

JEWISH SOUTH AFRICANS:

A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW
OF THE
JOHANNESBURG COMMUNITY

by

ALLIE A. DUBB

OCCASIONAL PAPER NUMBER TWENTY-ONE

Institute of Social and Economic Research

Rhodes University

Grahamstown

South Africa

1977

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8/01/77

ISBN 0 949980 77 3

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Preface

*To my wife, Erika, my sons,
Illan, Jonathan, David and Simon,
and to the memory of
my esteemed and well-loved teacher
the late
James Irving*

Preface

This monograph is a revised version of a doctoral thesis entitled *A Study of Jewish Identification and Commitment in Johannesburg*, presented in the Department of Sociology at Rhodes University in 1973. In the main, revision has consisted of condensing the chapters on sampling, research methods and demographic background as well as in some updating and stylistic changes.

In a major undertaking of this kind many obligations are incurred, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging some of these.

In the first place I record my gratitude to the late James Irving, former Professor of Sociology at Rhodes University, for initial encouragement and assistance in planning and executing the fieldwork. To his memory, I have dedicated this work.

I record, too, my thanks to Professor Jack Mann, Head of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, for the considerable help and advice unstintingly given since the inception of the fieldwork. I am also most grateful to him for acting as supervisor for the PhD after Professor Irving's death.

Fieldwork and processing were facilitated by generous grants from the following bodies: The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, New York; the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for a University Council Research Grant; the South African Jewish Board of Deputies both for a grant from its own funds, as well as for a Cecil Lyons Scholarship; the South African Zionist Federation. To all these Institutions, I am greatly indebted. I am also indebted to the University of the Witwatersrand for the use of computing facilities, which are available free of charge to staff members.

My appreciation is here acknowledged for the encouragement of successive Heads of the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professors John Blacking and David Hammond-Tooke.

While all those who assisted me with the interviewing and, later, with the processing played an important role in the research process, I am especially grateful to Brenda Appel, Gail Brittan, Molly Lichtenstein, Marjorie Majodina, Sharon Rafel, Marion-Jill Rubenstein, Ingrid Wauthier and Sheila Yudaken.

I also wish to thank colleagues Professor Henry Lever, Department of Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Dr Leslie Melamed,

formerly of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, for the considerable assistance given me with statistical problems. To Mr G. Saron, former General Secretary of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, and to Mr Sidney Berg, former General Secretary of the South African Zionist Federation and an old and respected friend, my gratitude for constant encouragement and interest, and for making available their considerable knowledge and experience of South African Jewish affairs.

Finally, I must thank the Cecil Lyons Scholarship Committee of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies for a further grant towards publication costs; Mrs Mavis Briggs, secretary of the African Studies Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand and my wife Erika for assistance in revising the manuscript; and the staff of Witwatersrand University Students Publications Organisation who were responsible for the typesetting and layout.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The Aim of the Study

In the last official population census of the Republic of South Africa, nearly 120 000 people returned 'Jewish' as their religion. Yet many of these were not even formally affiliated to any Jewish religious associations, and some, conceivably, were agnostics or atheists. However, 'Jewish', to Jews as well as to many non-Jews, does not only, or necessarily, imply religious adherence — though what exactly it *does* mean has defied precise definition. Jews have thus been described as a race, a nation, a people, a religious denomination, a social group and a sub-culture. With the exception of a race, they may, in fact, be all or any of these: certainly Jews share an awareness of a common history, tradition, and yearning for a national home, and in the sense that this awareness is expressed in sentiment and in some degree of corporateness, one may speak of a 'Jewish community'.

In its fullest expression, the Jewish community reached its zenith in Eastern Europe. In those countries, from which the forbears of the majority of contemporary South African Jews came, a large proportion of Jews, until the first World War and even later, lived in virtually autonomous and culturally isolated communities in either urban ghettos or rural *shtetlach* (villages). The synagogue *cum* house of study was the centre of their intellectual, social, community and religious lives, and the religious authorities were the focus of law and order. For many, perhaps most, there was little or no conflict between 'Jewish' life and the 'world': the world was a Jewish one. For most, too, education was confined to the study of Bible and other holy books in community schools. Even those who came from the larger cities and had the benefit of a secular education, had, for the most part, received this in Jewish schools often through the medium of Hebrew. Many of these Eastern European Jews could not even speak the languages of their countries of origin, but spoke only Yiddish.

For these Jews, then, being Jewish implied a combination of characteristics including descent, observance of Jewish religious ritual, ethnic pride, common language and recognition of a common system of values. This complex of traits retained its integrity largely as a consequence of the

physical and intellectual separation of the Jew from the non-Jewish world around him. Jewish immigrants to South Africa, however, were not confined within the walls of the ghetto or the boundaries of the *shtetl*, but had to learn to live and work in a gentile world. From the outset they enjoyed full citizenship rights while they were spared the grosser forms of antisemitic expression. Over the years, and with each successive locally-born generation, they have become highly acculturated and increasingly integrated into the social, cultural, economic and political life of the country. At the same time, South African Jews have created and maintain a highly-organized network of associations, at both local and country-wide levels, to meet religious, cultural, social, welfare and recreational needs.

The South African Jewish community is embedded in the wider one of white, mainly English-speaking South Africa in a way in which Eastern European Jews were not, and the individual may decide for himself the nature and extent of his Jewish involvement. In South Africa, then, 'being Jewish' varies within wide limits: it may be little more than an accident of birth minimally affecting a person's behaviour; it may be expressed primarily in support of Jewish institutions and philanthropies; or it may have much the same connotations as it had in Eastern Europe.

What being Jewish means in the South African context and, more specifically, in Johannesburg, is the problem to which the present study is addressed. Its aim is to distinguish the various elements of Jewishness, and to discover the manner in which they find expression among those who regard themselves as Jews. It is a study of identification: that is, of the behaviour, sentiments, beliefs, values and attitudes which derive from, and express identity with, the Jewish group, its culture, religion and peoplehood.

The Concept of Jewish Identification

In a letter to a Jewish lodge in which he discusses his relationship to Jewry, Freud acknowledges a '*Heimlichkeit der gleichen inneren Konstruktion*', translated by Erikson (1965 : 273) as 'the secret familiarity of identical psychological construction'. Erikson himself (1965 : 252) defines identity in terms of 'sameness and continuities' and group identity (1960 : 38) as 'the identity of something in the individual's core with an essential aspect of a group's inner coherence'. Kurt Lewin (1951 : 147) expresses much the same idea as 'the feeling of loyalty or belongingness'. Identification, on the other hand, is the expression of identity through behaviour, attitudes or both. Thus Krech, *et al* (1962 : 134) define identification as 'the process of modelling oneself after another individual or group. Through identification the individual comes to incorporate the attributes of the other individual or group, and to display similar behaviour'. Since identity refers to some kind of inner state, it can probably be studied (if at all) only

by the slow and painstaking methods of psycho-analysis. On the other hand, identification may be studied directly by means of observation and interview. It is probably for this reason that research into the meaning of being Jewish has, for the most part, been limited to studies of identification rather than identity.¹

The first task, then, is to define the dimensions of Jewish identification. This definition proceeds from a prior model of what Jewishness is. From one point of view, this model is a representation of a maximally-identifying Jew, while from another it provides a definition of Jewishness in terms of its various components. Taking first the representational aspect of the model, the following is a description of a Jew who approaches ideal maximal identification — a description which may well fit some South African Jews, but which would represent neither the majority nor the average.

He would be a man born of Jewish parents, brought up in the kind of home which he himself is now replicating. He has had the benefit of formal instruction, at a school maintained by the community, in Jewish religious belief, law and custom, in Bible and other holy books, in Jewish history, and in Hebrew language. Also, as a child, he was a member of one of the several Israel-centred scouting-type Zionist youth movements. Since his *Barmitzvah* (religious confirmation at 13 years of age), he has put on his *tefillin*² each day at morning prayers, he attends synagogue regularly on Sabbath and Festivals and, where possible, on week-days too. He observes the laws of *kashruth* (dietary laws prescribing permissible and forbidden foods) and is careful to wash his hands, recite blessings or say grace when appropriate. On Sabbath and Festivals, he refrains from work, does not ride, carry money, smoke, write or, as the occasion demands, permit his wife to cook.

Apart from his religious commitment and observance, he belongs to a congregation (ie he is a member of a particular synagogue), participates in its activities and supports it financially. He also sends his children to a Jewish Day School,³ to an afternoon *cheder*⁴ or in some other way ensures that they receive a Jewish education. In addition he belongs to such associations as the *Chevrach Kadisha* (Jewish burial society and philanthropic association) and is active in some either as a committee member or as a fund raiser. He is also a member of a Zionist society, and, perhaps, of a Jewish country club. He attends various cultural, fundraising and social events, as well as general meetings of various communal organizations. He contributes generously to local Jewish charities and institutions serving the community, and to the Israeli United Appeal. He has visited, or intends to visit Israel and encourages his children's Zionist commitment. He follows the news about Israel, as well as other events of Jewish interest, in the weekly Jewish press.

He is proud to be a Jew, and feels that Jews are, on the whole, more

tolerant, more sensitive, more warm, more sincere, more honest and more trustworthy than non-Jews. They are also good citizens, have rallied in time of war and figure prominently in public affairs. He believes that Jewish parents are more concerned about the present and future welfare of their children, and that Jewish family life is characterized by great affection, intimacy and closeness. These Jewish characteristics, he believes, are the product of the Jewish religion and the harsh historical experience of the Jewish people.

Because of his commitment to the community and to the values which he believes are epitomized by his fellow-Jews, it is not surprising that his home is within walking distance of the synagogue and in an area where other Jews live. It is also to be expected that perhaps all his closest friends are Jews and that a large proportion of his other friends and acquaintances are, too. This does not mean that he has nothing to do with non-Jews or that he would not belong to any non-Jewish organizations, but simply that he prefers to be among Jews and feels more at home with them. For the same reason his doctor, lawyer and accountant, all of whose services imply a degree of intimacy, are most likely to be Jews.

Yet despite a high degree of identification on many dimensions, it is probably unlikely that this man could be recognized as a Jew in the course of going about his daily activities. In dress, in speech, in mannerisms, in occupation — he is simply a white, probably English-speaking, South African and overt expressions of his Jewishness are confined to certain situations and spheres of activity.

The other side of the model is simply a categorical presentation of the behaviour and attitudes just described. Drawing on the numerous attempts to define the dimensions of Jewishness and Jewish identification, but in particular those of Geismar (1954) and Sklare (1955), the following breakdown is suggested:

- (a) *Religious* — This dimension is concerned with Judaism as a religion and includes beliefs, observance of religious rituals and ceremonies, religious education, sabbath and holy-day observance, worship and synagogue attendance, and problems relating to the 'Orthodox' and 'Reform' movements.
- (b) *Ethical and Moral* — Arising, to an important extent, out of religious Judaism, this dimension relates to values underlying both behaviour and attitudes. It has been separated from the religious dimension since it is possible to accept moral and ethical rules while at the same time rejecting their religious connotations.
- (c) *Zionist* — This involves ideological and sentimental ties with Israel as a Jewish national home, Israel-oriented philanthropic activity, participation in Zionist organisations, pro-Israel attitudes in the international political arena, desire to settle (or for children to settle) in Israel.
- (d) *Informal Social* — This dimension is concerned with the feeling of

'belonging' to the Jewish community, and of being 'more at home' among Jews. It includes both preferences for, as well as actual patterns of association with, Jews as against non-Jews. It may involve a feeling of solidarity with other Jews both at home and throughout the world.

- (e) *Cultural* — This is a residual category, rather than an inclusive one. It refers to the extent and nature of Jewish education and knowledge, participation in formal cultural activities, knowledge and use of Yiddish and Hebrew, preference for Jewish folkways and mores, attachment to Jewish symbols. It also includes cultural forms which, though not traditional, are regarded as being characteristically Jewish in a particular setting — habits of dress, style of life, gestures, patterns of speech.
- (f) *Structural* — This is concerned with participation in organized community life.
- (g) *Ethnocentrism* — This category includes a number of diverse elements such as belief in Jewish superiority, strong preference for remaining within the fold, and the belief in Jewish survival. An important measure of Jewish ethnocentrism is the prevailing pattern of attitudes to intermarriage.
- (h) *Defensive or Reactive* — This may be regarded as minimal or residual identification. There is little positive identification — it is the acknowledgement of being Jewish because of the belief in, or experience of, gentile rejection of Jews. It may be expressed in anti-gentilism and/or a strong desire to combat antisemitism.
- (i) *Negative* — Like the previous dimension, negative identification may be a reaction to antisemitism. However, rather than resulting in anti-gentilism, a Jew may develop antisemitic sentiments. Lewin's concept of self-hatred (1948 : 186 ff) is an aspect of this.

It is, then, in terms of this model that the enquiry has proceeded. It provides, as will be seen, the point of departure for the questions asked about Johannesburg Jews and for the hypotheses postulated, while at the same time supplying the basic elements from which the research instrument itself was constructed.

Orientation and Approach

In the sense that this is a study of patterns of identification exhibited by members of a group, rather than one of the meaning of group identity for the individual, the orientation of this investigation is sociological rather than psychological. As such, there are two possible ways of approaching the problem. The first involves no assumptions about the nature of Jewishness: it attempts to establish, purely empirically, the characteristics of Jews and the patterns of identification with the Jewish group. This approach is essentially that of the anthropologist working in an alien

culture. Although it may be feasible for one who has had little experience of Jews and their way of life, and might yield interesting insights into non-traditional aspects of their behaviour, it has not, as far as the author is aware, been used in any existing studies. The reasons are simple: most, possibly all, have been carried out by Jews whose interest in the problem of Jewish identification has frequently arisen out of their own subjective experiences. The second approach, then, begins from a prior model of Jewishness and of maximal Jewish identification which, as has already been done, must be defined as fully and as precisely as possible. On the basis of such a definition it becomes possible to utilize the more formal techniques of structured interviews, based on prepared schedules and administered to large samples.

In adopting this approach, the present study may lack the depth and freshness of participant observation but it does have the advantages of providing a broad picture of the Jewish community as a whole, and of permitting a degree of valid generalization.

The Locus of the Study

The study was limited to the Jewish community of Johannesburg since, in the first place, the author lives in that city and since neither the time nor the funds were available to extend the investigation. Nevertheless, even if Johannesburg Jews are atypical, as they may well be in certain respects, they are of considerable interest *per se* since they account for almost half — 62 032 — of the total Jewish population of South Africa. Furthermore, they comprise 12% of local whites — 3,1% for the Republic as a whole — and, while maintaining numerous and varied communal institutions of their own, play a significant role in every aspect of the life of the city. The findings are based on the responses to a questionnaire, of a sample of 283 adult Johannesburg Jews.

Notes

1. Herman (1970b), in a study of Israeli students, explicitly focusses on the problem of *identity*. He claims that studies of *Jewish identification* have been concerned with 'the degree to which Jews — when exposed to the influence of the majority culture, either to its allurements or to the forces of rejection — accept their membership in their minority group or prefer affiliation with the majority, and, furthermore, whether their attitudes and behaviour are determined by the Jewish group or whether they turn to the majority as a source of reference. Only a few studies go beyond this to analyse what being Jewish means, what kind of Jew and what kind of Jewishness develop in the non-Jewish majority culture' (*op cit*: 10—11). He sees his own study to be of this latter type, and defines Jewish identity, depending on the context, to mean either '(1) the pattern of attributes of the ethnic group as seen by its members, ie

what 'being Jewish' is seen by them to mean, or (2) the reflection in the individual of these attributes, ie how the individual sees himself by virtue of his membership of the ethnic group' (*op cit*: 14). Neither Herman's concept of identity nor the methods he uses to measure it, differ much, if at all, from those of the more 'limited' studies to which he refers. Herman, like others, is gathering opinions and attitudes about Jewishness on the basis of which he makes inferences about his respondents' identity. However he is, we feel, no closer to understanding the meaning of being Jewish in relation to other aspects of an individual's identity since this, as we have already suggested, probably requires the employment of psycho-analytic techniques.

2. Unavoidably, several Hebrew and Yiddish terms are used in this study. Where possible they will be explained in the text, otherwise in footnotes. However, in addition, a glossary of these terms is provided in Appendix B, as well as several photographs.

Tefillin (phylacteries) are 1—1.5 inch hollow leather cubes containing certain biblical passages written on parchment. These are strapped onto the left arm and forehead by means of leather thongs by males over the age of 13, each day except Sabbath, during the morning prayer.

3. Jewish day schools, which have been established throughout the Republic, are private schools doing the normal government school curriculum but which include Hebrew and Jewish studies as part of the daily school programme. See chapters on Social Relations and Culture.

4. The *cheder* or *talmud torah* is an afternoon school, often run by local Jewish communities, which provides instruction after normal secular school hours in Hebrew and Jewish studies. See chapters on Social Relations and Culture.

Chapter Two

Questions and Hypotheses

Primarily, it is the aim of the present study to provide a description, in some breadth, of patterns of Jewish identification in Johannesburg. Insofar as it may contribute anything, its contribution will lie in providing information, not previously available, on the largest Jewish community in South Africa. As such, the research was planned to answer a number of basic questions about this community rather than to test hypotheses deduced from more general theoretical formulations. Where hypotheses were postulated they were derived from the results of similar studies conducted elsewhere so that often no theoretical justification can be offered.

The questions which it was intended to answer were these:

- (a) To what extent do Johannesburg Jews identify on each of the dimensions of Jewishness as they have been defined?
- (b) Do any patterns of relationships emerge either within or between the various dimensions of identification?
- (c) In what sense is it correct — or incorrect — to speak of a 'Jewish community'?
- (d) Which appear to be the most important dimensions of identification, and which the least?
- (e) Is there any relationship between modes of identification and particular demographic characteristics such as sex, age, place of birth, general education, Jewish education and so on?
- (f) To what extent is there congruence between attitudes and action tendencies, and which appears to be more durable?
- (g) Is it possible to discern any trends with regard to past and future patterns of identification?

Since aspects of most of these questions have been the subjects of specific enquiries, particularly in the United States, it was possible to formulate some of them more precisely as hypotheses.

The first hypothesis refers to the importance of sentiment in Jewish identification. In a recent work, Jacob Neusner (1972) shows how traditional Jewish beliefs and practices have been discarded by the majority of American Jews in favour of the more general values and life styles characterizing twentieth century United States. Yet he concludes a

discussion of this question in the following terms (*op cit*: 84—85)

'But in affirming the modern and accepting its dilemmas, American Jews continued in important modes to interpret themselves in archaic ways. Most important, they continued to see themselves as Jews, to regard that fact as central to their very being, and to persist in that choice . . . The Jews are not simply an ethnic group characterized by primarily external, wholly unarticulated and unself-conscious qualities. They are Jewish not merely because they happen to have inherited quaint customs, unimportant remnants of an old heritage rapidly falling away. On the contrary they hold very strong convictions about how they will continue to be Jews. Most of them hope their children will marry within the Jewish community. Most of them join synagogues and do so because they want their children to grow up as Jews. Above all, most of them regard the fact that they are Jewish as bearing great significance.'

To the degree to which South African Jews resemble their co-religionists in the United States — two local-born generations, relative absence of serious overt antisemitism, a high degree of acculturation to the host culture, a high degree of economic, political and civic integration, an apparent decrease in adherence to religious laws — so one would expect that Jewish identification would also be manifested primarily in sentiment rather than in behaviour. As a corollary to this hypothesis one would expect that there would be little congruence between attitudes and behaviour, except at the extremes: thus only the most heavily committed would also identify in their overt behaviour, while those who were minimally committed would probably observe few, if any, customs and participate little, if at all, in community life. For the rest, it is expected that behavioural identification will tend to be random and not necessarily directly related to specific attitudes. There will be, it is suggested, a far greater range of variation in behaviour than in attitudes.

The second hypothesis relates to patterns of social relations. It has been observed by Glazer and Moynihan (1963), Gordon (1964), Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968) and others, that American Jews tend to concentrate in the larger cities and metropolitan areas and, furthermore, that they tend, voluntarily, to form residential clusters. Gordon (*op cit*: 80, 181) suggests that this reflects a desire that primary relationships will tend to be concentrated in the Jewish group and that this, in turn, will ensure ethnic endogamy. As is shown in Chapter Four, the demographic picture is similar for Johannesburg Jews, and it is therefore suggested that the area of behaviour in which Jewish identification is most widely, consistently and, often, exclusively manifested is that of social relations. In other words, given that Jews cluster residentially, it is postulated that they also confine their primary, as well as other intimate, multiplex relationships within the Jewish group, and that this reflects attitudes to preferred associations and to Jewish survival. If this is true, then it would also be expected that

relations with non-Jews would tend to be more formal, simplex and less intimate in character.

The third hypothesis is most frequently taken as a datum, either explicitly or implicitly, in many studies of Jewish identification. Thus Sklare, *et al* (1955) are of the opinion that religious observance is motivated by the desire to identify as Jews rather than by religious considerations, while Herman implies much the same judgement in his study of American Jewish students (1970a: 41, 50—51). It is suggested, therefore, that apart from the most strictly orthodox section of the community, there is little relationship between religious beliefs and practices. Thus people who observe few taboos, rituals or other rules may have strong positive religious attitudes while, conversely, even those who believe very little will tend to observe at least some practices. The reason for this lack of congruence is, as has been suggested, because religious practices are modes of Jewish identification rather than expressions of religious feeling, and it is this relationship which will be tested.

The fourth hypothesis is that Jews are caught up in a conflict between the desire for survival as a distinct group and the belief that barriers between groups should be minimal. This dilemma will be manifested in ambivalent attitudes to intermarriage, ethnocentrism and social relations. However, it is suggested that the dilemma is probably not as acute in South Africa, with its pluralistic ideology, as in the United States and other western countries where assimilation of minority groups is favoured.

The final hypothesis, which, in a sense, sums up the findings of the present study, is that the Jews are a community because they see themselves as such and because many of the most important roles played by individuals are affected by their membership of the community. The boundaries between the Jewish community and non-Jews are, therefore, to be found in the organization and ascription of roles rather than in identifiable cultural characteristics.

These, then, are the questions and hypotheses which have directed the present study.

Chapter Three

Method and Procedure

The Research Instrument

Since this was to be the first study of Jewish identification in Johannesburg, it was decided that it should be undertaken in breadth using a fairly large sample. This made it necessary to develop an instrument which would yield comparable information when administered by a team of trained interviewers. The most important step in constructing such an instrument, therefore, was to define as precisely as possible the variables to be measured. This was essential if exploratory questions requiring careful and extensive probing were to be kept to a minimum, and both interviewing and subsequent processing to be made as simple as possible. To this end a number of preliminary interviews and a pilot were undertaken.

