills 1998a, DeMarrais 1998 and Taylor 2002b). Consequently, Hammersley (2006) is able to be less clear about the definition of ethnography than was Fetterman (1989), seventeen years earlier, in the definition quoted above. In his definition of ethnography, Hammersley (2006) says, “I will take the term to refer to a form of social and educational research that emphasises the importance of studying *at first hand* what people do and say in particular contexts” (p.4).

There are two main questions or ideas with which ethnographic work tends to engage: firstly, observing how people go about their lives and secondly, understanding how people view the world, that is, understanding the perspective of the people being studied, (Grills 1998b, p.4, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, p.ix, Taylor 2002a, p.1). Grills (1998b) further identifies a number of sets of “how” questions that ethnographers typically ask, such as “how do people come to view the world as they do?” (p.4). “Researchers”, says Grills (1998b) “... may attend to one ‘set’ of questions more fully than another (e.g., an anthropologist interested in kinship might

devote the best part of a career to questions of relationship) or may treat such questions as useful only insofar as they produce some form of social change or desired political end ... Nevertheless, an interest in questions of process – how we perceive, accomplish, and construct the world we share with one another – remains central to the tradition of field research” (p.9).

In describing the traditional process for undertaking an ethnographic study, Fetterman (1989, p.18) describes how, ethnographers first spend time in what he calls “a survey period”, gathering information inductively. During this period, questions and hypotheses, rather than “concrete findings” are generally generated. Following this the boundaries of the study can be defined more clearly, and the ethnographer can “identif(y) significant themes, problems, or gaps in the basic understanding of the place or program”. In reading various more recent descriptions of ethnographic studies, (see for instance Conteh, Gregory, Kearney & Mor-Sommerfeld 2005), I have noted that these studies generally follow this same overall process.

I want to talk about three related areas of development and contention within the field of ethnography and social research, which are relevant for this research project. These are the nature of objectivity and reflexivity of the researcher (Eisner 1993, Elliot 2005, Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Kanpol 1997, Phillips 1993, and Taylor 2002a), the centrality of writing (Conteh et.al. 2005, Grills 1998a and Taylor 2002a), and the role of the interview (Hammersley 2006).

The notion of reflexivity in research is used to “indicate an awareness of the identity or self of the researcher, within the research process” (Elliot 2005, p.153). Our identity, our life experiences, and the way we have understood these, impacts upon our research at all stages, from our decisions about what topics to study, and what questions to ask, to the way we interact with people who we are studying, the way we understand and interpret the data we collect, the theories we use or generate, and the way we write about our findings. This notion of our “research narratives (being) constructed” (Elliot 2005, p.154), could lead people to fling their hands up in despair, and say why bother doing research at all. However Conteh et.al. (2005), Elliot (2005), Hammersley (2006), Daly (1997), and others suggest that there is no problem with doing research, but that how we write about that research, and our own awareness of ourself within that research, is important. Daly (1997) notes, that “there has been a call for the final public texts of ethnography to reflect various levels of interpretation and meaning, to be socially and culturally located, and perhaps most importantly, to not make any privileged claim to represent the truth or reality of the experiences being described”. Elliot (2005) summarises the solution this way:

“The aim is therefore for researchers not simply to provide their readers with detailed confessional accounts of their experiences of conducting research, but rather to produce an analytic discussion of how their own theoretical and biographical perspective might impact on their relationships with research subjects, their interpretation of research evidence, and the form in which the research is presented” (p.155).

The importance of what we write about our research is made clear in the above discussion about reflexivity. However not only what we say, but *how* we say it is important (see for instance Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, Grills 1998c and Richardson 2000). Taylor (2002a, p.1) notes that, “recent theoretical texts...

emphasize the centrality of writing”. Grills (1998c), says that the ethnographer can be understood as a storyteller. “The ‘voice’ the teller adopts influences what is emphasized within a setting, who is heard from a community, and correspondingly what themes are silenced or neglected. ... Writing is social. It is reflexive, audience attentive, and negotiated” (p.199). Mitchell and Charmaz (1998), suggest that part of the skill of the ethnographic writer, is to “show our readers what we want them to know. We cannot simply tell them.” (p.239). We need to write in ways that are engaging, that draw our reader in, that in a way paint a picture. Taylor (2002a), notes that “some post-modern ethnographers have experimented with producing new forms of text, for example by including very extended passages of quotation in order to undermine the authority of a single authorial voice, or using poetic language in order to convey an emotional truth (such as pain)”, (p.4). Ethnographers, engaged both with questions of understanding the self, and the self in relation to the society (autoethnography), and especially those who are interested in bringing about change, have also moved into other forms of writing (such as writing-stories and creative non-fiction) and there is a growing use of drama and performance (see Denzin 2003).