Twelve interviews were arranged with men and women known to the author, whose Jewish identification differed both in form and degree. All were highly articulate, middle and upper middle class people, several had University degrees. They ranged, from the point of view of Jewish identification, from a Rabbi to an atheist who 'didn't like Jews particularly, either'. The interviews — most of which lasted for several hours and were tape-recorded — began with the question, 'Are you a Jew?', followed immediately by, 'What do you mean when you say you are a Jew?' Subsequent questions were framed from the responses themselves and were guided only to the extent of limiting the discussion to anything to do with Jews or Jewishness.

The purpose of these interviews was, primarily, to test and expand the author's preliminary definition of Jewish identification. As such they proved invaluable not only in delineating the range of each dimension of the original model, but also in placing their component elements in perspective. Furthermore they facilitated the formulation of the problems and hypotheses which directed the study while, more directly, several questionnaire and attitude-scale items were derived from these responses.

On the basis of what had been learnt from the preliminary interviews, perusal of other relevant surveys,¹ and my own familiarity with the general

field of study, two pilot schedules were constructed and administered, separately, to two small accidental samples. The main purpose of the pilot study was to determine the amount of coverage and degree of precision which was necessary in order to evaluate identification on any dimension. Other aims were to test the feasibility of the method and to refine the research instrument. During the course of piloting, the two schedules were amended, shortened and finally combined into a single questionnaire. This is reproduced in Appendix A.

The final form of the schedule comprises three main sections: biographical and behavioural or, more precisely, action tendencies (questions on sex, age and nos 1—33); a Likert-type attitude scale (questions 31.1 — 31.18); and several questions selected for comparative purposes by Dr S.N. Herman from his study of American Jewish students (questions 35a—q).² In addition there are sections covering interviewers' reports and comments, but these fall outside the schedule proper. As in the pilot study the schedule was administered by an interviewer, though the respondent was handed a copy of the attitude and Herman items for reference. The interview took an average of one hour to complete and, apparently, respondents found the questions interesting. Interviewers were permitted to explain, if necessary, certain questions dealing with behaviour and biographical details. They were instructed, however, to read questions 31 and 35 exactly as they were and without comment. These rules enabled twenty-one respondents whose knowledge of English was limited to complete at least the biographical and behavioural section of the schedule.³

Sampling Procedure

Taking into account the resources available, it was decided to interview 300 people. The requirement that these should be representative of the Johannesburg Jewish population, however, presented an immediate problem: there was no way of identifying and isolating the population. It was clear that one of two courses was open:

- (a) to peruse, collate, correct and somehow supplement membership lists of various Jewish organisations and congregations;¹ or
- (b) to draw a sample of Johannesburg whites and select out those who regarded themselves as Jews (an operational definition).

The first alternative was rejected both on practical grounds and because it would automatically have excluded Jews who were not affiliated to any associations. The second alternative presented a different kind of difficulty: how many whites would have to be sampled in order to yield a subsample of 300 Jews, and what was the best method of sampling? This difficulty was resolved by adopting a form of quota sampling. The proportions of the total Jewish population of Johannesburg living in each suburb were determined from the official census tabulations.⁵ In those suburbs with

either a large number or a large proportion of Jews, several streets were randomly selected, houses were systematically canvassed and occupants identified as Jews were interviewed. The number of interviews as well as the sex and age distributions of respondents were predetermined for each area — also on the basis of official census tabulations. The sampling procedure is summarized in Table 3.1.

Interview Procedure

While all preliminary interviews were conducted by the author himself, he was assisted in the pilot study by two graduate students. The final schedule was administered entirely by paid interviewers. These were, for the most part, graduate or final year sociology and social anthropology students and the remainder were experienced market research investigators. All 22 interviewers were English-speaking Jews, and they were instructed to introduce themselves by name and, if possible, to wear a Star of David pendant or some other identifying sign. Their ages ranged from 19 to the early twenties, except for one woman who was somewhat older. Only seven of the interviewers were men. All interviewers worked in all types of suburbs and most worked evenings and weekends as well as during the day. The number of interviews returned by each interviewer is reflected in Table 3.2.

Nearly 1 500 calls were made in order to obtain the final sample of 283 Jews. It should be noted that 79 Jews were not at home and that a further 117 refused to be interviewed for some or other reason. No call-backs were made unless convenient appointments could be made immediately or unless quotas could not be filled by remaining homes in the sample. The record of interviews is given in Table 3.3

No formal checking-up procedure was followed since considerable informal feedback was forthcoming from respondents known to the author. Furthermore when it was possible to identify a respondent from his address or in any other way, enquiries about the interview were made. The schedules themselves were checked for discrepancies, inconsistencies and lack of clarity.

In general interviewers showed a great deal of interest in the project as a whole and in the actual interviewing. For the most part, all information was obtained in a single 45—60 minute session, though some took longer. Thirteen interviews carried over into two or more sessions. All interviews were completed in just over one month.

Processing Procedure and Statistical Analysis

The schedules were coded and each set of data was transferred on to three 80-column IBM cards. Basic counts for each question and a large number of

cross-tabulations were executed on an IBM-360 computer. All cross-tabulations were then subjected to chi square or median tests of significance in a preliminary search for possible relationships. It should be emphasized that the broadest criteria of relevance operated at this stage so that the data could, as it were, speak for themselves. Cross-tabulations which then appeared to be relevant both qualitatively and in terms of test results, were analysed further. Subsequent analysis again included tests of significance (chi square, median tests), as well as Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation,⁶ Pearson correlations, partial correlations, scalogram analysis, and the various analyses of the attitude scale scores described in Chapter Five.

Since the chi square test is the one most frequently used in the present study, it should be noted that the procedures adopted are those described by Siegel (1956) for two independent samples (101—116) and for k independent samples (175—179). The rules followed were:

- (a) For 2×2 tables: chi squares were corrected for continuity in all cases (*ibid*: 106) and expected cell frequencies always exceeded 5. Where the second condition was not satisfied, the Fisher Exact Probability Test with Tocher's modification was used (*ibid*: 96—104).
- (b) For $k \times k$ tables: not more than 20% of cells had an expected frequency of less than 5 and degrees of freedom = $(k-1)(r-1)$.
- (c) The median test followed the rules above. Dichotomization of the sample was either into 'median and above' and 'below median', or 'above median' and 'median and below'. This is indicated in each case.
- (d) Invariably, throughout the present study, the chi square and median tests have been used as two-tailed tests: it has been hypothesized that differences exist between the variables under consideration, without suggesting their direction. This is consistent with the essentially exploratory nature of the study (see Chapter Two).⁷
- (e) Since, as in most social scientific research, the present sample is not truly random, due caution has been exercised in the use and interpretation of statistical tests. For this reason, while the 1% level of confidence has been selected in evaluating the significance of chi square values, values significant up to the 5% level have also been noted in order to minimize the Type II error — ie 'to accept the null hypothesis when in fact it is false' (Siegel 1956: 9).
- (f) Results of chi square tests have been presented in one of two ways: in some cases, the complete cross-tabulation is given, together with the value of $(o-e)^2/e$ so that the contribution of each cell to the chi square value is readily discernible; in other cases — only the degrees of freedom, chi square value, and p value are given together with an explanation of the nature of the distribution.

The Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation was applied in three instances in an attempt to discover relations between a large number of variables simultaneously. It was applied most usefully to

the attitude scale items and attitude sub-scale totals, and was of considerable assistance in their interpretation. The technique was also applied, less legitimately perhaps (as is pointed out in Chapter Eight) but resulting in some useful insights, in comparing the degrees of observance of a number of religious laws. It may be pointed out that, because of the largely nominal and ordinal nature of the data, non-parametric statistics have, on the whole, been preferred. Parametric techniques have, as is normal practice, been used in the analysis of the Likert-type attitude scale (Chapter Five). Their application to the data on religious observance is less defensible, but, as has been mentioned, the results are of interest.

In general, it should be emphasized that in the present study, the limitations of sample selection, as well as of the problems inherent in forcing highly variable qualitative data into categories, has been borne constantly in mind. The use of statistics has, therefore, been regarded as an aid to discovering possible relationships rather than as conclusive evidence of such relationships. Fundamentally the mode of analysis is qualitative, rather than quantitative.

To sum up, the procedure adopted was essentially that of quota sampling, while the actual selection of respondents within each category was randomized as far as possible. It should be emphasized, that the reason for sampling in this manner was prompted by practical rather than conceptual considerations: that is, quotas were used to maximize representativeness rather than because of their inherent relevance to the enquiry. It is therefore not regarded as critical that the census data from which the quotas were determined were almost ten years old or that Jewish residential patterns had changed to some extent. What is important is that, on the whole, the sample is fairly representative of Johannesburg Jews aged 18 or over, having been drawn from most areas in which Jews are to be found and having adequate proportions of men and women throughout the various age-groups. With regard to other demographic features, the representativeness of the sample may be judged from the tables presented in Chapter Four.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Johannesburg Jewish population by suburb, 1960, and procedure for selection of sample for present study

Suburban Area	Total Jews	Jews as % of suburban population	Total Jewish males	Estimated no Jewish males aged 18 or over	% of Total Jewish males aged 18 or over in each suburb	Proposed no in sample of approximately 150 males	Actual no males in final sample X age				Total Jewish females	Estimated no Jewish females aged 18 or over	% of Total Jewish females aged 18 or over in each suburb	Proposed no in sample of approximately 150 females	Actual no females in final sample X age			
							Total	18-34	35-64	65 and over					Total	18-34	35-64	65 and over
Bellevue - Bellevue East	2 810	35	1 387	971	5.6	8	7	1	3	—	1 153	1 075	5.1	8	7	3	3	1
Berea	1 190	10	2 035	1 618	9.1	11	13	5	6	2	2 155	1 910	9.7	11	11	5	8	1
Bertrams - Judiths Paarl	810	13	139	277	1.6	2	2	—	1	1	101	277	1.1	2	—	—	—	—
Bramley - Savoy Waverley	1 850	37	858	506	2.9	1	1	2	2	—	992	556	2.8	1	1	1	3	—
Doomfontein - New Doomfontein	1 070	22	519	368	2.1	3	2	—	1	1	521	360	1.8	3	—	1	1	1
Dunkeld - Hyde Park	610	26	289	211	1.2	2	—	—	—	—	321	238	1.2	2	—	1	1	—
Emmarentia and Extensions	2 299	33	1 187	689	3.9	6	7	3	1	—	1 112	656	3.3	5	5	1	1	—
Greenside and Extensions	2 670	57	1 327	810	1.6	7	7	1	3	—	1 343	873	1.3	6	6	1	5	—
Highlands North (west)	3 800	10	1 836	1 120	6.1	9	9	5	3	1	1 961	1 257	6.3	9	11	2	8	1
Highlands North and Exms (east)	3 000	11	1 177	827	1.7	7	7	5	2	—	1 523	960	1.8	7	5	3	2	—
Hillbrow	2 290	28	1 027	891	5.1	8	10	6	3	1	1 263	1 137	5.7	8	10	5	5	—
Hospital Hill	2 251	19	1 098	953	5.1	8	8	5	3	—	1 193	1 316	6.7	10	9	1	5	—
Joubert Park	310	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Houghton	2 350	55	1 337	709	1.1	6	6	2	3	1	1 213	861	1.3	6	6	2	1	—
Johannesburg Central	1 529	13	797	751	1.3	6	2	—	2	—	732	679	3.1	5	5	1	2	—
Kensington - Bezuidenhout Valley	2 160	10	1 017	671	3.8	5	1	—	3	1	1 113	779	3.9	7	1	1	2	1
Killarney	1 361	70	729	618	3.5	5	5	2	3	—	1 002	806	1.0	6	6	3	2	1
Rosebank	370	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Linkfield - Cavillene - Dewetsdorp	3 070	61	1 186	925	5.3	8	8	2	6	—	1 581	922	1.6	6	6	1	2	—
Melrose - Birdhaven	1 199	30	678	387	2.2	3	2	1	1	—	521	319	1.7	3	3	—	2	1
Norwood - Orange Grove	3 131	27	1 107	915	5.2	8	8	3	1	1	1 721	1 121	5.6	8	8	5	2	1
Observatory and Extension	1 910	56	978	199	2.9	1	2	1	1	—	932	597	3.0	1	1	2	1	1
Saxonwold - Parkwood	2 181	29	1 018	682	3.9	6	1	5	—	—	1 163	826	1.1	6	6	1	1	1
Southern Suburbs	160	3	210	165	0.9	1	—	—	—	—	220	161	0.8	1	2	—	1	1
Wethuiffe - Parktown - Forestown	1 710	21	838	562	3.2	5	5	2	2	1	872	628	3.1	5	5	2	3	—
Yeoville	1 081	17	1 886	1 339	7.7	11	13	6	5	2	2 195	1 690	8.1	13	11	6	7	1
TOTAL AREAS INCLUDED	54 062	26	25 920	17 503	99.9	116	137	59	66	12	28 112	20 091	100.3	118	116	53	79	11
TOTAL AREAS OMITTED	3 589	2	1 936	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 653	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL JOHANNESBURG	57 651	11	27 856	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29 765	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTE: (a) Distribution of Jews by sex and suburb from B of S (nd).
 (b) Estimate of Jews aged 18 years and over based on B of S (1966b): Table 2 'Religion by Age, Transvaal' (Whites) 16-17. Age structure of Jews in suburb was assumed to be identical to that of all whites. Although a correction factor could have been applied on the basis of differences between Jews and whites in the Transvaal (in which province Johannesburg is situated), this would have been uniform for all suburbs. Relative proportions and the sample distribution would not, therefore, have been affected.

(c) An attempt was made to assign age quotas for each area, but this proved impractical — partly because age structures of areas differed. It was finally decided that each interviewer should conform to the quotas, as far as possible, in his total sub-sample. The quotas were based on the age distribution of Jews in the Transvaal (B of S 1966b: Table 2). These were: 4(18-34): 5(35-64): 1(65+). The age distribution of the actual sample was: Males 4.3(18-34): 1.8(35-64): 0.9(65+), and Females 3.5(18-34): 5.5(35-64): 1.0(65+).

Table 3.2 *Number of interviews per interviewer X sex of interviewer*

<i>Sex of Interviewer</i>	<i>Number of Interviews</i>					<i>Total Interviewers</i>	<i>Total Interviews</i>
	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-24	25+		
Male	1	3	2	1	0	7	56
Female	2	4	4	2	3	15	233
TOTAL	3	7	6	3*	3*	22	289

NOTE: (a) * These 6 interviewers completed 169 interviews between them.
 (b) Of the total 289 interviews, six schedules were discarded for various reasons, leaving a total sample of 283.

Table 3.3 *Number of calls made by interviewers with details of those which were unsuccessful*

<i>Details of Call</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Non-Jews	908
Jews — but outside quota	103
Jews — unsuccessful calls:	
not at home	79
going out	11
busy (tending children, eating, unspecified)	44
illness in home	7
could not speak English	3
afraid to admit stranger into home	4
‘husband not at home’	7
outright refusal	43
TOTAL	196
Total calls without interviews	1 209
Total interviews	289
Total calls	1 498
Spoilt Schedules	6
Final Sample	283

Notes

1. See, for example, Samua (1964) — a review of several studies; Baron (1964) — religious observance; Sklare (1955) — several factors; Adelson (1958) — ethnocentrism and 'Jewish authoritarianism'; Herman (1945) — Jewish reactions to antisemitism.
2. See Herman (1962a), (1962b), (1970a). These items were included primarily on Herman's behalf, although some of them have been used in the present study.
3. The characteristics of these 21 respondents are discussed in Chapter Five.
4. This method is frequently employed where no official census figures for Jews are available. See for example Schmelz (1969: Ch 2 *passim*) for general discussion, Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968: 22 ff) for specific instance.
5. As data collection took place at the beginning of 1968 sampling was based on the results of the 1960 official census. Where population figures are quoted in the text without specific bibliographical references, they refer to the 1970 census.
6. No further details can be given on the factor analysis as this technique was suggested and carried out on the author's behalf by Dr Leslie Melamed of the Department of Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand.
7. Even where, as in Chapter Eight, some hypotheses imply directionality, two-tailed tests have been used. The use of two-tailed tests in testing the null hypothesis, irrespective of directionality, would seem to derive some support from Bakan (1970: 249—251), while H.J. Eysenck ('The Concept of Statistical Significance and the Controversy about One-Tailed Tests', *Psychological Review*, 67, 4, 1960, 269—271) argues that one-tailed tests should not be used at all.

Chapter Four

The Demographic Characteristics of Johannesburg Jews

Introduction

In this chapter it is proposed to describe briefly the demographic characteristics of the Jews of South Africa and to assess the representativeness of the present sample.¹ Most of the information is contained in the official publications of the Department (formerly Bureau) of Statistics or was made available by the Department to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.² Additional data have also been collected in a small number of sample surveys of which Sonnabend's 1935 study of Johannesburg Jews is the most relevant.³

The Origins and Growth of the Jewish Population

Saron (1965: 9ff) divides Jewish immigration into South Africa into six clearly defined periods:

- (a) During the first period, from 1652 until about 1800, individuals of Jewish extraction settled in the country. However, most of these probably did not profess their original faith but had been converted to Christianity.
- (b) Between 1800 and 1880 a few thousand British and other western European Jews immigrated to South Africa and laid the foundations of organized Jewish communal life. These early settlers must have assimilated fairly rapidly into the non-Jewish majority, however, since few, if any, present-day descendants of these families regard themselves as Jews.
- (c) The forbears of the present Jewish community came in two main streams during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The first comprised a large number of mainly western Jews who joined the diamond and gold rushes in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand, respectively.
- (d) The second, which was also the largest and most important immigration, came from the intensely Jewish environment of the

segregated villages and ghettos of Eastern Europe in the hope of finding political freedom and economic security.⁴ This immigration continued until the passing of the Aliens Act in 1937.

- (e) During the 1930's, Nazi persecution and pressure accounted for the arrival of several thousand predominantly German-Jewish refugees.
- (f) The present phase, that is since World War II, has seen no Jewish immigration as such.

While precise information about the size of the Jewish population dates only from the first official census of 1904, Saron (*ibid*: 13) used earlier records to produce estimates from about 1880. The picture emerges of a small initial population — estimated at 4 000 in 1880 and constituting about 1,2% of whites — which increased almost twelve-fold to 46 919 by 1911 and made up 3,7% of whites. Most of this increase was due to the massive influx of an estimated 40 000 immigrants. The Jewish population continued to grow in this manner and at a rate in excess of the rest of the white population until 1936. Thereafter, with the imposition of severe curbs on Jewish immigration, growth declined dramatically so that the proportion of Jews to whites has steadily decreased from its 1936 peak of 4,5% to 3,1% in 1970.⁵

Passage of time together with the sharp decrease in immigration since the beginning of World War II have resulted in a progressive increase of the proportion of local-born Jews. In a survey of Johannesburg Jews in 1935 Sonnabend (1948: 16) found that 79% of those under the age of 30 were born in South Africa. By 1970 this had increased to 95% for the same age group and 75% for all ages (D of S 1973: Table B1). It might also be noted that in the present sample 19% of the 198 locally-born respondents were the children of locally-born fathers and that in a further 11% of cases fathers had immigrated to South Africa as children with *their* fathers.

Home Language

Changes in the languages used by South African Jews at home are an important indicator of acculturation and the direction it has taken. According to the 1936 Census, 76% of Jews spoke English at home, 1,6% Afrikaans, 1,3% German and 19% Yiddish. In the Transvaal the same proportion spoke English, but 21% spoke Yiddish. By 1951 the proportion of Yiddish-speakers had dwindled to 9% and 10%, respectively (B of S 1960: A26). In the 1960 and 1970 census tabulations, Yiddish was no longer listed as a separate category nor were tabulations of home language by religion produced. Nevertheless the present sample does suggest that the trend has continued. Thus a comparison of the home languages of respondents and their parents shows the intergenerational decline of Yiddish in favour of English. Where only 47% of parents spoke English at home and 29% used Yiddish, the proportions for respondents are 86% and 6%, respectively. The

sample also reflects the fact that Jews have tended to acculturate to the English-speaking rather than the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population.⁶

Geographical and Residential Distribution

Although a large proportion of Jewish immigrants had come from rural villages in Eastern Europe they had not been an agricultural community. In South Africa some did become farmers and others, also in the rural areas, pursued their previous occupations as petty traders, pedlars and artisans. Most, however, settled in the urban centres either initially or after some years, while children from the rural areas tended to drift into the towns. This overwhelming preference for urban life was already apparent in 1936 when the official census showed that 96% of Jews lived in the towns as compared with only 68% of all South African whites. By 1970 the proportion of Jews in urban areas had increased to 98,6% and that of whites to 86,7%.⁷

A further trend, more marked among Jews than other whites, has been the progressive movement to the larger metropolitan areas. Whereas in 1936, 68% of Jews lived in the four major cities this had increased to 79% in 1960 and to 84% in 1970. By contrast, the Jewish population of the four smaller towns decreased from 5,2% to 4,4% over the same period.⁸

Within the towns and cities, Jews appear to have preferred certain areas and avoided others. This is particularly true of Johannesburg where Jews have always been concentrated in a limited number of suburbs. In the early years the most notable were Fordsburg-Mayfair in the west and Doornfontein in the east. With increasing affluence the Jews gradually moved into the more desirable northern suburbs, where they produced a similar pattern of clustering. Thus in 1960, as Figures 4.I and 4.II illustrate, most of Johannesburg's Jewish population was concentrated in a band stretching from the north-east of the city to the north-west.⁹

Income

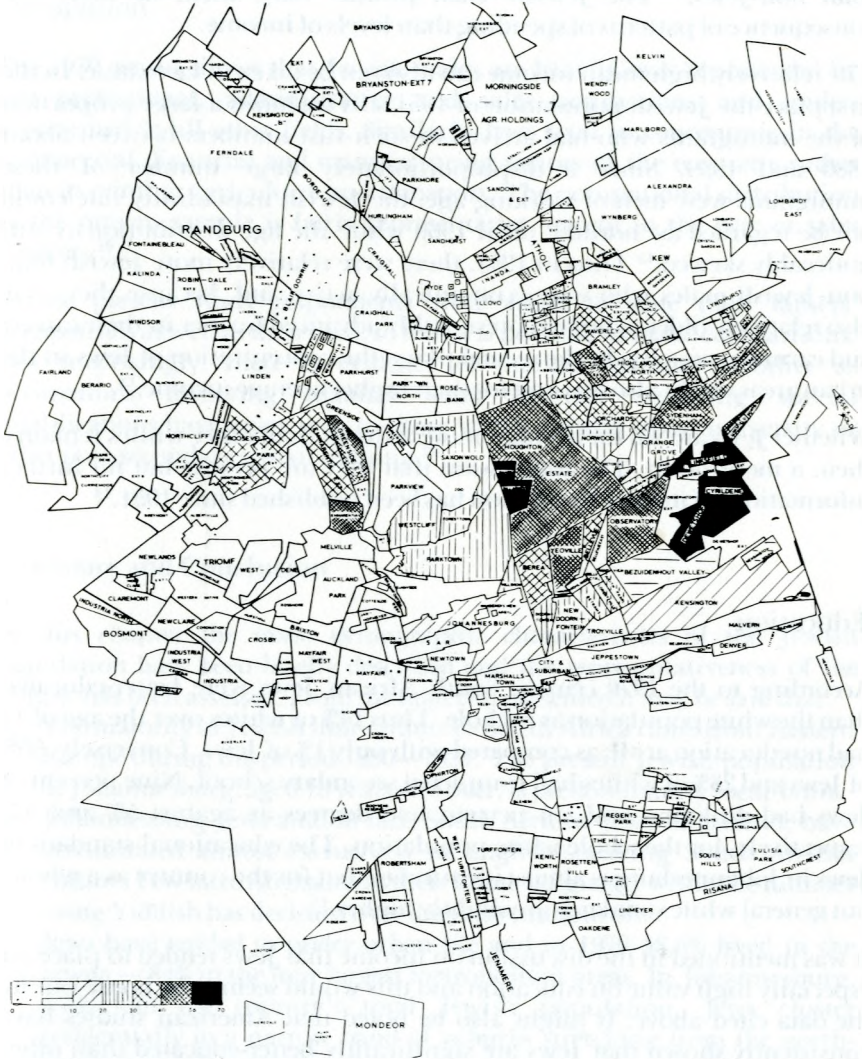
An examination of such variables as areas of residence, quality of homes, occupational distribution, education, work status and general living standards supports the popular opinion, held by Jews and non-Jews alike, that Jews belong largely to the middle, upper middle and upper income categories. This impression is apparently confirmed by the only available official census data on income according to religion. This indicated that in 1951 the mean annual income for Jewish males was R1 432 as compared with R882 for Anglicans and R668 for Dutch Reformed adherents.¹⁰

None of these variables, however, are conclusive indicators of the relative

Figure 44.1 *Proportion of Jews in each suburb to total Australian Jewish population according to 1980 census*



Figure 4.11 Proportion of Jews to total white population of each Johannesburg suburb according to 1960 census



affluence of Jews. Thus most of those mentioned above may reflect social and cultural differences between Jews and non-Jews rather than differences in income. In fact there is a great deal of evidence that Jews place a relatively high value on education, occupational independence and a high standard of living, and that they believe that they do so to a greater extent than non-Jews.¹¹ The Jewish 'class profile' may, then, be more the consequence of patterns of spending than levels of income.