The investigative project, upon which this paper is based, began with the desire to learn what ethnography is. In a sense, I undertook the study as an experiment. Through this experiment, and now through writing this paper, I have started to build for myself an understanding of who I am as a researcher, and a methodological framework for this and future research endeavours.

This framework, places an emphasis on reflexivity of the researcher as a vital part of doing meaningful research that can lead effectively to change (Kanpol 1997). I believe that this reflexivity, which is about being open as a researcher, open and honest with oneself and with others, helps lead to change, at least in part because it helps one to build relationships and understanding with and about others. Seeing oneself clearly, helps one to see others more clearly. Intertwined with the need for reflexivity, and human relationship is the importance of how and what we write (Taylor 2002a, Richardson 2000). As a research and writer, I want to write in ways that engage others, that help to build relationship and bring others closer, rather than distancing.

Human beings are naturally social creatures. Being in relationship with others is one of our basic human needs. The more recent research paradigms, which Guba and Lincoln (2005), categorise as ‘critical theory’, ‘constructivism’ and ‘participatory’, acknowledge the importance of human relationships and community as part of the research process and underpinnings. Situating myself somewhere within these paradigms, which are, as Guba and Lincoln (2005) point out, increasingly fluid in recent times, I am starting to see research as a wonderful way to build meaningful relationships with each other, with the intention of working both *towards* human flourishing, and doing it now. That is, having fun being meaningfully connected with all of the people with whom we are involved with as researchers, including our teachers and mentors, our research partners and communities, and the people involved in particular studies. Doing this is *in itself*, part of fixing our world.

Now I want to move from the broader issues of methodological stance, to focus on ethnography in education, and more specifically in Jewish education, and to studies

that may shed light on the question of the experience of non-Jewish teachers in a Jewish school.

The focus and approach of ethnographic studies in education is diverse, as one would expect. Studies range from exploring and describing the culture of a whole school community (Laffan 2004), to exploring the culture of different groups of students (Walker 1988), observing teachers in their classrooms and principals in their schools (Spindler 2002), detailed studies of interactions in the classroom (Conteh et al 2005), looking at issues of class, ethnicity and language (Spindler 2002, Conteh et. al. 2005), and so on.

In the field of Jewish education there are number of ethnographic studies, but not as many as one might imagine. Many of these studies are based in Israel (for example Bekerman & Horenczyk 2004, or Resnick 1996), and are not relevant to this study, because the nature of Jewish schools in Israel, a Jewish country, is very different to the nature of Jewish schools in countries outside of Israel, where Jews are a religious minority. There are a few studies that explore the culture of orthodox Jewish schools (for example Bullivant 1978 and Schweber 2006) and a now classic study looking at a Jewish afternoon school (Schoem 1989).

From my own searches, including a review of the journals, “Studies in Jewish Education”, and “Journal of Jewish Education”, it appears that the majority of research in Jewish Education, is concerned with issues of curriculum, conveying and teaching of Jewish culture, identity, values (see for example Forgasz 2002) and knowledge (for example Schoem 1982), patterns of Jewish education (for example Miller 2001) and Jewish identity (for example Scholefield 2004), and issues around recruiting, training and retaining teachers knowledgeable in Jewish education. Essentially and understandably the concern is with keeping Judaism alive and how we pass it on. Echoing my own impressions, Sasson (2006), states, “There are ... relatively few ethnographic studies of Jewish educational settings. The academic study of Jewish education tends to focus on what we ought to be teaching and how”.