The relatively high mean income can also not be taken at face value. In the first place the Jewish population of 1951 still included a large proportion of the immigrants who had arrived in such vast numbers between about 1880 and 1939. Since a disproportionately large number of these immigrants were men of working age, the Jewish masculinity rate could not be regarded as 'normal' until 1960 while the age distribution is still noticeably skewed.¹² Thus in 1951, there were relatively more Jewish than non-Jewish males who were economically active and, because they were also relatively older, who had presumably advanced further in their careers and earning capacity. In the second place, the concentration of Jews in the urban areas might also account for their higher average income.¹³

Whether Jews are, on the average, more affluent than other whites remains, then, a moot point. The impression that they are persists but no further information on income by religion has been published since 1951.¹⁴

Education

According to the 1970 census, South African Jews were better-educated than the white population as a whole. Thus 14% of whites over the age of 15 had no education at all, as compared with only 1% of Jews. Conversely, 56% of Jews and 23% of whites had completed secondary school. Nine percent of Jews had diplomas and ten percent had degrees as against 5% and 3%, respectively, for the whole white population. The educational standard of Jews in Johannesburg is almost identical to that for the country as a whole, but general white standards are slightly higher.¹⁵

It was mentioned in the discussion on income that Jews tended to place an especially high value on education and this would seem to be borne out by the data cited above. It might also be noted that American studies have consistently shown that Jews are significantly better-educated than other population groups.¹⁶

A breakdown of the 1970 census figures for Jews according to age, sex and place of birth indicates that younger people (excluding the 15—24 age group, many of whom have not completed their education), men and those born in South Africa are better-educated than older people, women and foreign-born.¹⁷

Although in the present sample the best educated sector of Johannesburg Jews is over-represented, the general features referred to above are preserved.¹⁸

Occupation

The 1970 census shows that Jewish males are heavily over-represented in the professional, administrative and sales occupations and under-represented in all other fields. Similarly Jews tend to concentrate in the commercial, financial and manufacturing sectors of the economy rather than in mining, agriculture and transport. The occupational distribution of the present sample is fairly representative, except in the case of sales workers.¹⁹

In the present study respondents were asked to state their fathers' occupations as well as their own, so that it is possible to make comparisons. Not surprisingly, there is evidence of marked upward mobility as occupations involving manual work or not requiring special qualifications have given way to those which depend upon university or other post-secondary school training.²⁰

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter the main demographic characteristics of the Jewish population have been briefly described and the representativeness of the sample has been assessed. From the material presented it may be said that:

- (a) The majority of Jewish immigrants to South Africa came from Eastern Europe during the period 1880—1937. The present Jewish population of Johannesburg, aged 18 years and over, is predominantly local-born.
- (b) Johannesburg Jews and, in fact, South African Jews in general, have acculturated almost exclusively to English-speaking South African culture. Few have Afrikaans as their home language, while the number using Yiddish has declined over the years to about 6%.
- (c) Jews have tended to prefer urban life and in 1970 98,6% lived in the towns — 84% in the four largest metropolitan areas. In Johannesburg, with half the country's total Jewish population, Jews cluster residentially in a narrow band of suburbs stretching from the north-east to the north-west.
- (d) Insofar as socio-economic status is concerned, Johannesburg Jews appear to belong predominantly to the middle and upper middle classes. Whether this is due to socio-cultural factors or to relatively higher income is not clear. However Jews are certainly over-represented in the higher occupations and are better educated than the general population.

This picture of the Jewish population applies both to Johannesburg and to South Africa as a whole, while in Britain and the United States the overall patterns appear to be similar.

In this review no attempt has been made to discuss such problems as age and sex structure, fertility rates or future growth, since these are not directly relevant to the present study. An examination of these problems, however, may be found in Dubb (1973).

As far as the present sample is concerned, it has been shown that certain biases are undoubtedly present. On the whole, however, it may be regarded as sufficiently representative of the Johannesburg Jewish population for our purposes.

Table 4.1 *Growth of Jewish population of South Africa: 1880-1960*

Year	Total	Increase since previous count		Jews as percentage of White population
		Total	Immigrants	
1880	4 000*	—		1,2**
1890	10 000*	6 000	} 40 000†	—
1900	25 000*	15 000		
1904	38 101	13 101		
1911	46 919	8 818		
1918	58 741	11 822	} 8 176†	4,1
1921	62 103	3 362		
1926	71 816	9 713		
1936	90 645	18 829	16 532°	4,5
1946	104 156	13 511	3 157°	4,4
1951	108 497	4 341	2 135°	4,1
1960	114 762	6 265	—	3,7
1970	118 200	3 438	—	3,1

- NOTE: (a) * Estimates by Saron (1965: 13; 1955: 89).
 (b) ** Saron gives the total white population of South Africa as 328 000 in 1875 and 850 000 in 1899 (1955: 85 and 89, respectively). Percentages of Jews based on these figures are, of course, only rough estimates.
 (c) ° Official Government statistics quoted by Saron (1955: Epilogue, *passim*).
 (d) † Estimates by Saron (1955: 377).

Table 4.2 Percentages of Jewish and total white populations in major cities, 1936, 1960, 1970

Cities	Percentages of total population					
	Jews			All Whites		
	1936	1960	1970	1936	1960	1970
Johannesburg/ Germiston	44,1	51,7	53,6	12,6	13,3	15,6
Cape Town	17,5	19,8	21,7	7,6	9,9	10,1
Durban	3,1	4,7	5,1	4,4	6,3	7,1
Pretoria	2,9	3,1	3,2	3,4	6,7	8,2
Port Elizabeth	2,2	2,6	2,4	2,4	3,1	4,0
Bloemfontein	1,5	1,0	1,0	1,2	2,0	1,7
East London	0,8	0,9	0,7	1,1	1,6	1,6
Kimberley	0,7	0,5	0,3	0,8	0,8	1,0
TOTAL	72,8	84,3	88,0	33,5	43,6	49,3

NOTE: Data from B of S (1966a: A—52), Sonnabend (1941 : 2), D of S (1970), D of S (1973)

Table 4.3 Johannesburg Jewish Population according to area of residence (see page 28 following)

Table 4.4 Educational standard: Johannesburg Jews and whites. Percentages

Standard of Education	Males			Females		
	1970 Whites	1970 Jews	Sample Jews	1970 Whites	1970 Jews	Sample Jews
0—Std 6	38	7	8	39	9	9
Std 7—Std 9	30	30	18	35	38	27
Std 10 (Matriculation)	32	60	73	26	51	65
TOTAL	100	97	99	100	98	101

NOTE: (a) 1970 figures for whites from D of S (1971) and for Jews from D of S (1973).
 (b) 1970 figures refer to individuals aged 15 years and over whereas sample refers to 18 years and over.

Table 4.3 Johannesburg Jewish population according to area of residence, 1960

Area Code	Suburb	All Jews	Total Population	Jews as %age of total	Each area as %age of total
02	Linden, Blairgowrie, etc	300	8 110	4	.5
04	Franklin Roosevelt Park, Montgomery Park, Emmarentia Ext	2 299	7 002	33	4.0
05	Emmarentia and Greenside Ext	2 670	4 711	57	4.6
07	Dunkeld and Dunkeld West	610	2 300	26	1.1
08	Parktown North, Rosebank	370	6 101	6	.6
09	Parkwood, Saxonwold	2 181	7 581	29	3.8
10	Riviera, Killarney	1 361	1 931	70	2.4
11	Houghton Estate	2 550	4 619	55	4.4
12	Melrose, Melrose Estate, Birdhaven, Elton Hill & Ext, Kentview & Melrose Ext & Winston Ridge, Fairway, Illovo Ext, Birnam, Melrose North, Abbotsford	1 199	3 931	30	2.1
13	Bramley, Raumarais Park, Gresswold, Savoy Estate, Waverley	1 850	4 931	37	3.2
14	Highlands North, Orchards, Gardens, Oaklands	3 800	9 441	40	6.6
15	Highlands North Ext, Fairmont, Sandringham, Sydenham	3 000	7 280	41	5.2
16	Orange Grove, Norwood, Mountain View	3 131	11 762	27	5.4
17	Linksfeld North Ext, Sydenham, Huddle Park, Linksfeld	700	1 440	49	1.2
18	Linksfeld, Cyrildene, Dewetshof	2 370	3 380	70	4.1
19	Observatory	1 910	3 389	56	3.3
20	Bellevue	2 840	8 144	35	4.9
21	Yeoville	4 081	8 602	47	7.1
22	Berea	4 490	11 160	40	7.8
23	New Doornfontein, Doornfontein	1 070	4 771	22	1.9
24	Judiths Paarl, Lorentzville, Bettrams, Highlands, Bellevue, Randview	840	6 540	13	1.5
25	Bezuidenhout Valley	620	8 256	7	1.1
26	Kensington Northern Portion	1 020	8 291	12	1.8
27	Kensington Southern Portion	520	6 051	8	.9
29	Jeppestown	220	11 408	2	.4
33	Johannesburg Central	700	5 754	12	1.2
34	Hospital Hill (South & Central), Joubert Park	2 251	11 963	19	3.9
35	Hillbrow, Braamfontein & Hospital Hill North	2 290	8 091	28	4.0
36	Forest Town, Westcliff, Parktown, Parktown & Westcliff	1 710	7 211	24	3.0
37	Joubert Park, SA Railways, Wanderers View, Queen Victoria Hospital, Hillbrow, Braamfontein, Hospital Hill	340	7 868	4	.6
40	Ferreirstown, Johannesburg Central	829	5 670	15	1.4
42	Mayfair	310	11 870	3	.5
62	La Rochelle, Rosherville	240	14 519	2	.4
63	The Hill Ext, The Hill, Rewlatch & Ext 1 and Ext 2, Klipriviersberg Small-Holdings	220	3 420	6	.4
	Selected Areas — Total	54 892	237 498	23	95.2
	Areas Omitted — Total	2 759	161 019	2	4.8
	All Areas — Total	57 651	398 517	14	100.0

NOTE: (a) Area Codes and Suburbs determined by Department of Census.

(b) Column headed *Jews as %age of total* gives proportion of Jews in the total white population of each suburb.

(c) Column headed *Each area as %age of total* gives proportion of total Jews in Johannesburg living in each suburb.

(d) Table calculated from B of S (nd).

Table 4.5 *Occupation: Johannesburg Jewish and white males: percentages*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>1970 Whites</i>	<i>1970 Jews</i>	<i>Sample Jews</i>
Professional	16	24	27
Administrative	12	22	36
Clerical	15	11	12
Sales	15	32	13
Services	5	2	—
Production Workers	34	8	12
TOTAL	97	99	100

- NOTE: (a) 1970 figures for whites and Jews from D of S (1972) and D of S (1973), respectively.
- (b) Discrepancies between 1970 figures for Jews and sample figures for Administrative and Sales categories are probably due less to unrepresentative sampling than to confusion. This is because managers and working proprietors could be classified into either of the two categories as the criteria are not always clear.
- (c) Figures refer to economically active males only.

Table 4.6 *1968 sample: Johannesburg Jewish males' occupations X their fathers' occupations*

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Fathers</i>
Medical	4	0
Student	18	—
Engineer	8	3
Pharmacist	4	0
Scientist	2	0
Legal	5	4
Other Professional and Technical	7	3
Manager, owner	41	74
Accountant	5	4
Clerk	8	4
Salesman	15	11
Skilled Worker	12	23
Semi-, unskilled labourer	2	4
TOTAL	131	130

Notes

1. For more detailed analyses of the demography of the South African Jewish population see Dubb (1973) and Cohen and Dubb (in press). An analysis of the official 1970 census data on Jews is currently in preparation by the author. Finally, a major socio-demographic study of South African Jews is now nearing completion and a report by the author is intended in due course.
2. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies is a loose federation of Jewish congregations and other associations throughout the Republic. Although it has no official standing, it is regarded, for all practical purposes, as representing the corporate interests of the Jewish community in relation to the Government and its administration.
3. Siann (1952) and Aronstam (1974) have done similar but smaller scale studies of Cape Town and Bloemfontein, respectively.
4. Official figures made available to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies show that of a total 16 532 Jewish immigrants to the country from 1927—1936, 6 510 (39%) came from Lithuania, 1 593 (10%) came from Latvia, and 2 513 (15%) came from Poland. In the present study of Johannesburg Jews it was found that 70% were either descendents of Eastern European immigrants or were themselves born there.
5. The relevant information is presented in Table 4.1.
6. See Appendix C, Table 9.
7. B of S (1966b: 4—5); Hotz (1965: 19); B of S (1964: A-12); D of S (1970); D of S (1973: Table A1).
8. See Table 4.2.
9. See also Table 4.3.
10. B of S (1956: 38, Table 6).
11. See chapter on Culture for evidence from the present investigation. Studies in Britain and the United States that have come to similar conclusions include Gould and Esh (eds) (1961: 27—40, 144), Glazer and Moynihan (1963: 137—166), Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968: *passim*), Sklare (1958: 45—165).
12. The masculinity rate for South African whites and Jews respectively, for the years 1904, 1936, 1951 and 1960 were: 132:211, 103:114, 101:103 and 99:99. In 1936, 32% of whites and 39% of Jews were aged between 20—39; 19% whites and 23% Jews were aged 40—59; 8% and 7% were over 60. In 1960, 27% whites and 23% Jews were between 20—39; 22% whites and 29% Jews were 40—59; 10% whites and 13% Jews were over 60. By 1970 the local-born Jewish population had an age distribution similar to that of all whites. However, the foreign-born Jewish immigrants now swell the over-55 age category, skewing the overall distribution. For discussion and tables see Dubb (1973) and Cohen and Dubb (in press).
13. It is suggested here that mean urban incomes are probably higher than rural

incomes. No statistical evidence was, however, available to test this proposition.

14. Data on income for the present sample (see Appendix C, Table 13) are of limited value since almost half the male respondents refused to give any information.
15. See Table 4.4.
16. See references cited in footnote 12 above.
17. D of S (1973). See also Cohen and Dubb (in press).
18. See Table 4.4.
19. See Table 4.5.
20. See Table 4.6.

Chapter Five

The Attitudinal Aspect of Jewish Identification

Introduction

In Chapter Two it was observed that most American studies of Jewish identification were concerned with the measurement of attitudes. To some extent this emphasis was based on the impression that as Jews became increasingly acculturated to American society, they tended to express their ethnic identity most clearly and tenaciously at the sentimental level. In postulating that this is equally true of South African Jews, the present study goes beyond many of the American investigations by also enquiring into action (or at least action tendency) patterns and by seeking relationships between these and expressed attitudes. In this chapter the nature and extent of belief and feelings about being Jewish will be explored in general terms; in subsequent chapters relations between attitudes and action tendencies will be examined in terms of the various dimensions of Jewish identification which have been defined.

The Attitude Scale

For the pilot study, a schedule of 98 attitude statements was drawn up. Some of these items were derived from the preliminary interviews or were compiled by the author while others were taken from previous studies.¹ The items, which were randomly arranged on the schedule itself, made up eight sub-scales. These were: Religion — traditional; Religion — reform (or 'progressive'); Ethnocentrism — in-group survival; Ethnocentrism — in-group superiority; Antisemitism and self-hatred; Zionism; Social Relations — associational preferences; and attitudes to South Africa.

Respondents, who were handed a copy of the schedule for reference, were asked to rate each statement on a five-point scale ranging from 'Strongly Agree' to 'Strongly Disagree'. Responses were scored from 1 to 5, a response of 'Strongly Agree' being assigned 5 in some instances and 1 in others so as to maintain unidirectionality of each sub-scale. Respondents' scores for each sub-scale were obtained by simple summation.

The decision to use a Likert-type scale rather than a Thurstone one, was taken primarily because, as far as was known, this was the first study of its kind in this country. It was therefore felt that it would be better to test items in the field, rather than have them preselected and rated by a panel of judges. It would, in any event, have been extremely difficult to decide on the optimum criteria for choosing such a panel.

The selection of statements for the final schedule was based on the discriminative powers (dp) obtained for these statements in the pilot study.² The dp's were calculated as follows: for each sub-scale the 25% highest and lowest scoring respondents were selected, and the mean item scores for each category were calculated. The differences between these high and low means yielded the discriminative power of each item. Since the magnitude of the dp reflects the extent to which high (or low) scorers on the whole sub-scale also obtain high (or low) scores on any component item, it is a good indication of the relation between any item and all the others.

The final schedule (Appendix A, question 34), comprised 48 statements of which 36 had obtained high dp's in the pilot, 7 obtained low dp's but were regarded as interesting in their own right, and 5 were new items. This schedule was scored in the same way as the pilot one, and dp's were calculated in relation to eight slightly amended sub-scales which were: Social Relations; Insecurity in South Africa; Religious Beliefs; Ethnocentrism; South African Politics; Antisemitism; Zionism; Religious Conservatism. Seven items were eliminated in calculating the final sub-scale totals because of low dp's.³ The range of scores on sub-scales depended on the number of items: thus, seven-item scale scores ranged between 7 (ie 7 X the minimum score of 1) and 35 (ie 7 X the maximum score of 5), while those on the three-item Insecurity scale ranged from 3 to 15. The distributions of scores for each item together with means, standard deviations and discriminative powers are presented in Appendix C, Table 55. Table 5.1 gives the distribution of sub-scale totals, their means, standard deviations, standard errors and medians. Figures 5.1 (a) to (h) are graphic representations of these distributions.

Without examining each individual item, what do the sub-scales measure? On the Social Relations sub-scale, each of the seven items defines a social situation in terms of whether or not other participants are Jews, and respondents are asked to indicate preferences. Examples are 'I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood' or 'Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones'. The situations referred to vary in the degree of intimacy, formality and organization and the implications of these variations are discussed in the chapter on Social Relations. Taken as a whole, however, the sub-scale may be said to measure the extent to which respondents may, in a general way, prefer to associate with Jews rather than with non-Jews. A score of 5 or 4 on an individual item (or a high score on

the scale as a whole) would indicate a positive preference for interacting with other Jews while an item score of 2 or 1 (or a low sub-scale total) would indicate the absence or weakness of such a preference (though not necessarily a preference for non-Jews).

The Religious Beliefs sub-scale, also comprising seven items (an eighth having been discarded because of low discriminative power) covers what may be regarded as the basic tenets of the Jewish religion. These may, in turn, be grouped into two categories: those referring to belief in and attributes of God, ('God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny'), and those referring to the obligation, which Jews have, to observe God's Law ('One should try to observe all the *mitzvoth* [religious laws]'). The sub-scale as a whole reflects the extent to which respondents accept or reject Judaism as a belief system. A high score on individual items and, consequently, on the scale indicates a positive attitude towards these beliefs, while a low score reflects an agnostic or even an atheistic position.

The five items on the Ethnocentrism sub-scale may be roughly divided into those in which Jews and non-Jews are compared in respect of some valued characteristic, ('Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews') and those which reflect the desire for Jewish survival ('I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as Xmas trees'). The items are nevertheless treated as forming a single sub-scale on the basis of their dp's. High scores on the whole sub-scale reflect both the feeling that Jews are superior *and* that the Jewish group should survive, while low scores indicate the opposite sentiments. Scores in the middle of the range, however, will usually reflect *either* a belief in the superiority of Jews or, more frequently, the desire for Jewish survival.

The Antisemitism sub-scale was designed to measure the extent to which Jews accepted well-known non-Jewish stereotypes of themselves as well as their fear of exacerbating antisemitism by their own behaviour. Examples are, respectively, 'The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish' and 'I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places'. A high score on the Antisemitism scale, then, indicates disagreement with pejorative stereotypes of Jews as well as indifference to 'bad' behaviour by individual Jews. A low score, on the other hand, indicates agreement with these stereotypes, probably in relation to Jews other than oneself, and sensitivity to 'bad' behaviour. The scale has been labelled 'Antisemitism' rather than 'Self-hatred' for reasons discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The Zionism sub-scale was the most difficult to construct as no anti-Israel or anti-Zionist sentiments could be elicited either in the pilot study or in the final sample. This tended to confirm the popular belief that South African Jews are a 'Zionist community'. In the final schedule some of the low dp pilot items were nevertheless included as well as several new untested items. The final sub-scale comprises four high dp items, two of which refer to the

general relationship of Jews to Israel, and two of which refer to immigration to that country. A high score on the scale indicates an especially positive Zionist (or pro-Israel) orientation while a low score indicates, at worst, indifference rather than an anti-Zionist attitude.

The Religious Conservatism sub-scale was designed to elicit attitudes towards Orthodox and Reform Judaism,⁴ respectively. Conservatism thus has nothing to do with basic beliefs but, rather, with form. The question is whether respondents feel that it is better for the community to maintain traditional forms of Judaism or whether it should attempt to adapt and change them. A high score on individual items and, therefore on the scale, reflects a desire to maintain Orthodox traditions while a low score indicates that Reform Judaism is favoured. A score in the middle of the range cannot be interpreted as it may indicate either ambivalence, or rejection of both forms of Judaism: This is an inherent weakness of the Religious Conservatism scale.

The two sub-scales Insecurity in South Africa and South African Politics refer to the South African situation. The first, consisting of three items, measures fear of antisemitism as a possible political weapon. A low score on this scale indicates the existence of such a fear, a high score that such a possibility is discounted.

The South African Politics sub-scale consists of seven items relating to various aspects of black-white relations in the political sphere. Several items directly elicit attitudes to government policy (including separate development, job reservation) while others refer to the way in which Jews should react to discrimination against non-whites ('Because of their own persecution Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa'). Those referring to government policy can be further sub-divided into those which apply to overall political relations and those which are generally referred to as 'petty *apartheid*'. A high score indicates agreement with government policy and general satisfaction with its racial policy, while a low score indicates opposition to government policy. An examination of item scores⁵ reveals a fairly sharp difference between distributions on items relating to appropriate Jewish reaction and those dealing with policy. Thus scores in the middle range express, in many cases, disagreement with government policy but, at the same time, unwillingness that Jews, as Jews, should involve themselves in direct protest.

Table 5.1 *Distribution of sub-scale scores: frequencies, percentages, means, median and standard deviations*

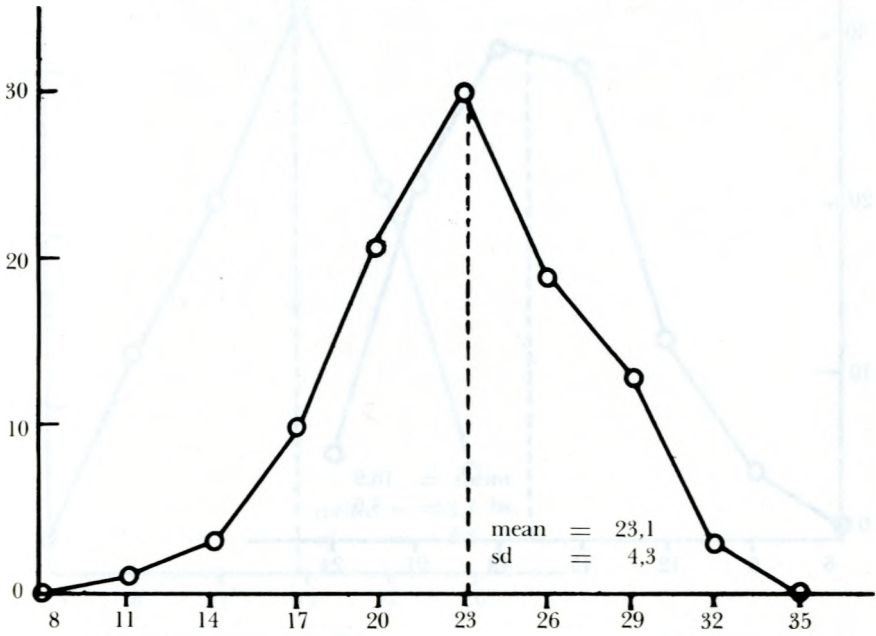
Score	Sub-scale frequencies and percentages							
	SR	RB	ETH	AS	Z	RC	INS	SA
	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %
3							1 0	
4				1 0	2 1	2 1	3 1	
5			0 0	1 0	0 0	3 1	6 2	
6			0 0	6 2	3 1	9 3	20 8	
7	0 0	2 1	2 1	14 5	5 2	14 5	27 10	4 2
8	0 0	1 0	0 0	33 13	11 4	25 10	67 26	4 2
9	0 0	1 0	5 2	20 8	18 7	18 7	35 13	2 1
10	2 1	4 2	5 2	40 15	21 8	22 8	51 19	2 1
11	2 1	2 1	8 3	21 8	12 5	24 9	18 7	5 2
12	0 0	2 1	9 3	46 18	24 9	25 10	19 7	3 1
13	1 0	4 2	16 6	20 8	20 8	22 8	6 2	7 3
14	2 1	12 5	25 10	26 10	53 20	34 13	2 1	2 1
15	4 2	7 3	19 7	19 7	15 6	12 5	1 0	14 5
16	7 3	5 2	29 11	13 5	34 13	18 7		10 4
17	3 1	12 5	23 9	1 0	16 6	19 7		14 5
18	15 6	9 3	36 14	1 0	10 4	9 3		14 5
19	13 5	11 4	16 6	0 0	11 4	3 1		15 6
20	24 9	13 5	23 9	0 0	6 2	3 1		22 8
21	18 7	9 3	19 7					31 12
22	25 10	10 4	12 5					28 11
23	23 9	19 7	9 3					13 5
24	30 11	22 8	6 2					18 7
25	18 7	15 6	0 0					13 5
26	13 5	23 9						16 6
27	19 7	16 6						5 2
28	19 7	30 11						5 2
29	10 4	4 2						4 2
30	5 2	10 4						2 1
31	3 1	10 4						2 1
32	5 2	2 1						0 0
33	1 0	4 2						1 0
34	0 0	2 1						0 0
35	0 0	1 0						0 0
MEAN	23,1	22,9	16,9	11,2	13,4	12,0	8,8	20,2
MEDIAN	23,2	24,3	17,1	11,3	13,8	12,1	8,6	20,8
SD	4,3	5,8	3,6	2,7	3,3	3,6	2,0	5,0
SE	,27	,36	,22	,17	,20	,22	,12	,31
N	262	262	262	262	261	262	256	256

NOTE: As remarked in Chapter Three, 21 of the total 283 respondents were unable to answer the attitude schedule because of language difficulties. It should be noted that of these 12 were aged 65 years or more and a further 7 between 55—64. Furthermore 13 had not gone beyond a primary education.

It is impossible to know how this has affected the representativeness of attitude scale responses except insofar as the decision to exclude the 65+ age group from all cross-tabulations between attitude sub-scales and age.

It should also be mentioned that the responses of an additional six respondents who omitted one or more items on the SA and INS scales, were excluded from both. None of their characteristics appear to be significant.

(a) *Social Relations (SR)*



(b) *Religious Beliefs (RB)*

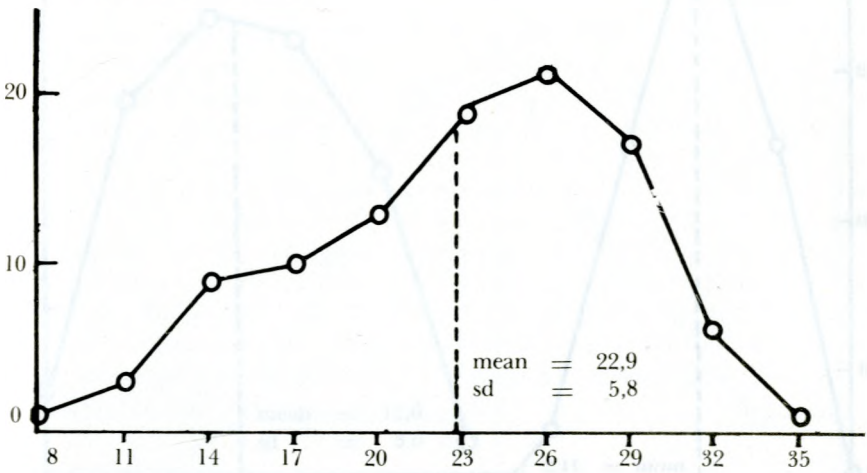
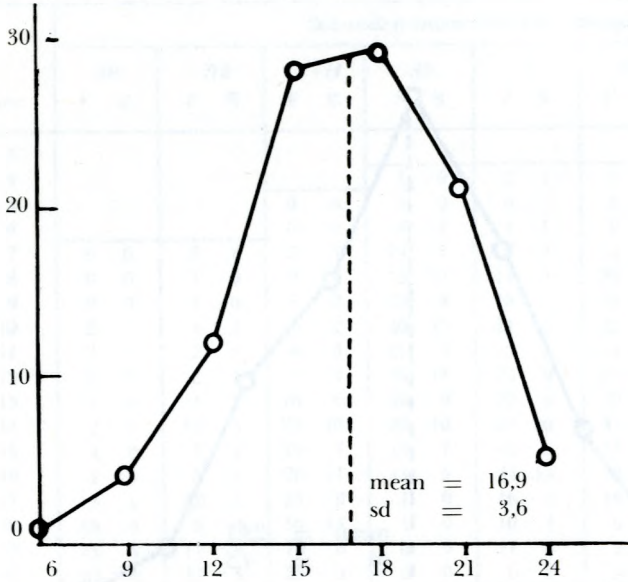


Figure 5.I Percentage frequency distribution curves of attitude sub-scales

(c) Ethnocentrism (ETH)



(d) Antisemitism (AS)

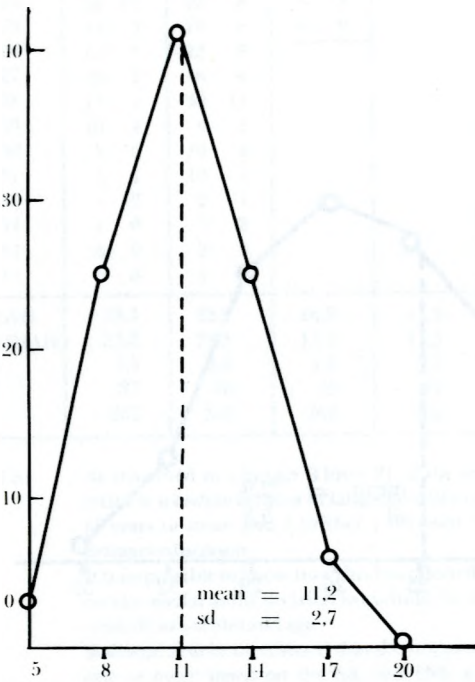
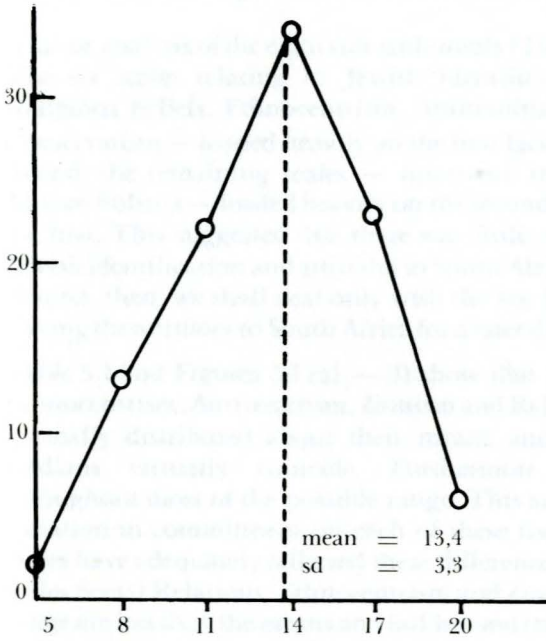


Figure 5.1 continued

(e) *Zionism (Z)*



(f) *Religious Conservatism (RC)*

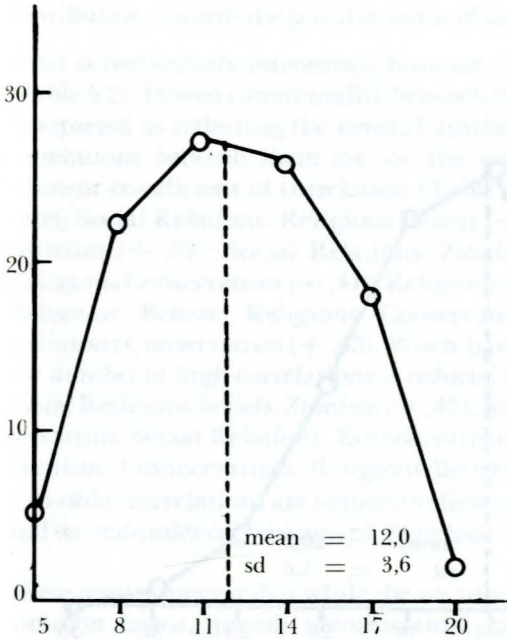
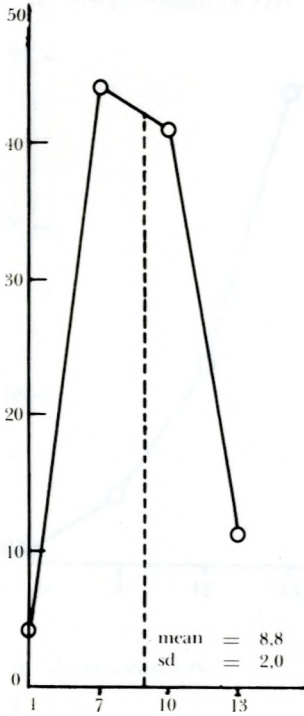


Figure 5.1 continued

(g) Insecurity in South Africa (INS)



(h) South African Politics (SA)

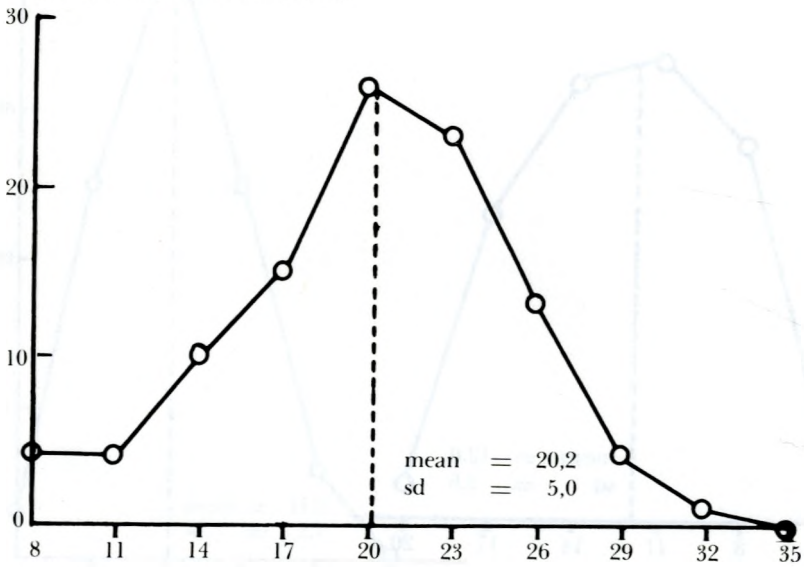


Figure 5.I continued

The Results of the Jewish Identification Sub-Scales

A factor analysis of the eight sub-scale totals (Table 5.2) yielded two factors. The six scales relating to Jewish identification — Social Relations, Religious Beliefs, Ethnocentrism, Antisemitism, Zionism and Religious Conservatism — loaded heavily on the first factor and only slightly on the second; the remaining scales — Insecurity in South Africa and South African Politics — loaded heavily on the second factor and only slightly on the first. This suggested that there was little or no relationship between Jewish identification and attitudes to South Africa. In the remainder of this chapter, then, we shall deal only with the six Jewish identification scales leaving the attitudes to South Africa for a later discussion.

Table 5.1 and Figures 5.1 (a) — (f) show that the scales Social Relations, Ethnocentrism, Antisemitism, Zionism and Religious Conservatism are all normally distributed about their means and that means, modes and medians virtually coincide. Furthermore, scores are distributed throughout most of the possible range. This suggests that there is a wide variation in commitment on each of these five dimensions and that the scales have adequately reflected these differences. At the same time, on the scales Social Relations, Ethnocentrism and Zionism, the mid-points of the range are less than the means and fall beyond (mean — 3 s.e.) — evidence of a slight, but significant, bias towards positive identification. This bias is manifested most markedly in the skewing of the Religious Beliefs distribution towards the positive sector of the range.

What is particularly interesting, however, is that although factor analysis (Table 5.2) showed communality between the six scales — which could be interpreted as reflecting the general attribute of Jewish identification — correlations between them are, on the whole, low. Using the product-moment co-efficient of correlation (Table 5.3) $r \geq \pm .4$ in the following cases: Social Relations: Religious Beliefs (+, .47); Social Relations: Ethnocentrism (+, .57); Social Relations: Zionism (+, .43); Social Relations: Religious Conservatism (+, .41); Religious Beliefs: Ethnocentrism (+, .46); Religious Beliefs: Religious Conservatism (+, .53); Ethnocentrism: Religious Conservatism (+, .42). When partial correlations are calculated, the number of high correlations is reduced to: Social Relations: Ethnocentrism. Religious Beliefs. Zionism (+, .42); Religious Beliefs: Religious Conservatism. Social Relations. Ethnocentrism (+, .38); and Social Relations: Zionism. Ethnocentrism. Religious Beliefs (+, .27). The remaining high zero-order correlations are reduced to first-order correlations of less than .3 and second-order correlations of .21 or less.

These results suggest that while the six sub-scales may be said to measure a common factor, Jewish identification, each measures a different and relatively independent aspect. We must conclude that apart, presumably, from the extremes, most respondents scored higher on some scales and

lower on others or, to put it another way, most respondents probably identified positively on at least one dimension.

Having discussed the sub-scales as a whole, we now turn to a consideration of patterns of response to the individual items. Table 5.4 shows the proportion of respondents identifying positively or negatively on each item, together with item means. The items are arranged in order of decreasing magnitude of means and of decreasing proportion of positive to negative responses. The 15 items whose means are above the scale midpoint (3) are also markedly positively skewed (ie 1.5:1 or more). Although these items come from all the sub-scales except Antisemitism, they do appear to exhibit some common features. Thus items 17, 3, 9 (perhaps), 4, 32, 19 and 38 (perhaps) all relate to the desire for Jewish survival; items 2, 1, 17, 3 and 4 all express the preference for confining primary informal and formal social relations within the Jewish group; items 33, 32 and 28 make up three out of the four items on the Zionism sub-scale; items 11, 8, 9, 13 and perhaps 35 express a basic religious commitment. Of those items with means below 3 and with the proportion of negative responses exceeding positive ones, some clearly imply a pejorative evaluation of non-Jews (20, 10) or of sections of the Jewish community (38, 37), while others reflect the fear that Jewish characteristics may provoke negative non-Jewish reaction (25, 23, 22). The remaining items — 7, 36, 14, 18, 24, 12, 5, 6 — are less easy to classify.

The pattern of responses to the individual items suggests that the overwhelming majority of respondents desire the survival of the Jewish group, and that although this may be expressed in different ways most respondents have probably done so in terms of several dimensions. Similarly, as we shall demonstrate in the chapter on Social Relations, there is evidence of a fairly general preference to confine more intimate relations within the Jewish group — although many respondents are reluctant to give the impression that they are prejudiced towards or discriminate against non-Jews. Finally, we find that a majority have strong pro-Israel, or Zionist, sentiments. Certainly it would seem as if encouragement of one's children to settle in Israel is a diacritical element of positive Jewish identification.

Drawing together all the material discussed in this section we may say that 'thinking' and 'feeling' Jewish is an important aspect of being Jewish — although, presumably, some respondents, despite acknowledging their Jewishness, had uniformly negative attitudes. These sentiments and beliefs, however, were expressed in terms of different aspects of Jewishness in a variety of combinations. At the same time, certain specific attitudes, relating to all aspects, appeared to be held by an overwhelming majority of respondents.