I located a small number of references to non-Jewish teachers in Jewish schools, though no study had this as its focus. Three policy related survey studies, gathered statistics on numbers of non-Jewish teachers teaching in Jewish schools and Jewish pre-schools in the USA (Gamoran, Goldring, Robinson, Tammivaara, & Goodman 1998, Schaap 2004, Vogelstein & Kaplan 2002). A recent special report of “JTA: The Global News Service of the Jewish People” on Jewish pre-schools in the USA, contains an article (Fishkoff 2006) focusing on the relatively large number of non-Jews teaching in Jewish pre-schools, and whether they can successfully pass on Jewish knowledge and identity. The article includes comments from a few non-Jewish teachers, talking about learning and teaching Jewish content. For instance one teacher is quoted “I’m Catholic, but I’ve learned so many things about the Jewish religion. It’s so exciting. I never knew what Shabbat was. I love Chanukah, lighting the candles” (Fishkoff 2006). Other teachers’ comments are in a similar vein, talking about how much they have learned, including Hebrew songs, the aleph-bet (Hebrew alphabet), traditions, stories and so on, sometimes ending up knowing more than some of the Jewish teachers they work with. While these comments are interesting, this was not a research study, but a journalistic article.

Riseborough (1988), in an article that explores the role of teachers in passing on culture, and the role of students in moulding teachers' practices, uses a non-Jewish cooking teacher teaching in an orthodox Jewish school, as his case study. The article, based on interviews with the cooking teacher, explores her experiences over 25 years at the school. During that time she learns about Kashrut (Jewish dietary laws), Jewish customs, culture and religion. She learns from the children, and changes her style and curriculum, and in turn she passes Jewish knowledge and culture on, and becomes respected and trusted for her knowledge in the area of Kashrut.

Haynes' (2003) study, exploring the experiences of Jewish women teaching in non-denominational government schools, was interesting to me. Would the experiences of the non-Jewish teachers in my study, mirror in any respect, the racism and anti-Semitism, and feelings of 'unbelonging', experienced by the Jewish teachers in Haynes' (2003) study?

While my literature search found little of direct relevance to the research question, I have realised that what is needed, is to search out theories that would provide a framework from which to explore and discuss my findings, such as those used by Haynes (2003) in discussing Jewish teachers' experiences of difference and 'unbelonging', or those used by Riseborough (1988) to examine the experiences of the non-Jewish cooking teacher in the Jewish school.

Through discussions with the principal of the school where I conducted my research project, as well as with other professionals working in Jewish education, I have found that there is interest and even excitement to learn about the experiences of non-Jewish teachers teaching in Jewish schools, and believe it is a topic worthy of further exploration.

## **Conclusion**

Having made an initial survey of the field of ethnographic methodology, I can now see that getting clear on one's stance as a researcher is not just a formality. I started out with the misconception that methodology was just about whether one collects qualitative or quantitative data, interviews people, or conducts surveys, and with how many people, and asking what sort of questions. I am coming to understand that my methodological approach is about how I chose to conduct myself in the world as a researcher, and that there is great potential for taking creative and thoughtful stances. Central to my own evolving stance, or framework, are the intertwined notions of reflexivity, the importance of how we write, relationship, integrity and working towards human flourishing, with relationship acting as the lynch pin.

In the process of developing my research question about the experiences of non-Jewish teachers at a Jewish school, the use of these concepts about relationship, reflexivity, writing, integrity, and human flourishing (or working for change), was vital. Through writing this paper, I have started to develop my stance as a researcher, and my understanding of methodology. I have also established that this is a topic that has not yet received attention, and about which people are keen to learn. My initial response was to think, great ... hurry up, let's start a research project. However I now understand, that if I want to undertake research that genuinely enacts my ideals and values, my next step must be to further develop my methodological approach, both

through more extensive reading about newer research paradigms, and through writing, reflection and discussion with others.

To finally conclude, I want to return to the place where this paper started, the relationship between my mentor Julie, and myself. The relationship and her encouragement of my creativity and risk taking has enabled me to both write this paper, and get to the point where I feel ready to begin a PhD., and where I understand that just as the process of building a meaningful relationship is slow, so to is the process of undertaking meaningful research.