Table 5.2 *Sub-scale totals: rotated factor matrix*

<i>Sub-scale</i>	<i>Factor I</i>	<i>Factor II</i>
Social Relations	,76719	—,09795
Religious Beliefs	,76870	,13454
Ethnocentrism	,75806	—,11678
Antisemitism	—,41164	—,21451
Zionism	,61566	—,19162
Religious Conservatism	,69579	,15034
Insecurity in South Africa	—,29282	,73194
South African Politics	,27831	,78973

Table 5.3 *Product-moment correlation co-efficients between attitude sub-scales*

<i>Sub-scale</i>	<i>Religious Beliefs</i>	<i>Ethnocentrism</i>	<i>Antisemitism</i>	<i>Zionism</i>	<i>Religious Conservatism</i>	<i>Insecurity in South Africa</i>	<i>South African Politics</i>
Social Relations	,47	,57	—,15	,43	,41	—,17	,13
Religious Beliefs		,46	—,26	,33	,53	—,15	,25
Ethnocentrism			—,26	,32	,42	—,22	,10
Antisemitism				—,15	—,15	,12	—,23
Zionism					,31	—,20	,07
Religious Conservatism						—,05	,18
Insecurity in South Africa							,24

Table 5.4 Items comprising six Jewish identification sub-scales: arranged according to direction and degree of skewing of distribution of scores

No in Table C 55	Sub-scale	Proportion respondents identifying + : -	Mean	SD	Item (paraphrased)
33	Z	6 : 1	3,9	1,0	Would encourage child to settle in Israel if he wished
1	RB	5 : 1	3,7	1,1	God approachable through prayer
16	ETH	4 : 1	3,7	1,1	Jews more sensitive than non-Jews
2	SR	4 : 1	3,7	1,1	Feel more at home with Jews
1	SR	4 : 1	3,7	1,0	More at home Jewish neighbourhood
8	RB	4 : 1	3,7	1,2	God is creator and guide
17	ETH	3 : 1	3,6	1,1	Jewish male should not give up Jewishness for love of gentile girl
3	SR	3 : 1	3,5	1,0	Should participate Jewish communal activities
9	RB	3 : 1	3,5	1,2	Torah from God and unchangeable
4	SR	2 : 1	3,5	1,2	Should belong to synagogue
32	Z	2 : 1	3,5	1,1	Diaspora Jewish survival depends mainly on bonds with Israel
19	ETH	2 : 1	3,5	1,3	Disgraceful to adopt non-Jewish customs like Xmas trees
13	RB	2 : 1	3,3	1,1	Should try to observe <i>mitzvot</i>
28	Z	1,5 : 1	3,3	1,3	Jewish dignity depends on Israel's survival
35	RC	1,5 : 1	3,3	1,3	Orthodox synagogue service inspiring
7	SR	1,4 : 1	3,2	1,2	Prefer Jewish professionals to handle my affairs
36	RC	1,3 : 1	3,2	1,3	Better to be non-observant but orthodox than join Reform
14	RB	1,3 : 1	3,1	1,2	<i>Kashruth</i> cornerstone of Judaism
18	ETH	1,2 : 1	3,1	1,1	Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews
24	AS	1,2 : 1	3,1	1,1	Antisemitism not directed more against foreign than SA-born Jews
12	RB	less than 80%	3,1	1,1	God rewards and punishes
5	SR	1 : 1	3,0	1,0	Should not join mixed rather than Jewish clubs
38	RC	less than 80%	3,0	1,1	Reform synagogue service uninspiring
20	ETH	0,9 : 1	2,9	1,1	Jews have superior intellect
25	AS	0,9 : 1	2,9	1,1	Jews not too intrusive
29	Z	0,6 : 1	2,7	1,2	Every Jew who can should settle in Israel
23	AS	0,5 : 1	2,7	1,1	Jews not too clannish
37	RC	0,4 : 1	2,6	1,0	Reform Judaism not a serious attempt to apply basic principles of faith to modern life
10	RB	0,5 : 1	2,5	1,1	Jews are chosen people
22	AS	0,4 : 1	2,5	1,2	Not ashamed of Jews making themselves publicly conspicuous
6	SR	0,3 : 1	2,4	1,0	Prefer to shop at Jewish stores

NOTE: (a) Key to sub-scales: SR — Social Relations; RB — Religious Beliefs; ETH — Ethnocentrism; AS — Antisemitism; Z — Zionism; RC — Religious Conservatism.

(b) Proportion of + : - not given where over 20% of respondents were undecided.

The Relationship Between Sub-Scale Scores and Demographic and Other Variables

Each sub-scale was split at the median and cross-tabulated against sex, age, general education, generation, synagogue affiliation, standard of Jewish education and source of Jewish education. Each tabulation was then subjected to the median test (chi square) in order to determine the significance of the distributions. It should be noted that while, in general, tables yielding a chi square value giving $p > .05$ have been examined in order not to exclude inadvertently any possible significant relationship, the preferred level of confidence is $.01$.

(a) Sex

Sex was not significantly related to any of the scales except, at the 5% level of confidence, to Social Relations. It was found that women identify *slightly* more positively than men on this dimension. Some supporting evidence, discussed in the following chapter, is that less women join non-Jewish organizations than men. No explanation is offered at this point for these findings.

(b) Age

Age was significantly related to all sub-scales except Social Relations, and the cross-tabulations are presented in Tables 5.5 to 5.9. The Tables indicate that on all the scales the age-group 18—24 was distributed proportionately, and in the case of Zionism the group extended from 18—34. On the sub-scales Religious Beliefs, Religious Conservatism and Ethnocentrism the age-group 35—54 was also proportionately distributed. On these scales, then, it was the two remaining age groups that contributed most towards the value of chi square: the group 25—34 were significantly less positive while the 55—64 group was significantly more positive than expected. On the Antisemitism scale the age-group 25—34 was significantly more positive — that is they rejected pejorative assessments of Jews and were not concerned with bad behaviour of individuals — while the 45—54 group was both more sensitive and assessed their fellows more harshly. Other groups were proportionately distributed. On the Zionism scale both the 35—44 and 55—64 groups were more pro-Zionist than expected, while the 45—54 group was significantly less so.

To sum up the relationship between the various scales and age, we may say that the youngest age group, 18—24, is generally evenly distributed whereas the oldest group, 55—64, tends consistently to identify most strongly. The position of the older group is probably due to the fact that many of them were born in Eastern Europe or were brought up by parents who were born there. The youngest age-group probably reflects, to some extent, the attitudes of their parents in the group 35—54. On three scales, and perhaps those reflecting attitudes that children would most likely be

aware of — Religious Beliefs, Religious Conservatism and Ethnocentrism — the 35—54 group is distributed similarly to the 18—24 group. On the Zionism scale, the peculiarly negative bias of the older half of the parental age-group (45—54), may well be due on the one hand to the particular difficulties for people in the prime of their working lives, to uproot themselves and settle elsewhere, and on the other to the fact that it is they, above all, for whom the possibility of children settling in Israel is most real. The more positive attitudes of the 35—44 group to Zionism reflects the fact that this group comprises parents of primary and high school children and that many of them may feel that it would still be possible to make a move both from their own point of view and from that of their children.

The most interesting age-group, however, is that between 25—34. This group includes the bulk of those unmarried persons who are almost entirely independent of their parents' control as well as newly-weds and couples with small children. This is the group who are frequently regarded as 'lost' by leaders of the community. It would seem that their Jewishness is in 'abeyance': they tend to have less positive religious beliefs, are less traditionalist, less ethnocentric and less concerned about antisemitism. Unless they represent a marked trend — which the responses of the younger age-group do not confirm — they will probably begin to identify more

Table 5.5 *Age X religious beliefs*

<i>Age</i> \ <i>RB</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Total</i>
18—24	30	24	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	0	0	
25—34	41	16	57
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,60	3,30	
35—54	55	49	104
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,19	,24	
55—64	13	20	33
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,63	2,09	
TOTAL	139	109	248

df = 3 chi square = 10,05 p < ,02

Table 5.6 Age X religious conservatism

Age \ RC	Median and below	Above median	Total
18 — 24	32	22	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,23	,27	
25 — 34	40	17	57
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,61	3,11	
35 — 54	53	51	104
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,23	,27	
55 — 64	10	23	33
$(o - e)^2 / e$	3,55	4,27	
TOTAL	135	113	248

df = 3 chi square = 14,54 p < ,01

Table 5.7 Age X ethnocentrism

Age \ ETH	Median and below	Above median	Total
18 — 24	30	24	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,02	,02	
25 — 34	38	19	57
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,68	1,98	
35 — 54	55	49	104
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,02	,03	
55 — 64	11	22	33
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,60	3,04	
TOTAL	134	114	248

df = 3 chi square = 9,39 p < ,05

Table 5.8 Age X Zionism

<i>Age</i> \ <i>Z</i>	<i>Below median</i>	<i>Median and above</i>	<i>Total</i>
18-34	53	58	111
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,19	,16	
35-44	16	33	49
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,64	1,33	
45-54	32	22	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,44	2,00	
55-64	10	23	33
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,56	1,26	
TOTAL	111	136	247

df = 3 chi square = 10,58 $p < ,02$

Table 5.9 Age X antisemitism

<i>Age</i> \ <i>AS</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Total</i>
18-24	25	29	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,18	,18	
25-34	21	36	57
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,06	2,09	
35-44	25	24	49
$(o - e)^2 / e$	0	0	
45-54	36	19	55
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,49	2,52	
55-64	18	15	33
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,12	,12	
TOTAL	125	123	248

df = 4 chi square = 9,76 $p < ,05$

strongly as their children begin to go to school and problems of Jewish education, a Jewish upbringing and other such questions arise. Their responses on the Antisemitism scale, however, are difficult to interpret.

(c) *General education*

No relationship was found between standard of education and the Ethnocentrism and Zionism scales. On the three scales, Social Relations, Religious Beliefs and Religious Conservatism the least educated group — those with only a primary school education — identified most positively: they exhibited a more marked preference to associate with other Jews, they were more religious and they favoured orthodox Judaism. On the other hand, those with a post-secondary education were more ready to extend their social relationships beyond the confines of the Jewish community, were less religious and were less orthodox. With regard to this last-mentioned, however, it should be recalled that on the Religious Conservatism scale scores near the middle of the range cannot be interpreted precisely. The intermediate group, those with a secondary education, were distributed evenly on the Social Relations and Religious Conservatism scales but tended to identify more positively than expected on Religious Beliefs. On the Antisemitism scale the important difference is between those with a post-secondary education and those with less: the most highly-educated group is significantly less willing to accept negative stereotypes of Jews and less prone to embarrassment about fellow-Jews than those who are less-educated.

(d) *Generation*

Apart from Ethnocentrism and Social Relations, the median test indicates that there is a significant relationship between scale scores and whether respondents were born in Eastern Europe rather than in South Africa or elsewhere. On the Religious Beliefs, Religious Conservatism and Zionism scales, those born in Eastern Europe identified most positively. Furthermore, this group showed most sensitivity on the Antisemitism scale — presumably because of their own experiences in their countries of origin. The only other significant relationships were on the two Religion scales for the group 'Father born in South Africa' — ie, second or third generation locally-born. On these two scales, this group identified significantly less positively than other respondents.

(e) *Synagogue affiliation*

Membership of, or preference for, the Orthodox or Reform movements, or total non-affiliation were significantly related to all but the Antisemitism scale. For the most part, however, the difference was not between Orthodox and Reform Jews, but between those two categories combined and those who had no affiliations. This last category had significantly less positive attitudes than the other two: more were prepared to interact with non-Jews,

fewer accepted the basic tenets of Judaism or valued traditional Judaism, fewer regarded Jews as superior or desired the survival of Jews, and fewer were pro-Zionist. The only significant difference between Orthodox and Reform adherents, was that the latter were more prepared to interact with non-Jews. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences between Orthodox and Reform Jews on either of the Religion sub-scales (Tables 5.10 and 5.11)

Table 5.10 *Synagogue affiliation X religious beliefs*

<i>Synagogue</i> \ <i>RB</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Total</i>
Orthodox	103	94	197
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,30	,37	
Reform	14	14	28
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,13	,15	
Neither	27	9	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2,53	3,13	
TOTAL	144	117	261

df = 2 chi square = 6,58 p < ,05

Table 5.11 *Synagogue affiliation X religious conservatism*

<i>Synagogue</i> \ <i>RC</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Total</i>
Orthodox	100	97	197
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,48	,58	
Reform	13	15	28
$(o - e)^2 / e$	,32	,38	
Neither	29	7	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	4,51	5,39	
TOTAL	142	119	261

df = 2 chi square = 11,66 p < ,01

(f) *Jewish Education Standard and Source*⁶

The last two variables to be examined were standard and source of Jewish education. The most important finding is that apart from the exceptions shown in Tables 5.12 and 5.13 there appears to be no significant relationship between attitudes to Jewish identification and Jewish education. The first exception is to be found on the Religious Conservatism scale, Table 5.12, in which those with a minimal Jewish education (that is, between 0—2 years as a young child, or *barmitzvah* lessons only) are significantly less traditionalist in outlook than those who had any Jewish education at all. The second exception, Table 5.13, is that Religious Beliefs are related to the source of Jewish education. It was found that those who had attended a Jewish day school are significantly more religious than those who had received only part-time tuition. However, since those with no Jewish education are also significantly more religious we cannot conclude, on the basis of the present sample, that there is a positive relationship between a day-school education and the degree of religious belief. We shall, however, return to the question of the relationship between Jewish identification and Jewish education in a subsequent discussion. Suffice it at this point to suggest that identification is probably related more closely to the informal processes of socialization in the family and peer group, than to formal instruction, however competent.

Table 5.12 *Jewish education standard X religious conservatism*

<i>Jewish education standard</i> \ <i>RC</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Total</i>
Minimal	80	44	124
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2.31	2.76	
Till barmitzvah	25	31	56
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.99	1.19	
Post-barmitzvah	28	30	58
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.41	.49	
Adult classes only	8	13	21
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.01	1.20	
TOTAL	141	118	259

df = 3 chi square = 10.36 p < .02



Table 5.13 Jewish education source X religious beliefs

Jewish education source \ RB	Median and below	Above median	Total
Day School	11	21	32
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2.17	3.02	
Part-time	85	52	137
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.22	1.50	
Tutor Parents	23	13	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.52	.63	
None	23	30	53
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.32	1.61	
TOTAL	142	116	258

df = 3 chi square = 12.29 p < .01

Conclusions

Implicit in the construction of the attitude schedule, and in the analysis of its results, was the presumption that there were certain issues, relating specifically to Jews — their traditions and religion, their survival as a group, their position in the wider society, and so on — on which Jews might reasonably be expected to have opinions. Thus a number of statements, expressing a variety of attitudes, were selected and tested with a view to measuring beliefs and feelings about being Jewish. The items selected for the final measuring instrument were those on which opinion varied fairly widely — that is, they exhibited high discriminative powers — and, therefore, made it possible to distinguish between high and low identifiers.

The consequences of this method of scale construction, are that attitude statements eliciting a high level of agreement were omitted. This is especially serious in the case of attitudes to Israel and Zionism. Of a total of 11 items included in the pilot and final schedules, only 4 had sufficiently high discriminative powers to form the Zionism Sub-scale while even these items, together with five of the seven rejected items, were markedly positively skewed. It must, therefore, be noted, that because the method of scale construction has relegated Zionism to a secondary position in the preceding discussion, its real importance as an element of Jewish identification has become obscured. In fact, it should now be apparent that

the present sample of Johannesburg Jews — and, we may venture to generalize, South African Jews as a whole⁷ — have strong and virtually unanimously positive views on this issue, and that Zionism constitutes the most universal dimension of Jewish identification.

Regarding attitudes to aspects of Jewish identification apart from Zionism, overwhelmingly positive agreement, in the pilot study, was found on several other items. It must, therefore, be emphasized, that the final attitude schedule cannot be said to measure absolute minimal, or negative, identification, even though it does distinguish between high and low identifiers.

Another point arising out of the objectives underlying the attitude schedule, is that no attempt was made to combine item scores into a single scale of Jewish identification. As was indicated in Chapter One, it is assumed that a Jew may identify as such in a variety of ways, and it is for this reason that items were grouped into sub-scales relating to specific dimensions of identification rather than into an overall measure.

Turning now to the analysis of responses to the attitude schedule, the findings may be summarized as follows:

- (a) On the whole, distributions of sub-scale scores tend slightly, but significantly, towards positive identification (Table 5.4). At least half of the individual items are heavily biased in the same direction. This indicates that almost all Jews in the sample have at least some positive attitudes towards being Jewish, while probably most have positive feelings about several of the issues raised.
- (b) From the pattern of score distributions on individual items, it appears that positive attitudes attach to those relating to: Jewish survival; relatively exclusive interaction within the Jewish group; the basic tenets of Judaism; and relations with Israel (Table 5.4).
- (c) Correlations and partial correlations between sub-scale distributions indicate their relative discreteness (Table 5.3). Thus respondents identifying very positively on one dimension might identify negatively on another.
- (d) Cross-tabulations against several variables suggest the following polarities: the most positive identifiers would be Jews who were born in Eastern Europe, were aged 45 years or over, and had not gone beyond a primary school education. On the other hand, a Jew aged between 25—35, whose father or grandfather was born in South Africa, and who had some post-secondary education, would be a low identifier. Jewish education, irrespective of standard or source, appeared on the whole to be irrelevant to the degree of identification as measured.

It is now possible to return to some of the questions and hypotheses formulated in Chapter Two. The summary of findings, above, has provided at least partial answers to the following questions:

- (a) To what extent do Johannesburg Jews identify on each of the

dimensions of Jewishness as they have been defined?

- (b) Are any patterns of identification evident both within and between dimensions?
- (c) Is there any relationship between modes of identification and particular demographic characteristics such as sex, age, place of birth, general education, Jewish education and so on? (p 8, above).

The particular hypothesis relating to attitudes, states that it is expected 'that Jewish identification would also [as in the United States] be manifested primarily in sentiment rather than in behaviour . . . (and) that there would be little congruence between attitudes and behaviour, except at the extremes . . . There will be, it is suggested, a far greater range of variation in behaviour than in attitudes' (p 9, above). Since behaviour (or, more precisely, action tendencies) has not yet been discussed, the hypothesis remains untested at present. However, it can be said at this stage, that sentiment — or pro-Jewish attitudes — is an important component of Jewish identification: in the first place, certain sentiments, including those relating to Israel and Zionism, are almost universally held; in the second place, most Jews appear to identify positively on at least one dimension, while several items, though eliciting differences of opinion, are nevertheless positively skewed.

Notes

1. Sources include Geismar (1954), Adelson (1958), Herman (1945).
2. A standard technique for analysis of items on Likert-type scales. See, for example, William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt: *Methods in Social Research*, 1952: 275—6 for a brief discussion.
3. Discriminative powers of all final schedule items are significant at the .01 level of confidence using Student's t-test. This use of the critical ratio in determining dp significance is cited by Calvin F. Schmid in Pauline V. Young (ed): *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, 1966 edition: 361.
It might also be mentioned that factor analysis (Principal Components with Varimax Rotation) of the 41 high dp items yielded 13 factors with no comprehensible pattern. When the 10 items comprising the Insecurity in South Africa and South African Politics sub-scales were omitted, however, 8 factors emerged. One factor, on which only one item loaded exclusively, could not be interpreted. Five other factors were virtually identical to the sub-scales Social Relations, Religious Beliefs, Antisemitism, Zionism and Religious Conservatism. The items comprising the Ethnocentrism sub-scale, however, loaded on one or other of two factors which could be labelled Jewish Survival and Ethnocentric Pride, respectively.
4. For a brief discussion of Orthodox and Reform Judaism see chapter on Religion.
5. See Appendix C, Table 55.

6. The system of Jewish education is discussed in the chapter on the Cultural Dimension of identification. There are two main sources: part-time morning or afternoon classes (*cheder, talmud torah*), and the Jewish day school in which Jewish studies are taught as part of a normal school curriculum.
7. Jack Alexander in Saron and Hotz (1955: Ch 14 *passim*) shows that since the earliest days 'South African Jewry (was) overwhelmingly pro-Zionist' and that even today (1955) it 'still remains, by comparison with the Jews of other lands, a model Zionist community' (*ibid*: 271). Herman (1945) and Dubb (1971) support this view on the basis of studies of Jewish students and matriculants of Jewish day schools.

Although the history of Zionism in the United States has followed a different course, including a phase of rabid anti-Zionism, support of Israel is today more or less unanimous (Neusner 1972: Chapter 4 *passim*).

Chapter Six

Social Relations

Introduction

In this chapter patterns of social relations both formal and informal are examined in terms of the following questions:

- (a) to what extent do Jews feel it is necessary or desirable to be affiliated to organized Jewish communal associations and what is the nature and extent of their actual affiliation;
- (b) to what extent and in what situations do Jews prefer to associate with other Jews and what is the actual pattern of their social relations;
- (c) to what extent does conflict arise from any inconsistency between the desire to avoid, or even combat, anti-Jewish discrimination, and the tendency to confine their own social relationships within the Jewish group.

Before dealing with the findings relating to these questions, it is essential to describe, at least in outline, the formal organized structure of Jewish community life.

The Institutional Framework

Scattered throughout the areas of Jewish residence in Johannesburg are some thirty-five synagogues, each established and maintained by the subscriptions and contributions of formally constituted 'congregations'. To many of these synagogues are attached halls which serve as venues for meetings, lectures, social events and other gatherings. Several also have nursery school facilities, as well as classrooms in which children are given instruction in Judaism and Hebrew language after normal school hours. Ownership of properties is, generally, vested in the particular congregation itself, as is the right and responsibility to manage its affairs and to engage and remunerate ministers and other officials.

All these congregations may, in the first instance, be divided into those which have retained the traditional orthodox forms and those which belong to the Reform movement.¹ Of the six Reform congregations (in 1970) five are organized into the United Progressive Jewish Congregation

of Johannesburg and have an adherence of approximately eight thousand men, women and children. All six, together with Reform congregations in other parts of the country, belong to the South African Union for Progressive Judaism.

Orthodox congregations are completely independent of one another, except for the three which comprise the United Hebrew Congregations of Johannesburg. However, almost all of these, including the UHC, are affiliated to the Federation of Synagogues. Through this Federation facilities, which no one congregation could support, are provided for the whole Orthodox community: the *Beth Din* (Jewish Ecclesiastical Court); supervision of establishments which manufacture or cater *kosher* foods; machinery for dealing with conversions to Judaism; maintaining a *mikve* (ritual bath); publication of a monthly newspaper; and various other activities and amenities. It also provides a forum for representatives of Orthodox congregations to discuss matters of mutual concern. Although the headquarters of the Federation and the focus of its activities are in Johannesburg, congregations in the rest of the Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State and Rhodesia are also affiliated to it and are entitled to participate in its meetings and to utilise its facilities. The Chief Rabbi of the Federation — whose position is largely honorific, but who represents the Orthodox community on ceremonial and public occasions — is acknowledged by all affiliated congregations.

Cutting across Orthodox congregational divisions is the Jewish educational system. Several primary and secondary 'Jewish Day Schools' provide instruction in Jewish culture as an integral part of the normal government school curriculum. For those children who do not attend the day schools there is a network of early morning and afternoon classes. The responsibility for all these facilities is, largely, that of the South African Board of Jewish Education and the United Hebrew Schools who draw up syllabi, appoint teachers and principals, and control finance. Many members of Reform also send their children to the Jewish Day schools, but the movement runs its own afternoon school system.

Independent of the local congregational structure, though also generally organized on a suburban basis, are the adult Zionist² societies (mostly involving women) and the Zionist youth groups. Their activities, together with those of other city- and country-wide Zionist associations, are co-ordinated by the Johannesburg-based South African Zionist Federation. The Union of Jewish Women is organized in a similar way, but its interests are local, rather than Israel, oriented. Institutions serving Johannesburg Jews as a whole include the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (which assists in finding employment and accommodation; provides welfare facilities; combats antisemitism; acts on behalf of the community with the Government where necessary; produces publications; organizes cultural activities), the Johannesburg Jewish Helping Hand and Burial

Society, various charities, two homes for the aged, and a school and home for retarded Jewish children. There are also numerous special-interest associations catering for Jews such as sports clubs, ex-servicemen's leagues, masonic-type lodges, Hebrew- and Yiddish-speaking circles, study groups, Jewish graduate associations, and so on.³

Johannesburg Jews, then, maintain a system of institutions covering a wide range of individual and group needs. This organization does not, however, enjoy any official standing. There is no statutory community council as in some European countries. Legally, the Jew has no special status: he is a private citizen whose religious convictions, ethnic attachments and associational affiliations are a matter of personal preference. Participation in and support of Jewish communal institutions, therefore, is entirely voluntary.

Having outlined the institutional framework of the Johannesburg Jewish community, and having emphasized its voluntary nature, the extent to which local Jews are formally affiliated, and the importance which they attach to such affiliation, can now be examined.

Synagogue Affiliation

The importance attached to synagogue affiliation is reflected in the positive response of 65% of the sample to the attitude item: 'It is essential to be a member of a synagogue', and in the fact that 74% were actually members of some congregation (Tables 6.1 and 6.2).⁴ However this attachment to the synagogue is not to be interpreted as an expression of widespread religious commitment. In fact, it was found that there was a considerable discrepancy between synagogue affiliation and attendance at services. Thus Table 6.3 shows that only 23% of all respondents attended services weekly or more frequently, while a further 19% attended about once a month. Even if it is assumed that all of these were affiliated to some congregation, this would still leave 87 out of a total 207 synagogue members, who attended services only on the High Festivals⁵ or not at all. What is suggested here is that synagogue affiliation is, to an important extent, regarded as the minimum expression of formal structural identification with the Jewish community, and that the religious factor may in many cases be secondary or even totally absent. In support of this, the following evidence may be cited:

- (a) Attitude statement 29 — 'It is essential to be a member of a synagogue' — has a dp of 1,6 and ranks fourth in magnitude on the seven-item Social Relations (SR) scale (Appendix C Table 55).
- (b) Factor analysis of the 31 attitude statements relating to Jewish identification, indicates that while item 29 loads ,6 on the Religious Belief factor it also loads ,4 on Jewish Survival. The more general statement 15 — 'It is important to participate in Jewish communal

Table 6.1 Responses to statement: 'It is essential to be a member of a synagogue'. Percentages

Response Score	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Undecided 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
%	5	21	6	48	17

Mean = 3,5

SD = 1,16

Table 6.2 Synagogue affiliation

	Members of				Not Members of any congregation	No Response	Total
	Orthodox Synagogue		Reform Synagogue				
	Paying	Non-paying	Paying	Non-paying			
No	150	28	27	2	75	1	283
%	53	10	10	1	26	—	100

Table 6.3 Synagogue attendance

	Daily, Sabbath and Festivals	About weekly	About monthly	High Festivals only	Do not Attend	No Response	Total
No	51	15	54	103	58	2	283
%	18	5	19	36	21	1	100

activities' — loads ,4 each on the same two factors as well as on Zionism.

- (c) As Table 6.4 shows, there is a significant relationship between synagogue affiliation and both religious and other attitude and self-rating scales, with non-affiliated respondents identifying very much less positively than those who belong to a synagogue.
- (d) Finally, the extent to which synagogue affiliation may be regarded as a means of identification rather than primarily as an expression of religious needs, is indicated by a factor analysis of 10 items of religious behaviour. Synagogue affiliation, together with several other items, has a high loading on the Jewish identification factor and no significant loading at all on Religious Commitment (Table 8.8).

One last point might be made in connection with synagogue affiliation: of the 207 respondents who belonged to a congregation, 120 attended services monthly or more frequently, 16 devoted at least one period of a few hours every two months to congregational affairs, and 11 served on some committee or sub-committee. Those who were actually active in the running of their congregations, or in their various social and cultural

activities, thus made up only a very small proportion of the total membership. This, as will be seen in the following section, is a characteristic of many voluntary associations.

Associational Affiliation and Participation

Like the Red Cross and SPCA, many Jewish communal institutions are maintained by the regular subscriptions of a large passive membership. This applies to a large extent to welfare and service associations, as well as to homes for the Jewish aged, orphaned and handicapped. On the other hand, there are also numerous associations such as Zionist societies, parent-teacher's associations and cultural bodies, whose members are expected to attend meetings or lectures, to assist in fund-raising and to participate generally in their activities. All these associations periodically canvass members of the community for contributions above and beyond their fixed subscriptions, to be used either for their own purposes or for causes which they support.

Dealing first with financial involvement in communal institutions, it should be noted that 'subscription-membership' was not investigated since the wide extent of these can easily be verified by any of the institutions concerned. Only one such body was, therefore, used as an example: the Witwatersrand Jewish Helping Hand and Burial Society (*Chevrah Kadisha*). It was found that although only three respondents were active in the Society, 149 (53%) were paying members. It is probable that most adult Jews in Johannesburg are members of at least one such institution. What is perhaps more significant, however, is that 226 respondents (80%) made contributions to various philanthropies — ie excluding subscriptions, street collections, door-to-door canvasses and membership dues — and that of these, 202 had contributed mainly or only to Jewish causes (Appendix C Table 50). It is clear, then, that a large proportion of Johannesburg Jews identify with the community, to a greater or lesser extent, at this level.

Returning to the question of participation in formal associations, a more precise distinction must be made between Jewish and non-Jewish organizations. Respondents were asked to list up to six associations, apart from congregational ones, in which they were *actively* involved.⁶ Respondents were also asked to indicate whether or not the associations were Jewish, what proportion of their membership was Jewish, and what their purposes and activities were. The aim of these questions (Question 28, Appendix A) was to establish:

- (a) whether the activities or content of the association was Jewish-oriented (eg Zionist societies, groups studying aspects of Jewish culture) or of a more general nature (eg an adult education programme in music appreciation, sponsoring an African school);
- (b) whether the association was founded by Jews *qua* Jews (eg country

Table 6.4 Synagogue affiliation X attitude and self-rating scales: median test

Scale	df	χ^2	$p <$	Comments
Social Relations	1	7.37	.01	Respondents affiliated to a synagogue scored somewhat more positively than expected on the various scales. Major contributions to chi-square values, however, were from non-affiliated respondents who identified significantly less positively on the scales.
Religious Beliefs	1	19.15	.001	
Ethnocentrism	1	9.74	.01	
Zionism	1	14.06	.001	
Religious Conservatism	1	35.70	.001	
Jewish (self-rating)	1	8.86	.01	
Observant (self-rating)	1	7.92	.01	
Religious (self-rating)	1	14.40	.001	

NOTE: Chi squares based on 2 X 2 tables with sample dichotomized into 'affiliated to a synagogue' and 'not affiliated' on the one hand, and into 'above median (of scale score)' and 'below median' on the other.

- clubs established when Jews were not admitted to existing ones) and whether it was generally regarded as a 'Jewish organization';
- (c) whether, if the association was not a Jewish one, the membership was largely Jewish or not (eg many Johannesburg cultural societies have a predominantly Jewish membership, while some occupational and service associations have relatively few Jewish members).

The data indicate that of the 283 respondents, 157 (56%) had a total of 300 memberships in 158 associations. Of these 76 were members of some 43 Jewish organizations (other than synagogues or sports and social clubs), with service, welfare and Zionist associations predominating. In evaluating the meaning of this participation, it must be borne in mind that 'active involvement' ranges from attending an occasional meeting to devoting several hours a day to the affairs of an association. Furthermore, the activities of members vary from purely fund-raising efforts, through administrative and organizational tasks, to attending social and cultural gatherings. Thus, it is probable that a relatively small proportion of these 76 respondents actually gave much time and energy to the Jewish communal associations to which they belonged.

Another aspect of associational participation is the extent to which Jews interact in relatively formal, purposive and organized situations with non-Jews, and the nature of these situations. It was found that the large majority of both men and women (51/79 and 61/78, respectively) were active in Jewish associations or in associations with a predominantly Jewish membership and that many were active *only* in such associations (27/51 men and 53/61 women). Furthermore, those organizations which did *not*

have a predominantly Jewish membership were mostly sports, social, cultural and professional societies.

It might also be noted that the patterns of associational participation differ for men and women. Thus:

- (a) 32 women, as against 13 men, belonged *only* to Jewish associations.
- (b) 28 men, as against 17 women, belonged *only* to associations with a predominantly non-Jewish membership. Of these, 13 men and 3 women belonged only to sports clubs. The majority of women (12) belonged to various service, professional, welfare and other non-sport organizations.
- (c) 52 men, as against 25 women, belonged to associations with a predominantly non-Jewish membership.
- (d) 49 men and 28 women belonged to sports clubs.

While, therefore, the evidence indicates that Jews, generally, tend to join organizations to which other Jews belong, this is particularly true of Jewish women.

Considering the evidence presented in both this and the previous discussion (ie synagogue affiliation), it may be concluded that the large majority of respondents feel that it is important to identify with the community through its institutional framework and, in fact, do so. The extent of this identification, however, varies a great deal from the Jew who nominally belongs to a synagogue congregation and supports Jewish philanthropies, and little else, to the Jew who is active in a number of community-oriented associations and who not only contributes to Jewish causes but also, perhaps, even campaigns on their behalf. At most, about one quarter of all respondents (ie those active in non-sport, Jewish associations) might fall into the latter category. How far, however, active involvement is an indication of commitment to the goals of the particular organization is a moot point. It is suggested, though this cannot be tested by means of the present data, that people participate in Jewish communal associations for a variety of reasons: special interests such as handicapped children; desire to mix socially with other Jews; social pressures; opportunity for achieving positions of leadership and prestige; or simply the desire to belong to an available organization. Apart from commitment to specific goals relating to the community, the reason that Jewish, or predominantly Jewish, organizations are preferred is probably closely related to respondents feeling more at home among Jews than among non-Jews — a question which will be taken up in the following sections.

Informal Social Relations

It has already been shown that Johannesburg Jews exhibit a marked tendency towards residential clustering. It has also been suggested that Jews tend to favour Jewish or predominantly Jewish organizations. In this section we propose to examine the nature and extent of informal relations between fellow-Jews, and between Jews and non-Jews.

An overwhelming preference to confine social relations to fellow-Jews is reflected in responses to the two attitude scale items, 'I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood', and 'I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews' (App C, Table 55), as well as in responses to questions about close friends and acquaintances (Table 6.5). Thus about two-thirds of respondents prefer a Jewish neighbourhood and feel more at home among Jews, while 90% and 87% respectively, have only or mostly Jewish friends and acquaintances.

In the economic sphere, the bond between Jews is also evident. Fifty seven percent of respondents who were gainfully employed said that their most important business associates (including employers, partners, clients and customers) were Jewish, while a further 13% said that at least half were Jews (Table 6.6). Furthermore, as Table 6.7 shows, of the 47 respondents who employed white labour, 9 employed mostly Jews, 15 employed Jews in

Table 6.5 *Close friends and acquaintances*

<i>Proportion of Jews to non-Jews</i>	<i>Close friends</i>		<i>Acquaintances</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Only Jews	235	83	61	22
Mostly Jews	22	8	183	65
Equal Jews and non-Jews	11	4	29	10
Mostly or only non-Jews	10	4	9	3
No Response	5	2	1	—
TOTAL	283	101	283	100

NOTE: (a) 6% numbered *only* relatives among their close friends;
 (b) 52%, whose close friends were only or mostly Jews, included relatives among these;
 (c) a quarter of those whose close friends included an equal number or more of non-Jews, included relatives among their Jewish friends.

supervisory or other responsible positions and a further 7 said that they would prefer to employ Jews if they were available. Sixteen (1/3) employed mostly non-Jews and had no special preference for Jewish employees.

With regard to patronage of Jewish merchants and professionals, 69% of respondents reacted negatively to the statement, 'In general I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores'. On the other hand, 52% preferred to have their legal and financial affairs handled by Jewish professionals.

Table 6.6 *Jewish business associates*

<i>Proportion of Jewish Associates</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
All Jewish	57	45
Mostly Jewish	16	13
Equally Jewish and non-Jewish	17	13
Mostly non-Jewish	30	24
All non-Jewish	7	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	127	101

NOTE: This table should be treated with some reservation as responses were of uneven quality. It should not be regarded as a complete classification of *all* business associates, but only of those whom respondents immediately called to mind.

Table 6.7 *Employment of Jewish employees*

<i>Proportion of Jews employed</i>	<i>No of Employers</i>
Mostly Jews	9
Equal proportion of Jews and non-Jews (but Jews in higher positions; trust Jews; prefer Jews)	6
Mostly non-Jews (but Jews in supervisory and responsible positions)	8
Mostly non-Jews, but would prefer Jews if they would apply for jobs	7
Mostly non-Jews, and have no preference for Jewish employees	16
TOTAL NO OF EMPLOYERS	46

The Dilemma of Jewish Exclusiveness

At this stage in the discussion, it might be useful to draw together some of the material presented in the preceding sections in order to focus on the dilemma of Jewish exclusiveness. While, certainly, there are Jews whose feelings are uncompromising on this point,⁷ it does appear that many are ambivalent and, to some extent, even experience guilt. The following extract from one of the preliminary interviews (see Chapter Three) is a particularly good example of the interplay of behaviour tendencies and attitudes which produces the pattern of social relationships of one individual.

Q. What else apart from observance of religious rituals and customs, marks your Jewishness?

A. Well socially: ninety-nine percent of my friends are Jews.

Q. Why is that?

A. I've always mixed with them. I've found them the most congenial group I know.

Q. Do you, or have you ever, known any non-Jews?

A. At school I've been friendly with non-Jews. On visiting terms. They were not intimate friends. They also seemed to regard us as an exterior circle of friends. When I was very little, at prep school I had very intimate friends among them. I was very friendly with the little girl across the road, but as we grew older and became interested in boys, I knew that I would never go out with non-Jewish boys because my parents would be very very much against it if I ever married a non-Jew.

Q. Did you ever go out casually with non-Jewish boys to a cinema, for example?

A. No never. I refused when they asked me because I didn't want to get involved because I knew I could never marry a non-Jew.

Q. Why?

A. Besides my parents being against it, I didn't see why I should. In any case there were so many nice Jewish boys, why should I get involved, why should I even tempt myself?

Q. Did you find that you had sufficient in common with them that it constituted any kind of danger?

A. Yes. I'm thinking of one in particular, an Italian, with whom I was dying to go out. Now I think it was silly, but perhaps I would have got involved; what if we had fallen in love?

Q. Now what did you find in common with him?

A. Well our studies. He came from a very nice Italian home, from perhaps the same social background, and he was very good looking, and he was sort of on the same social level, being at varsity together. He was a decent chap. Now I look back on it, I think that I was silly. I

should have gone out with all people in my extreme youth. Why was I thinking of marriage then at such a young age?

Q. Did you automatically think of marriage when you went out with boys?

A. No, it was just that I knew I could never get involved with a non-Jewish boy and that I'd never be allowed to marry one. That's all. I wasn't thinking of getting married.

Q. Let's get back to your Jewish friends: most of your friends now are Jewish. Do you ever have an opportunity to meet non-Jewish people?

A. I am friendly with one non-Jewish neighbour. On visiting terms. We are on intimate terms. But she is not on a par with my best friend, since I have known my best friend all my life and we have far more intimacies which we share as well as much more in common.

Q. Would you say that you are on more intimate terms with your Jewish friends in general, than with this non-Jewish girl in particular, or not?

A. No. She's on a par with Jewish friends that I'm less intimate with. Our discussion is children and homes and domestic affairs.

Q. Do you mix with her and her husband socially?

A. No, our husbands haven't even met. She is a day-friend. I've had her over with my Jewish friends. We just sort of found her a bore because all she spoke about were her children. Some of my Jewish friends speak only about their domestic affairs, but others discuss more worldly affairs. On that particular occasion, the friend together with whom my non-Jewish neighbour was, one with whom I discussed books and reading and absolutely anything, but certainly at a higher cultural level than this woman brought us down to.

Q. Are your discussions with this Jewish friend usually specifically on Jewish topics?

A. No, not at all.

Q. So the non-Jewish neighbour didn't fit in intellectually?

A. No.

Q. But not because she wasn't Jewish?

A. No, not at all.

Q. How is it that you don't know more non-Jews and that your circle doesn't include non-Jews?

A. We seem to stick together. Jews in Joh'burg just do.

Q. Why?

A. I can't think why. We've got non-Jewish neighbours who are terribly nice. The children play together a lot but we've never been socially friendly. I like them a lot. I wouldn't mind going out with

them socially but nobody has ever made the move.

Q. Would you like to meet more non-Jews?

A. Well I wouldn't say specifically non-Jews. The sort of people I would like to meet are continentals. I like their way of life whether they are Jews or non-Jews. I think they lead a more interesting life.

Q. But what about English-speaking South Africans of your socio-economic class — who live around here, and so on?

A. I can't say. What I don't like about them is that the Jews are a family-oriented people, while the non-Jews that I have met — well their children go to boarding school as soon as they are able to. Their children are completely apart from their lives. And they are a drinking crowd and I can't bear it . . .

Q. What is particularly Jewish about the members of your circle?

A. Only that they're born Jews. Because mostly they aren't religious at all.

Q. Do you have any friends with whom the basis of your association is Jewish?

A. I used to but not any more. As a teenager we had the Young Israel Association and as smaller kids we had the Zionist youth movements. But now there aren't those circles any more.

Q. What about the benevolent society to which you said (earlier in the interview) that you belong? Is that Jewish at all?

A. Yes. We have all had equal opportunities to work for Africans or for general charities, but we've chosen a Jewish organization. We feel that no-one else works for the Jews if the Jews don't . . .

Q. You said that ninety-nine percent of your friends are Jews and that this is largely because you haven't had the opportunity either now or as a child to meet non-Jews. Is this more or less correct?

A. Yes. But there is, if you analyse it, more of a bond between Jews. There is a family feeling between Jews.

Q. What kind of a bond?

A. Well, for example, if I met a Jew in another country I would feel a stronger bond than if he were not a Jew. Or even in this country, if I met a foreign person and I knew that he'd come all the way from Australia and I suddenly found he was Jewish there would be a much stronger bond because we have something in common — a background, a religion . . .

Q. If your son wanted to marry a Gentile girl what would your attitude be?

A. If she was a particularly nice girl I wouldn't be terribly upset, because after all I've said, I still feel that assimilation would be the best

solution to our problems. Only I would feel that it's the children who suffer and from that point of view I would feel unhappy about it.

Q. What would you prefer, if your son confronted you with a choice: either he was going to marry a Gentile girl in South Africa, or he would marry a Yemenite or Moroccan girl in Israel — that is a dark-skinned girl with a different cultural background?

A. Neither would be particularly appealing. But if I had to choose — I wouldn't make the decision. I'd leave it entirely to him. It would be immaterial. It would simply be the best out of a bad lot.

Q. What about a Gentile girl of your own socio-economic class and a girl that you regarded as a nice girl, and a Jewish girl from lower-class parents?

A. I think the nicer Gentile girl.

Q. In other words class, in this case, would be the determining factor?

A. Possibly . . .

Q. You have said that you regard yourself and your friends as being upper-class Jews. Do you ever feel embarrassed about the behaviour of other Jews when you are with your upper-class Jewish friends?

A. Taking one of my mother's friends as an example, she speaks with an accent and looks very Jewish — I think I would be embarrassed with my high-class friends because we count ourselves as Jews who have outgrown this foreignness of being Jews. We want to be associated with each other as South Africans and not as Jews. We want to be accepted by non-Jews as South Africans and not only as Jews . . .

Q. What do you feel is more desirable — that the Jews as a group should assimilate or that they should survive?

A. I have very mixed feelings — at times I feel that assimilation would eliminate a lot of problems in life for Jews and non-Jews and everybody concerned, and on the other hand I feel so secure in being a Jew and proud of the survival of the Jews that I feel it would be a great pity if centuries from now there would be nothing left of them.

Q. You said that you felt secure in being Jewish. Why do you feel this way?

A. Because it is such a closely-knit group, and you've got this great big family to turn to. You have the State of Israel to turn to in times of need. If anything happens in South Africa, Israel would be the first place I would run to, and the only place that would accept me with only a suitcase in my hand, and see to my welfare. It is a very great feeling of security. If I went to England, would they be interested in me? Perhaps also it is just belonging to a group which makes one feel secure . . .⁸

The interview quoted above illustrates the pattern of social relationships of a particular Jewish woman, as well as an explanation of that pattern, as she

herself sees it. Furthermore, the interview illustrates the inconsistencies in attitudes and behaviour, and the ambivalence associated with these inconsistencies. Since this particular interview was selected because it corresponds so closely with the patterns that the sample, as a whole, has exhibited, a summary of some of the main points might be useful:

- (a) Apart from the observance of some Jewish traditional customs and rituals (although the informant was not especially religious), her Jewishness was marked by the fact that 'ninety-nine percent of my friends are Jews'.
- (b) Although she went to schools, has always lived in suburbs, and has attended a university, in which there were many Jews, there was no lack of opportunity to meet non-Jews. However, only as a child did she have non-Jewish *friends*, while she has never had more than a very few non-Jewish acquaintances.
- (c) She has no particular desire to meet more non-Jews. Non-Jews have different values (eg relating to family and children),⁹ different behaviour (eg 'they are a drinking crowd'), different interests (implied, rather than stated) and, in any case, do not especially care for Jews (eg 'They also seemed to regard us as an exterior circle of friends', 'We want to be accepted by non-Jews as South Africans and not only as Jews').
- (d) Attitudes to non-Jews are largely stereotypical. The informant did not really know any non-Jews well, nor were there any with whom she shared any significant common interest. This was partly because neither she, nor the non-Jews she had met, had made any effort to get together socially, and partly because the voluntary associations to which she belonged were Jewish or had a predominantly Jewish membership.
- (e) Probably the most crucial factors affecting her relations with Jews and non-Jews are the result of the value she places on the existence and survival of the Jewish community: she feels a strong sense of security and belonging; she feared, before her marriage, the possibility of consequences of emotional involvement with a non-Jewish boy; and she feels strongly that it 'would be a great pity if centuries from now there would be nothing left of [the Jews]'.¹⁰
- (f) Nevertheless, there are significant inconsistencies which emerge from the interview:
 - (i) She avoided dating non-Jewish boys because she felt it was *possible* to become involved. In one case, in particular, the fear was strong *because they had so much in common*.
 - (ii) Although almost all her friends and acquaintances are Jewish, there is nothing 'Jewish' in their relationships.¹¹ 'We want to be associated with each other as South Africans and not as Jews. We want to be accepted by non-Jews as South Africans and not only as Jews'. Furthermore, she is embarrassed by 'Jewish Jews', since she and her friends have 'outgrown this foreignness of being Jews'.