## References

- Bekerman, Z. & Horenczyk, G. (2004). Arab-Jewish bilingual coeducation in Israel: A long-term approach to intergroup conflict resolution. *Journal of Social Issues* 60 (2), 389-404.
- Bullivant, B. (1978). *The way of tradition: Life in an orthodox Jewish school*. Hawthorn, Victoria: Australian Council for Educational Research.
- Conteh, J., Gregory, E., Kearney, C. & Mor-Sommerfeld, A. (2005). *On writing educational ethnographies: The art of collusion*. Stoke on Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Craft, A. (2001). *An analysis of research and literature on creativity in education*, Report for the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (U.K.).
- Daly, K. (1997). Re-placing theory ethnography: a postmodern view [electronic version]. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3, p.343 (23). Retrieved 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2006, from <http://find.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/itx/infomark.do?&contentSet=IAC-Documents&type=retrieve&tabID=T002&prodId=EAIM&docId=A20608064&source=gale&userGroupName=unimelb&version=1.0>
- DeMarrais, K.B. (ed.) (1998). *Inside stories: Qualitative research reflections*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Denzin, N. (2003). *Performance ethnography: Critical pedagogy and the politics of culture*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Eisner, E. (1993). Objectivity in educational research. In M.Hammersley (Ed.), *Educational research: Current issues* (pp.49-56) London: Paul Chapman: Open University.
- Elliot, J. (2005). *Using narrative in social research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Fetterman, D.M. (1989). *Ethnography: Step by step*. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage Publications.

- Fishkoff, S. (2006). *Beyond Torah for tots: A JTA special report*. New York: JTA.  
Retrieved 10<sup>th</sup> October, 2006, from [www.jta.org](http://www.jta.org) .
- Forgasz, P. (2002). On teaching values in Jewish schools: A survey of the educational literature. In S.Pascoe, (Ed.), *Values in education: College year book 2002*, Deakin, ACT: Australian College of Educators.
- Gamoran, A., Goldring, E. B., Robinson, B., Tammivaara, J., & Goodman, R. (1998). *The Teachers Report: A Portrait of Teachers in Jewish Schools*. New York: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.
- Gregory, E. (2005). Introduction: Tracing the steps. In J.Conteh, E.Gregory, C.Kearney & A.Mor-Sommerfeld, *On writing educational ethnographies: the art of collusion* (pp.ix-xxiv) Stoke on Trent, UK: Trentham Books.
- Grills, S. (Ed.) (1998a). *Doing ethnographic research: Fieldwork settings*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Grills, S. (1998b). An Invitation to the field: Fieldwork and the pragmatists' lesson. In S.Grills (Ed.), *Doing ethnographic research: Fieldwork settings*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Grills, S. (1998c). Ethnographic text and ethnographic voice. In S.Grills (Ed.), *Doing ethnographic research: Fieldwork settings* (pp.199-200). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N.K.Denzin & Y.S.Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Hammersley, M. (2006). Ethnography: Problems and prospects. *Ethnography and Education*, 1(1) 3-14. Retrieved 13<sup>th</sup> October, 2006, from <http://www.metapress.com.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/content/g85122347k0807p0/>
- Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Haynes, M. (2003). Vive la différance: Jewish women teachers' constructions of ethnicity and identity and their experiences of anti-Semitism in secondary schools [electronic version]. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 6(1). Retrieved October 13, 2006, from [http://journalonline.tandf.co.uk.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/\(lfvockiefrxmie55zem2m1ez\)/app/home/issue.asp?referrer=parent&backto=journal,16,27;linkingpublicationresults,1:104659,1](http://journalonline.tandf.co.uk.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/(lfvockiefrxmie55zem2m1ez)/app/home/issue.asp?referrer=parent&backto=journal,16,27;linkingpublicationresults,1:104659,1)
- Kanpol, B. (1997). *Reflective Critical Inquiry on Critical Inquiry: A Critical Ethnographic Dilemma Continued*. The Qualitative Report, 3(4). Retrieved 12<sup>th</sup> October from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-4/kanpol.html> .