- (iii) The informant was afraid of getting involved with a non-Jewish boy before marriage and is clearly not enthusiastic about the possibility of her son marrying out of the faith. However, she would prefer 'a nice Gentile girl' with a similar socio-economic background to a lower-class, or (in Israel) a coloured, Jewish girl. But, as she points out, it is not a situation she would like to face.
- (iv) She has mixed feelings about whether Jews should survive as a group or whether they should assimilate. On the one hand assimilation would solve many problems for Jews and non-Jews, on the other she would not like to see the Jews disappear.

Comments (a) to (e) simply draw together material which has already been dealt with in previous sections and illustrate how the various characteristics described for a whole group might be exhibited by a particular individual. It is now intended to pursue point (f) and to examine the extent to which one Jew's ambivalence is a reflection of a more general feeling.

On the Social Relations scale (Appendix C Table 55) 56% of respondents felt that Jews would get along better if they were not so clannish. It appears then that although Jews prefer to associate both formally and informally with other Jews and believe that it is important to be affiliated to Jewish communal institutions, there is also a feeling that they should not isolate themselves too much as this may cause antisemitism. A more positive point of view is reflected in responses to the statement about the desirability of joining mixed rather than Jewish clubs, and in the statement that antisemitism is directed more against foreign than against South Africanized Jews. In the factor analysis of attitude scale items both *and only* these items loaded significantly on the last factor, which might therefore have been labelled 'socio-cultural integration'. Thus, the responses to these two items indicate that at least 40% of respondents favour some degree of integration with non-Jewish South Africans.

It is apparent that there are contradictions between attitudes to preferred social relationships, identification with Jewish institutions and the problem of Jewish exclusiveness and isolation.

Turning now to action tendencies and their relation to attitudes, we must distinguish between several levels of social relationships. At the most intimate level outside the family — that of close friends, neighbours and professional advisors — there is a clear preference, reflected in behaviour, for confining relations to fellow-Jews. Most other informal relations — such as more casual acquaintances or people encountered at the homes of friends — also seem to reflect feeling more at home among Jews than among non-Jews. However, where the nature of a relationship is limited to specific common interests such as sport, recreation or occupation, does not involve spouses or families, or is relatively impersonal (shopkeeper-customer), there is a greater willingness to interact with non-Jews. It was

Table 6.8 Social relations attitude scale scores X behavioural variables: median test

<i>Variables</i>	<i>df</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i> <	<i>Comments</i>
Close friends	1	7.91	.01	Respondents with all or most close friends Jewish randomly distributed; those with equal number or more non-Jewish friends have significantly lower scores on attitude scale
Acquaintances	1	10.78	.01	As above
Contribution to Philanthropies	1	6.71	.01	Those contributing only or mostly to Jewish philanthropies have significantly higher scores on the attitude scale; those contributing equally or predominantly to non-Jewish philanthropies, together with total non-contributors, have significantly lower attitude scale scores
Hypothetical distribution of R500	1	39.86	.001	As above
Associational Participation	1	10.48	.01	Those participating at all in Jewish or Predominantly Jewish associations have significantly higher attitude scale scores; those who participate only in associations without a predominantly Jewish membership have significantly lower attitude scale scores.

NOTE: (a) Sample was dichotomized into 'above median' and 'below median' for attitude scale scores. Dichotomization in terms of behavioural variables was decided upon after testing several possibilities. In all cases, except 'distribution of R500', that reasonable dichotomy which yielded the *lowest* chi square value was adopted. In the case of 'distribution of R500', dichotomization was between 'all or mostly Jewish charities' and 'equally, mostly or all to non-Jewish charities'. When dichotomized into 'all, mostly or equally Jewish charities' and 'all or mostly non-Jewish charities', chi square = 27.71, $p < .001$. The same comments as are noted in the Table still apply, however. Dichotomization of other variables was as follows: (i) Close friends: 'all or mostly Jewish' and 'equal, mostly or all non-Jewish'; (ii) Acquaintances: as for close friends; (iii) Contributions to philanthropies: as for hypothetical distribution; (iv) Associational participation: 'participate in associations with only or predominantly Jewish membership' and 'participate only in associations with a predominantly non-Jewish membership'.

(b) High scores on the attitude scale indicate a high degree of identification; low scores, a low degree of identification.

also found that there is a significant relationship between responses to the Social Relations scale and the variables: close friends, acquaintances, philanthropy, hypothetical distribution to charity and associational participation (Table 6.8). In all cases, those respondents who were least involved with Jews in practice, tended, significantly, to identify less positively on the attitude scale.

Conclusions

Whereas the previous chapter provided an overview of attitudes relating to all the dimensions of Jewish identification, this and the following three chapters focus on specific dimensions from various points of view. In the present chapter, the attitudinal and behavioural (or action tendency) aspects of social relationships were examined.

The major findings of the present chapter may be summarized in the words of the hypothesis (p 9 above) which they confirm: 'given that Jews cluster residentially [see Chapter Four], it is postulated that they also confine their primary, as well as other intimate, multiplex relationships within the Jewish group, and that this reflects attitudes to preferred associations and to Jewish survival. If this is true, then it would also be expected that relations with non-Jews would tend to be more formal, simplex and less intimate in character.' The evidence is contained in most of the tables and discussions throughout the chapter.

A second hypothesis, that postulating the nature of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, is not supported by the data. With regard to patterns of Jewish social relations, at any rate, it cannot be held that: 'Jewish identification would . . . be manifested primarily in sentiment rather than in behaviour . . . that there would be little congruence between attitudes and behaviour, . . . [and that there would be] a far greater range of variation in behaviour than in attitudes' (p 9, above). On the contrary, the evidence is that there is a high degree of congruence between attitudes and behaviour on this dimension, and that identification is manifested equally in both aspects. There appears, if anything, to be a greater variation in the range of attitudes than in that of behaviour.

This pattern of social relationships, together with a generally negative attitude towards outmarriage (Chapter Nine), is strikingly similar to what Mayer (1961: *passim*) observed among urban Africans in the eastern Cape Province of South Africa. He showed that in town, conservative Xhosa, the dominant tribal cluster, encapsulated themselves within groups comprising kinsmen and neighbours from the same rural area. Through these groups, ties with the people at home were maintained, and members were insulated from townfolk and their way of life. What the conservatives feared most was that any of their number should 'abscond' — that is sever his traditional ties and 'become lost' in town.¹² Thus Mayer (1961: 9, 179)

points out that a tribesman becomes a townsman when all his important social ties are within-town rather than extra-town.

It is suggested that both Johannesburg Jews and eastern Cape Xhosa are particular instances providing confirmation of a more general rule enunciated by Gordon (1964). Writing of assimilation in the United States, he remarks (80—81): ' . . . entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level [ie structural assimilation] inevitably will lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage . . . If marital assimilation, an inevitable by-product of structural assimilation, takes place fully, the minority group loses its ethnic identity in the larger host or core society, and identificational assimilation takes place . . . *Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow*' (emphasis supplied). Thus, the answer to the question (Chapter Two, p 8), 'which appear to be the most important dimensions of identification?' would, at one level, be: 'social relations'.

Notes

1. Reform Judaism originated in Germany during the nineteenth century. It was an attempt to rid Judaism of characteristics developed during several centuries of segregation, and to accommodate it to the needs of Jews who were becoming increasingly acculturated and integrated into German society. Many of the religious observances and taboos which at that time appeared meaningless and irrelevant, as well as those beliefs which had become untenable or embarrassing, were discarded or altered, while the form of worship was modernized in various ways. The idea of Reform subsequently spread westward, though its form became increasingly diversified. The Reform movement in South Africa was founded by Rabbi M.C. Weiler in 1934. By contrast, Orthodox Judaism implies the acceptance of traditional Jewish beliefs, practices and forms of worship. It has, consequently, regarded Reform with suspicion and antagonism.
2. Zionism refers to a Jewish political movement, founded at the end of the 19th century, which advocated the establishment of a 'Jewish National Home' in Palestine, as a means of bringing to an end Jewish dispersion and insecurity. One aspect of the Zionist programme was realized with the establishment of Israel in 1948 as an independent Jewish state. Since that time the movement — through hundreds of local groups throughout the world, and their national federations — has concentrated on encouraging emigration of Jews to Israel and on raising funds for the support of various projects in the Jewish State.
3. Several of these bodies serve not only the needs of Jews in Johannesburg, but those of Jews in South Africa as a whole. The Federation of Synagogues and the Zionist Federation, have already been mentioned in this connection. Other major Johannesburg-based organizations falling into this category are the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Board of Jewish Education. Contact between affiliates of these bodies, and between affiliates and headquarters is maintained by means of a series of periodic local, regional and national conferences.

4. Many Jews regard themselves, and are accepted by others as 'belonging' to a particular congregation even though they do not pay dues. Such people participate on the same basis as paying members in congregational activities, except that they have no say in matters of administration or policy. Thirty respondents fell into this category.
5. *Rosh Hashannah* (New Year) and, ten days later, *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement) are together referred to as the High Festivals or High Holidays. See also Glossary.
6. As an indication of degrees of involvement, the pattern of participation in the Zionist movement, Table 6.9, provides a good example: a large nominal membership (a), a smaller number who participate occasionally in some activities (b), and a relatively small active nucleus (c). In the text, 'actively involved', refers to categories (b) and (c).

Table 6.9 *Affiliation to and participation in Zionist associations*

<i>No Response</i>	<i>Not a Zionist</i>	<i>Regard themselves as Zionists (a)</i>	<i>Belong to Zionist Society (b) (b/a X 100)</i>		<i>Active members of Zionist Society (c) (c/b X 100) (c/a X 100)</i>		
6	121	156	82	53%	32	(39%)	21%

7. One informant said during an interview: 'I find it virtually impossible to attain the level of commonality (sic) with a non-Jew that I can with a Jew. Although I am bilingual and can mix well with non-Jews, I don't like them. I don't trust them.'
8. The informant was a young married woman of about thirty, living in an upper middle class suburb, Savoy Estate, in the north-eastern part of Johannesburg.
9. Values and other cultural differences between Jews and non-Jews are discussed in the following chapter.
10. Various aspects of Jewish survival are discussed in Chapter Nine.
11. Their activities and conversation are not Jewish in content or form. However, as we suggest in the next chapter, there are distinctive, non-traditional Jewish culture traits which can be identified and which are manifested in styles of speech, dress, gestures, preferred recreational activities, values and so on.
12. Among other things, joining a church or marrying a town woman generally led to this (Mayer 1961: 180—181 and 186—188).

Chapter Seven

The Cultural Dimension¹

The Jews as a South African Sub-Culture

Describing the Jewish community of Chicago in the nineteen-twenties, Louis Wirth (1928) identifies several areas of Jewish settlement one of which he designates 'the ghetto'. What characterizes the ghetto is not simply that it is an area where Jews have (voluntarily) congregated, but that it

'is pre-eminently a cultural community. Into its teeming, crowded, narrow streets the main outlines of life of the European ghetto and the Russian pale have been transplanted almost in their entirety . . .

'No matter from which side one enters this ghetto, one cannot fail to be struck by the suddenness of the transition. In describing the New York ghetto, one writer has said: 'No walls shut in this ghetto, but once within the Jewish quarter, one is as conscious of having entered a distinct section of the city, as one would be if the passage had been through massive portals separating this portion of the Lower East Side from the non-Jewish districts of New York'² . . .

'The synagogue is the central institution in the whole community. It usually has its rabbi, who visits the homes of the members and advises them in their domestic and business affairs. [It also generally has a religious school, a circumcisor, and various mutual aid societies connected with it]. . . (In) the circumscribed world of the ghetto, the synagogue has resisted innovation . . . Even if the synagogue Jew has had contact with the secular world he will cling to the ritual if he wishes to remain within the community . . . It is this sentimental attachment to traditions and sacred values that makes the control on the part of the synagogue over the lives of the individuals so binding and so absolute . . .

'It is these forms, too, that have given rise to some of the most picturesque ghetto types. The Chassidic Jew with flowing beard and long side-locks and his long black coat is still seen occasionally in the ghetto streets. At funerals one may watch an old lady [the *Fatchelyudene*, as she is called] collecting alms in her handkerchief from the mourners and bystanders . . . there is to be found the ubiquitous *Kleikodeshnik*, or professional pious individual . . . And there is the *Schönerjüd*, or idle, learned individual, and the *Zaddik*,

whose virtue is held up as a model to the young, and the *Gottskossak*, whose task it is to supervise the conduct of the community, much against the members' own will. These and other types flourish in the ghetto because of the emphasis put on form, because they are tolerated and developed by the sentiments and practices of old.

'The orthodox community resents and reacts violently to any attempt to alter or to mock these forms, for they constitute the very fabric of its social life ...

'The description of the ghetto would be incomplete without mention of the great number of other characteristic institutions that give it its own peculiar atmosphere and mark it as a distinct culture area. Among them are the Kosher butcher shops, where fresh meats and a variety of sausages are a speciality, and where, besides the butcher, there is to be found a special functionary, the *schochet*, who kills fresh poultry to order, mumbling a prayer as he cuts the throat of each chicken, duck or goose with his *chalef* (ritually approved butcher-knife). There is the basement fish store to gratify the tastes of the connoisseur with a variety of herrings, pike, and carp, which Jewish housewives purchase on Thursday in order to serve the famous national dish of *gefüllte fish*³ at the sumptuous Friday evening meal. On the sidewalks in front of butcher shops and fish stores throughout the ghetto, especially on Thursdays and Fridays, there sits the bowed and bearded horse-radish grinder. Often he turns out to be a religious teacher or talmudical scholar from the Old World, who, on account of his years, finds other avenues of making a living closed. There are the Kosher bake-shops with rye-bread, poppy-seed bread, and pumpernickel daily, and a kind of doughnut known as *beigel* for *Shabboth*. And finally there is the bath-house, which contains facilities for Turkish and Russian, plain and fancy, baths, besides being the modern counterpart of the ritual bath, or *mikveh*, which is patronized by women at certain prescribed occasions. The Russian and Turkish bath serves the ghetto as a hotel, since it is the custom to stay overnight, and since there are no hotels in the ghetto.

'The ghetto has its own theater, where plays of the Russian dramatists are given in Yiddish, and where Sholom Asch and Peretz Hirschbein appear in the repertoire side by side, with translations from Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw and risqué Broadway comedies ...

'Native to the ghetto are also the basement and second-hand bookstores, cafes, and restaurants where the intellectuals hold forth on the latest developments in Zionism, socialism, philosophy, art, and politics, while they play a game of chess or pinochle ...

'The ghetto is a closed community, perpetuating itself and renewing itself with a minimum of infusion and influences from without, biologically as well as culturally. It is almost as completely cut off from the world as if it were still surrounded by a wall and its inhabitants were still locked nightly behind ghetto gates.' (Wirth *op cit*: 201—226).

In his study of the Chicago ghetto, Wirth was dealing with a relatively

closed and homogeneous society, in which change was slow and imperceptible, and customs, ceremonies, artefacts, techniques, habits and beliefs were universally accepted and shared. Like the anthropologist studying a 'primitive' society, Wirth could describe fairly precisely the culture of the ghetto and its systematic interrelationships. On the other hand, the study of Johannesburg Jews raises problems akin to those of the anthropologist working in, say, an urban township in Africa or a suburban community in the United States. Here he can no longer assume homogeneity and he would be hard-put to speak about *the* culture of the people he is studying. Here the individual may have a wide range of cultural alternatives from which to choose in any given situation, while many or even most of these choices may have little to do with ethnicity or class or neighbourhood or any other such criterion of grouping. While, therefore, certain cultural traits may be associated with particular groups these do not necessarily form a complete cultural system nor do individual members of the group necessarily exhibit them in their behaviour.

There has not been a ghetto — in the sense of a spatially, socially and culturally isolated community — in Johannesburg for any real length of time. Writing about Jewish life at the turn of the century, when the city itself has existed for little more than a decade, Bernard Sachs (nd: 40—41) comments:

'First attempts at a coherent communal life in the cities that were rapidly springing up with the discovery of gold and diamonds had much of the ghetto stamp about them.

'Take Commissioner Street, one of the leading arteries through Ferreirastown [Johannesburg]. What is it that gave Commissioner Street its special character at the turn of the century? It was the cafes and penny drinkshops and kosher restaurants, through which moved by day and night a colourful pageant made up of the denizens of the underworld and 'alte Afrikaners' [old Africa hands]. Day and night, and summer and winter, these 'alte Afrikaners' would while away their hours playing casino, klaberjas and dominoes.'

However Sachs goes on to say (*ibid*: 41ff) that the Jews had come to South Africa to escape the poverty and discrimination of Europe and that they soon learned that with hard work they could prosper. Unlike the inhabitants of the Chicago ghetto, these Jews spread into all sectors of the economy from mining itself to industry and commerce, making a substantial contribution to the development of the city. Even this first generation of immigrants soon spread beyond the areas of original settlement, while the wealthier among them sent their sons to university 'where they qualified as doctors and lawyers, and Jews soon gained a dominating position in both the medical and legal professions' (*ibid*: 39—40). Novelist Arthur Markowitz (1959: 23—25) makes the same point:

'The immigrants from Eastern Europe who had come to Johannesburg in its early days had almost all travelled from the slum districts at the two sources of Market Street to the select northern

suburbs of the city. On their arrival they had congregated in Marshalltown and Fordsburg, in Doornfontein and Jeppe, where they formed replicas of the communities from which they had sprung, self-contained groups, transplanted almost without change from their native villages.

'Here, while gathering wealth elsewhere, they carried on with their old-accustomed mode of life. Here they formed their congregations and helping hand societies, built their orphanages and aged homes and ritual baths. Here, too, they erected their orthodox synagogues — places of worship, social centres and stock exchanges rolled into one — where they foregathered to rejoice at their gains and to lament their losses, to discuss their affairs and to pray to their God . . .

'The newcomers did business with the Christians and the heathens but preferred to live among their own kind. They did not want to spread out among the Gentiles or to mingle with alien Jews [from Britain and Germany] with those anglicised, westernised Jews who had lost their intimacy with their Maker . . .

'Why, then, desert the self-made ghetto, the place where you feel at home, where you can treat God as your pal, and go to live among people who make you feel uncomfortable?

'Why indeed? Because of the women, God bless them, the women of Israel, the migrants among migrants, the forerunners, the pioneers without *sitzfleisch* [the ability to sit still], the precursors, the *voortrekkers* par excellence, the eternal movers-on. When the men brought over their wives the exodus began . . .

'And the motive? It has not changed since the days of Genesis. The serpent of envy, of covetousness, of social ambition, is ever at her side, dangling the apple before her: 'The day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as gods.'

'The fig leaf has been succeeded by the fur coat. To cover her nakedness — 'naked he wants me to go about', she still says when he attempts to curb her extravagance — she drives Adam on relentlessly, she urges the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob from effort to effort, from country to country, from Doornfontein to Houghton.'⁴

Johannesburg Jews, then, had never encapsulated themselves in a ghetto in the manner of their co-religionists in Chicago. The immigrants themselves, through participation in the economy of the city, came into contact with, learnt the languages of, and had to adjust to the non-Jews among whom they lived. From the outset, their children attended secular schools which drew them even further into the culture of the wider society. At the same time, however, the immigrants preserved many of the traditions and customs they had brought with them from Eastern Europe, transmitting them to their children and grand-children both through example at home and through the system of religious afternoon schools — the *cheder* or *talmud torah*. Thus while we cannot speak of 'a Jewish culture' in Johannesburg — insofar as the term might imply a relatively

high degree of homogeneity and might provide the definition of differences between Jew and non-Jew — there are unquestionably certain cultural traits which have come to be associated with the Jews. In the present study this is reflected in the preliminary interviews, in responses to the questionnaire, and in the comments by interviewers (who were also Jewish) on respondents. This is illustrated in the following interview:

Q. In what ways do Jews differ from non-Jews?

A. Jewish parents are more devoted to their children. They have more warmth. The typical Jewish mother is loving, sacrificing. Also, Jewish functions are well-catered: non-Jews drink a lot but they don't worry about food.

I'm not as relaxed in non-Jewish company. I remain aware whether people are Jewish or not. I feel a bond with my Jewish colleagues. When I think of a non-Jewish girl it conjures up the idea of emotional limitation — lack of warmth as against warmth. Jews think along similar tracks. In child-rearing attitudes, Jews place the child's interests before their own. They are also more permissive, whereas Afrikaner, English and German parents are suppressive.

Yet when I think about it, I have no more in common with a fellow-Jew than I have with a professional colleague.

Q. What are all the things that distinguish you from a non-Jew?

A. I can only answer this in religious terms. Therefore, since I'm not religious, I can't answer it in my own case. A Jew who doesn't observe religious customs is not different from a non-Jew. Gentiles drink more. With Jews I can share expressions, jokes, anecdotes about Jews on a non-threat basis, and food — not dietary laws but things like *kishke*, *kreplach*, *kugel*.⁵

The full range of characteristics mentioned by respondents is presented in Table 7.1. In summary, Jews were said to share a common background, tradition and religion; they are more materialistic, ambitious, showy and aggressive; they are similar in appearance, dress in the latest fashions, and exhibit similar speech patterns and mannerisms; and they have a high moral code and tend to be compassionate, emotional, warm and tolerant. To these characteristics may be added the observations — and, perhaps more significantly, the stereotypes — of interviewers. Asked to assess the material culture of the household (insofar as this could be observed during the interview) and the appearance and manner of the respondent in terms of their Jewishness, the following are some of their comments:

There was a *mezuzah*⁶ on the front door.

On setting foot inside, I was aware of the atmosphere I've come to associate with a really Jewish home. There were candlesticks⁷ displayed, photographs of children and grandchildren conspicuously arranged. Old Russian ornaments were noticed, a *menorah*⁸ and some rabbinical pictures were also displayed. The respondent was a quiet

well-spoken neatly-dressed woman, conscious of her hair and appearance — but there were no outstanding Jewish traits about her. Although she was strictly *kosher*⁹ she admitted to a deficient understanding of what Judaism really meant to her.

There was nothing in the observable material culture to identify it as a Jewish household.

The respondent does not appear Jewish. She is a tall, well-built young woman with blue eyes and light red hair. She did not care very much about her lack of observance of Jewish customs and showed none of the guilt that some other respondents exhibited.

Not a particularly Jewish home with regard to candlesticks, etc. But with regard to other ornaments, it was very similar to the other Jewish homes I visited in Cyrildene.

The respondent was a 'foreign' Jew, used many Yiddish phrases and his English was accented.