- Laffan, C.T. (2004). *An ethnographic study of a Victorian Catholic secondary school* [electronic version]. Unpublished PhD, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne. Retrieved 12<sup>th</sup> October, 2006, from <http://dlibrary.acu.edu.au/digitaltheses/public/adt-acuyp29082005.50/02whole.pdf>.
- Miller, H. (2001). Meeting the challenge: The Jewish schooling phenomenon in the UK. *Oxford Review of Education*. 27 (4), 501 – 513. Retrieved 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2006, from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/view/03054985/ap030086/03a00060/0>.
- Mitchell and Charmaz (1998). Telling tales and writing stories: Postmodernist visions and realist images in ethnographic writing. In S.Grills (Ed.), *Doing ethnographic research: Fieldwork settings* (pp.228-248). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) (1999). *All our futures: Creativity, culture and education*. London: Department for Employment and Education.
- Nickerson, R.S. (1999). Enhancing creativity. In R.J.Sternberg, *Handbook of creativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Phillips, D.C. (1993). Subjectivity and objectivity: And objective Inquiry. In M.Hammersley (Ed.) *Educational research: Current issues* (pp.57-72). London: Paul Chapman: Open University.
- Resnick, D. (1996). Jekyll and Hyde in the classroom: A comparative case study in educational failure [electronic version]. *International Review of Education* 42(1-3), 227-241. Retrieved 8<sup>th</sup> November, 2006, from <http://www.springerlink.com/content/w26v038u31442728/>
- Richardson, L. (2000). Writing as a method of inquiry. In N.K.Denzin & Y.S.Lincoln (Eds.) *A handbook of qualitative inquiry*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Riseborough, G. (1988). Pupils, recipe knowledge, curriculum and the cultural production of class, ethnicity and patriarchy: A critique of one teacher's practices. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 9(1) 39-54.
- Sasson, T. (2006). *Qualitative research on American Jewry. An online publication of The Maurice and Marilyn Centre for Modern Jewish Studies. Brandeis University*. Retrieved 31st October 2006 from Brandeis University, Centre for Modern Jewish Studies website: <http://www.cmjs.org/files/QualitativeResearch.Contact.Summer2006.pdf>
- Schaap, E. (2004, June 24). *Early childhood Jewish education and profiles of its educators: The number of students and teachers within Jewish education in the United States*. Accessed October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2006, from Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education website: <http://www.caje.org/earlychildhood/ec-survey04.pdf>.

- Schoem, D. (1982). Explaining Jewish Student Failure. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 13(4), 308-322.
- Schoem, D. (1989). *Ethnic Survival in America: An Ethnography of a Jewish Afternoon School*. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press.
- Scholefield, L. (2004). Bagels, schnitzel and McDonald's – 'fuzzy frontiers' of Jewish identity in an English Jewish secondary school. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 26(3), 237-248. Retrieved 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2006 from <http://www.metapress.com.ezproxy.lib.unimelb.edu.au/content/359ya16pnfk9euc1/>.
- Schweber, S. (2006). Donning wigs, divining feelings and other dilemmas of doing research in religious school contexts. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(6). Retrieved 31<sup>st</sup> October, 2006 from University of Wisconsin, Madison website: <http://www.education.wisc.edu/ci/faculty/details.asp?id=sschweber> .
- Spindler, G. (2002). The Collusion of illusions and how to get people to tell you what they don't know. In Y.Zou & E.Trueba (Eds.), *Ethnography and schools: Qualitative approaches to the study of education*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Taylor, S. (2002a). Researching the social: An introduction to ethnographic research. In S.Taylor (Ed.), *Ethnographic research: A reader*, pp.1-12. London: Sage Publications, in association with The Open University.
- Taylor, S. (Ed.) (2002b). *Ethnographic research: A reader*. London: Sage Publications, in association with The Open University.
- Vogelstein, I. & Kaplan, D. (2002). *Untapped Potential: The Status of Jewish Early Childhood Education in America*. New York: Jewish Early Childhood Education Partnership 2002. Retrieved October 12, 2006, from Coalition for the Advancement of Jewish Education website: <http://www.caje.org/earlychildhood/UntappedPotential.pdf> .
- Walker, J.C. (1988). *Louts and legends: Male youth culture in an inner-city school*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- White, J. (2008 forthcoming). 'A researcher's quest for identity: a narrative approach to 'playing it safe' in research and teaching' *Creative Approaches to Research* Vol. 1, No. 1.
- White, J. (2006). 'Arias of learning: creativity and performativity in Australian teacher education' *Cambridge Journal of Education* Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 435-453.