There was a *mezuzah* on the door but no other material manifestations of Judaism. The respondent was like many other Jewish boys of his age (18—24) in speech (very poor usage of language), accent (distinctly South African but not Afrikaans), dress (dressed in latest fashion clothes), looks (dark hair, prominent features).

From their comments, it would seem that interviewers applied certain criteria, more or less clearly defined, in deciding whether a home or an individual possessed Jewish characteristics. In both cases, it seems that the decision was made in terms of the general *gestalt* of the situation, as well as on the basis of specific traits.

It must be emphasized, however, that no individual Jew is likely to exhibit all the traits mentioned, that some exhibit none, and that many — as we shall discuss presently — exhibit certain traits in response to specific situations. Thus interviewers found that they were unable to identify readily as Jews a large proportion of respondents, while some respondents, after listing what they regarded as being Jewish characteristics, went on to say that, despite these, Jews did not *really* differ from non-Jews. It was interesting, too, that many respondents did not feel that they themselves resembled other Jews or differed from non-Jews (Table 7.2). The following texts are illustrative:

There is nothing particularly Jewish about my circle of friends except that they're born Jews. Because mostly they aren't religious at all.

Q. When you think of Jews as a group, do you think of them as people having the characteristics you have described?

Table 7.1 Frequency of responses to the question: 'In what ways, would you say, do Johannesburg Jews resemble one another and differ from non-Jews?' (arranged in decreasing order of frequency)

<i>Response</i>	<i>Evaluation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Jews stick together; help each other; unite in times of trouble; tend to be clannish.	+ 0 -	76
Jews resemble each other in their way of talking, gesturing and other mannerisms, and dress alike.	0	46
Jews have a different religion.	0	38
Jews have a different outlook on life from non-Jews.	0	37
Jews are more ostentatious, pushy, aggressive, loud than non-Jews.	0 -	37
Jews place great value on family life and treat wives and children well.	+	36
Jews don't resemble each other*	0	34
Jews have higher morals, are loyal, compassionate, and other positive personality traits.	+	34
Jews are concerned about maintaining their identity.	0	32
Jews resemble each other physically (in appearance).	0	31
Jews are very materialistic and money-conscious.	-	29
Jews have a similar background and traditions.	0	29
The older generation of Jews were foreign and had distinctive mannerisms, but these differences are disappearing.	0	29
Jews are more charitable in general (or, to other members of their community) than non-Jews.	+	26
Jews are warm, sentimental, friendly.	+	24
Jews are better in business than non-Jews, and like business.	0	20
Jews aim for higher living standards than non-Jews.	0 +	19
Most Jews are wealthy and belong to the upper classes.	0	18
Jews are very concerned about social status (keeping up with Jones's).	-	18
Jews value education more and are better educated than non-Jews.	+	11
Jews are more ambitious than non-Jews.	- 0 +	10
Jews are dishonest, and other negative personality traits.	-	9
Jews are more liberal politically.	+	6
TOTAL NO RESPONSES		649
TOTAL NO RESPONDENTS		283

NOTE: (a) 'Evaluation' refers to the value placed on the characteristic by respondents. The sign + indicates positive value; 0 indicates no value, both positive and negative, or neither positive nor negative; - indicates negative value.

(b) * of the 34 respondents who said that Jews did *not* resemble each other, 14 qualified the statement with an exception (eg . . . apart from appearance; . . . but are more charitable).

A. Yes and no. Yes to the extent that I know many Jews who behave that way, and no to the extent that I know just as many non-Jews who behave in a similar way.

Jews differ from non-Jews in dress, appearance, manner and attitude towards each other. Always seem smarter than others — more flashy. The ones I have come into contact with in Johannesburg are quite aggressive. I don't see any way in which I personally differ from non-Jews.

In concluding this discussion, we might note that Jewish cultural characteristics derive from two sources: the traditions in which the immigrants from Eastern Europe were socialized,¹⁰ and English-speaking South African culture to which they — and more especially subsequent generations — became acculturated. Thus the community has, for the most part, its immediate origins in Eastern Europe; it has its own languages (though used by few) Yiddish and Hebrew; it has a long history telling a story of its own glory and suffering, with its own culture heroes, linking it

Table 7.2 Frequency of responses to the question: 'In what ways would you say that you resemble other Jews and differ from non-Jews?'

Response	Frequency
Resemble other Jews:	
Looks like other Jews	34
Feels Jewish, born and bred Jew, different background from non-Jews, will always be a Jew	84
Try to keep up customs, tradition, religion	69
Associate with Jews	30
Concerned with identity	9
Serve own community	8
Materialistic	12
Interested in Israel	17
Value family life	26
Similar outlook	22
Similar way of life	31
Miscellaneous — positive	20
Politically liberal	9
Ambitious	6
Differ from other Jews:	
Don't resemble other Jews at all/don't differ from non-Jews at all	26
Don't differ from non-Jews, but do resemble Jews, or identify with Jews, in various ways	27
Don't share various <i>bad</i> characteristics of other Jews	14
Don't know in what ways I resemble other Jews	15
TOTAL NO RESPONSES	459
TOTAL NO RESPONDENTS	283

to other Jewish communities in other countries; it has its own cultural heritage and traditions; and it has its own religion. At the same time, in the process of adjustment to South Africa and its conditions of living, and as a result of the foreignness of the original immigrants as well as a subsequent tendency towards a degree of social isolation, Jews have developed certain variations of English-speaking culture. Thus, English is frequently spoken in a tone and with syntactical 'twists' which derive from Yiddish (though relatively few Jews now speak this language); an extreme form of South African English dialect, normally characteristic of lower-class whites, is a feature of Jewish speech at all socio-economic levels;¹¹ the material culture of middle-class Jewish homes is often reminiscent, in its clutter and bric-a-brac, of a stereotype of lower middle class lack of taste; and there are various other traits which have already been referred to. At the same time the permutations exhibited by individual Jews are, as we have emphasized throughout, subject to wide variation, and it may therefore be useful to turn once more to literary sources for descriptions of some possible types.

[Mr Leventhal entered his shop.] Within these walls and beneath this ceiling were arrayed the whys and wherefores of life's meaning: the words, the ideas, the books of great men. They seeped through him and radiated from him, to find form and substance in his personality. In a score of ways they coloured his destiny with the glamour it otherwise lacked. They compensated him for his struggle to make ends meet, for the endless anxieties he had to endure. Whenever the threat to his peace of mind gathered momentum, they were the source from which he derived comfort. In this he knew himself fortunate, and he was forever grateful.

The prop he used to bolster up his optimism he found in Hebraic literature and in the works of Jewish philosophers. In their depths he achieved fulfilment. Each time he distilled their secrets, his soul unclothed itself and assumed another guise. The Talmud was more than merely the laws of his people. It was the universe itself, spaceless, infinite, awe-inspiring. In the vistas it unveiled he found a philosophy that changed pain into pleasure, strife into concord. The wisdom in its pages and the Semitic in his mentality fused to depict his yearnings. The more he unravelled, the less surfeited he became. Because there was nothing he absorbed that did not bring delight of a kind, he was happy, with the happiness cultivated from within . . .

It was now the middle of the afternoon, and time was again beginning to drag. He had a tendency always to be restless of a Friday, owing to the approach of the Sabbath and to the closing of his doors over the week-end. The advent of the Day of Atonement made him more unsettled than ever. Its sombreness, its solemnity, the epochs it symbolized, these were too spiritual to be criss-crossed with the worldly. They turned his mind to worship, to prayer, to the unworthiness of self. Already the gravity of the fast was creeping in on

him, more than forty-eight hours before its time. Sadness, rejoicing, penitence, awe, thanksgiving, all mingled freely with one another. Sadness, because during the past twelve months he had sinned; rejoicing, because the day of forgiveness was at hand; penitence, because he desired to enter the New Year cleansed of evil; awe, because he was about to bow down before his Creator; thanksgiving, because his people, alone of all the peoples on earth, had been chosen to fulfil mankind's destiny.

'From which it could be seen that his religion was alive and living. It stirred on the Sabbath, stirred more on the New Year, stirred most on the Day of Atonement. For then every Jew recalled the greatness of the Israel that had been, and the greatness of the Israel that was to be.' (Segal 1954: 172—3, 228).

'Phyllis Bender was what they called 'a nice Jewish girl'. She did the things that were done and avoided the things that were not done . . .

'Nearly nineteen she was an attractive, vivacious girl, dark-eyed with even features tending to fullness, unknowingly impudent lips that had a soft line about them, and cheekbones just sufficiently prominent to give her face a distinctive cast. Her body was slender with only a suggestion of coming voluptuousness about her bosom, and she had narrow hips and strong, somewhat fleshy legs.

'After attending a Catholic convent school, as was fashionable at that time for the daughters of well-to-do Johannesburg Jews, Phyllis entered the University of the Witwatersrand to take the degree of bachelor of arts. Her parents had intended sending her overseas to complete her education but the outbreak of war had made them abandon this plan. Phyllis had not minded at all. She was averse to drastic changes and quite satisfied, therefore, with the minor widening of accustomed vistas which accompanied her elevation from the convent in the valley to the college on the ridge over it.

'Phyllis Bender did not hanker after academic distinction. She was much more interested in making sure of the conventional happiness for which she felt herself predestined by her father's wealth and her mother's example. What she wanted ultimately was a well-ordered home, an understanding husband, and not too many children so that she would be able to lead a pleasantly active life of intelligent self-indulgence ennobled by communal service. She had chosen her studies with these ends in view and had decided on a course in social science.

'A grounding in sociology and psychology would be useful later on without branding her, meanwhile, as a blue-stocking . . . When it came to finding a husband, she knew, too much education was almost worse than no education at all. There was a saying among her friends that a girl's popularity with the opposite sex stood in inverse proportion to her academic distinction. The higher her record, the lower her chances . . .

'Without being particularly interested in sport, she played tennis

regularly, stood a chance of representing Wits at hockey, and overcame a slight self-consciousness about her sturdy legs to participate in aquatic competitions.

'Because it was also the right thing to do, she joined the university cultural circles, Zionist clubs, welfare bodies, an art appreciation group, and a left-wing political society. The latter had always exerted a strong attraction on those undergraduates who belonged to the upper middle classes . . .' (Markowitz 1959: 123—125)

'A kugel is born to her lot, a link in the chain of evolution. She is often plump, (kugel is Yiddish for a pudding) and essentially cuddly. She grows up, a perfectly tended specimen in a bed of kugels, and at sixteen/seventeen/eighteen years of age launches briefly on her flowering time. Though there are varying genera of kugels — the typical kugel, the emancipated kugel (who lives in her own flat), the older kugel (a pudding still on the pantry shelf), the married kugel (a creature of custom who hasn't broken the habit) and even bagels (kugels with BAs) — these Jewish girls are essentially one species easy to recognize, and seen best under specific conditions.

'*Who's whose.* Kugels come out on Saturday nights — this is invariable. They are instantly recognizable because whatever is the fashion, they are just that touch more fashionable. If skirts are tight, the kugel can barely sit down; if bouffant, hers looks like a meringue yet. If skirts are short, she is embarrassing; if the hem drops, hers threatens the ankles. Currently her stockings outdo samples of linoleum, her eyes are so mascara'd she makes Pola Negri look polar. Her hair is always teased highest, and latest fashion dictates that this confection be topped by a large bow. Her sweaters follow the current schizophrenia between tight and baggy, except that she either looks like a collapsed meteorological balloon or careful listeners can hear her escort's eyeballs popping, straining to keep from dropping . . .

'*The view north.* It is all part of a Great Design. For the kugel is no merely hard-working butterfly; she has a specific appointment in mind — the ultimate one in front of the chupa (altar). For a kugel is essentially a girl bent on marriage. The first date with the boy who is better off financially (and in Johannesburg — where the kugel attains her greatest perfection — who lives further North geographically), is followed by the second date for more solid appraisal. Then follows the Ring (but not until her fingernails are long enough), the envious girl friends, the one family entertaining the other with a table groaning with enormous plates of gehakte herring and gefillte fish.

'*When I grow up . . .* Comes the wedding. The dress costs R400, the wedding R4 000. Guest lists pay off many scores, there are feribels (grudges) from the uninvited, and polite feuds are constructed as the Kugelbaums (the kugel's cousins) mutter through smiles: 'Wait till Marc (or Harry or Blair) has his barmitzvah. We won't invite them . . .' But the kugel is happy. Her honeymoon is spent at a suitably

overpopulated resort (kugels lose hard the habit of being seen), and she settles down cosily to being a nice Jewish girl in a flat facing north — or better, nowadays, in a duplex flat facing north. Presently children come and presently a girl is born, a link in the chain of evolution. She too is plump and is essentially cuddly . . . ' (*News/Check*, 3, 3, 14 Aug 1964, 38—39)

Non-Traditional Culture Traits and Jewish Identification

South Africans who at home speak nothing but English not infrequently feel constrained to talk to each other in Afrikaans when they meet at Piccadilly Circus! While under normal circumstances the individual's behaviour is quite unconsciously cast in the idiom of his particular culture, under certain conditions he may feel it necessary to emphasize certain culture elements in order to identify himself. It may be assumed that the manifestation of Jewish culture traits by an individual is, in the same way, also frequently unconscious. This may apply to the way a Jew speaks English, to his food preferences or to his observance of certain customs. However, the Jew in Johannesburg is a member of a minority group which, as was discussed in the previous chapter on attitudes, has a strong sense of identity and desire to survive. In the discussion of religion — the major source and component of traditional aspects of Jewish culture — it will be shown how for many, perhaps for the majority of respondents observance of the laws and customs are primarily an expression of Jewish identity, and are perceived as such.

It is now suggested that the same may well be true of non-traditional aspects of culture including both surviving Eastern European elements, such as Yiddish and food preferences, as well as variants of local English-speaking culture. Thus while a Jew may eat *gefüllte fish* because he has eaten and enjoyed it since childhood, he may also perceive it as something specifically Jewish which symbolizes his common identity with other Jews. Or, he may colour his speech with characteristic Yiddish inversions or expressions¹² quite automatically, yet be aware that his speech is recognizably Jewish. But we would also suggest that, as with traditional elements, a Jew may employ dialect or gestures or any other such trait to signal his Jewishness to other Jews. This may be only partially conscious in that he may not exhibit these traits when interacting with non-Jews but may more or less automatically switch to them when among Jews. Or it may be an entirely deliberate intention to establish identity. Like school children who speak one language to their parents and another to their peers, so some Jews switch from good standard English to the more extreme South African dialect when among Jews in order to avoid the accusation of 'trying to be too English' or simply to avoid being too different. Similarly, there may be subtle differences in style of dress depending on whether the company is expected to be Jewish or non-Jewish.

What has been suggested is that all those cultural traits which are regarded as being characteristically Jewish — whether traditional, Eastern European or South African in origin — have equal status as symbols of Jewish identity. From one point of view, they enable one Jew to recognize another, from another point of view they enable one Jew to signal his Jewishness to another.

The Transmission of Jewish Traditional Culture: Jewish Education and Jewish Identification

Rappaport (nd: 70) points out that throughout the history of the synagogue, 'The association between the school and the Synagogue always remained an intimate one.' This applied both to the custom of studying the Bible or Talmud before services, as well as to the provision of a religious education (frequently all that was available) for the children of the community. Hence the widespread use of the word 'shul' (from *Schule*, German, school) for a place of worship. This relationship persisted in South Africa and Sachs's (nd) description of the first few years of the Fordsburg-Mayfair Hebrew Congregation is quite typical:

'In 1893, when Johannesburg was seven years old, the suburb of Fordsburg was beginning to attract Jews in larger numbers. There was the feeling amongst them that without some kind of communal life, spiritual disintegration would soon overwhelm them. The need to have a Minyan¹³ was now occupying their attention. And thus it was that a number of Fordsburg Jews met at the home of Mr I. Levy on the 20th August, 1893, for the purpose of forming a Minyan — as a step towards bigger things (*op cit*: 111).

'[By 1896 or 1897] the Congregation felt it did not have the necessary standing and dignity, without a proper place of worship that it could call its own . . . As things were developing fast, Mr Weinberg was appointed Reader¹⁴ and collector¹⁵ . . . he was also a man of some education, for he was complimented by the chairman, Mr Margolius, not only for his outstanding effort in recruiting new members but for his instilling a knowledge of the Hebrew language in the children of Fordsburg.

'The Hebrew language was one of their most precious treasures, as is clear from the request made by Mr Margolius to the Baalebatim¹⁶ of Fordsburg to do everything possible to spread the knowledge of Hebrew among the young.' (*ibid*: 124—5).

The primary purpose of this Jewish education was 'the transmitting of Jewish tradition to the younger generation, so that the youth may become acquainted with their tradition to learn and observe it' (Adar 1965: 2). The vehicle of Jewish education throughout South Africa was the afternoon school — the *cheder* (Hebrew — room) or *talmud torah* (Hebrew — study of Bible). In Fordsburg, again quite typically, Zidel (nd: 228) writes: 'It was no

easy task to hold the interest of a child in cheder after a long day at school. In my school days school only finished at 4 pm and cheder went on till 7 pm every day except Friday, and Sunday morning.' Also describing those early days in Fordsburg, Freed (nd: 243) further observes: 'The religious education we Cheder boys received in those days was of extremely limited character. It consisted, in the main of learning to translate the Hebrew of the Chumash¹⁷ into the Yiddish¹⁸ vernacular.' The *cheder*, then, provided classes after regular government school hours and as such was both a burden for the student as well as creating many problems for the teacher. From the latter point of view, continuity for both the individual child and for the class was constantly disrupted by sports, 'being kept in' at school, visits to the dentist and doctor, and so on. Another problem was that, for many years, *cheder* teachers were often poorly-qualified while their 'foreignness' created a gap between themselves and the rapidly-aculturating children they had to teach. For many children the *barmitzva* represented the end of Jewish education partly because there was little incentive to continue and partly because the demands of secondary school could be used as an excuse to discontinue the irksome afternoon classes. Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, the *cheder* was the only formal educational facility for a generation and more of South African Jews and through it at least a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew (though usually little more than the ability to read and transcribe) and of Jewish traditions and customs have been transmitted (Tables 7.3 and 7.4).

There was, however, a continuous concern with the quality of Jewish education and Adar, in a report remarks (1965: 17):

'Once the 'cheders' and 'Talmud Torahs' were set up in South Africa, it soon became quite evident that they were of slight influence, just because they were 'part-time', not the youngsters' schooling but rather a supplement to it. Those who felt concern for Jewish education came to realise that Jewish schooling needed to be given pride of place by being integrated with a general humanistic education in the morning hours, and as a result the Jewish day school movement came into being. The movement arose subsequent to the holocaust of European Jewry in World War II, and the establishment of the State of Israel, *both events testifying to the need and the possibility of strengthening Jewish education in order to strengthen the Jewish individual* . . . The day-school fosters unity of the man and the Jew in the individual's experience; the part-time school supplementing the regular school fosters a dualism and separateness.' (emphasis added)

The assumption made by Adar, and widely held by the Jewish communal leadership, is that the day school with its programme of Jewish education forming an integral part of the school curriculum, would ensure a higher degree of Jewish commitment and identification than did the *cheder*. On the basis of this assumption, the movement has forged ahead at an impressive pace so that by 1971, Johannesburg alone had three such schools, offering the full range of standards to over 4 000 children.¹⁹ There

is good reason, as well as the opportunity, therefore, to test this underlying assumption: the question is, in the first place, whether a formal Jewish education, in general, affects Jewish identification and, secondly, whether the source of such an education makes any difference. The present study suggests that if Jewish identification is measured either in terms of attitudes (Chapter Five) or in terms of self assessments (Tables 7.5 and 7.6), it is not significantly related, on the whole, to either standard or source of Jewish education — although there is some indication that those with no education at all exhibit somewhat weaker patterns of identification. These findings coincide with the results of a study of 299 Jewish students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and all (296) matriculants at Jewish day schools throughout South Africa. Here it was also found that there was no relationship between a day school education and the extent of Jewish identification, although *some* Jewish education was 'better' than none at all (Dubb 1971: 39). It was suggested that Jewish identification was probably more closely related to parents' attitudes and to the general

Table 7.3 Standard of Jewish education in 1968 sample of Johannesburg Jews

Standard of Education	No	%
None; one or two years as a small child; <i>barmitzvah</i> lessons only	136	48
Until <i>barmitzvah</i> or <i>batmitzvah</i>	60	21
About two years post- <i>barmitzvah</i>	40	14
Matriculation or higher	23	8
Adult classes only	14	5
Until <i>barmitzvah</i> or about two years post- <i>barmitzvah</i> plus adult classes	5	2
Conversion classes	2	1
No response	3	1
TOTAL	283	100

- NOTE: (a) *Barmitzvah* lessons are aimed at preparing the child to chant an equivalent of about a chapter from the Prophets. This involves teaching the child to read Hebrew and the special musical symbols. It may also involve learning answers to a simple test of Jewish knowledge. A child with no previous knowledge can be prepared in about a year.
- (b) Boys are frequently sent to *cheder*, or even day school, until they have their *barmitzvah* at age 13 or girls until *batmitzvah* at age 12.
- (c) Hebrew (or, more correctly, Jewish studies) may be taken as a subject for matric as well as at University.
- (d) Prior to the conversion ceremony, an intending convert must learn to read Hebrew and to follow the synagogue service, as well as become familiar with Jewish religious beliefs and rituals.

Table 7.4 Source of Jewish education in 1968 sample of Johannesburg Jews

Source of Jewish Education	No	%
Primary Jewish Day School only	25	9
Secondary Jewish Day School	15	5
<i>Cheder</i> (classes before or after regular school)	142	50
Private Tutor	32	11
Parents	9	3
None	56	20
Converts	4	1
TOTAL	283	99

NOTE: Day schools include full-time *cheders* or *yeshivas* (which provided religious studies only at, roughly, primary and secondary levels) and Jewish day schools in Eastern Europe, as well as local day schools.

Table 7.5 Responses on self-rating scale: 'I am a person with a strong feeling of being Jewish/no feeling of being Jewish' X standard of Jewish education: median test

Standard of Jewish education	Jewish feeling		Total
	Stronger	Weaker	
Minimal	50	73	123
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,55	1,45	
Till barmitzvah	27	27	54
$(o - e)^2 / e$	0,03	0,03	
Post-barmitzvah	33	25	58
$(o - e)^2 / e$	0,85	0,80	
Adult classes	14	7	21
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1,41	1,34	
TOTAL	124	132	256

df = 3 chi square = 7,46 p < .05

NOTE: (a) Minimal = no Jewish education at all/one or two years as a small child *Barmitzvah* lessons only.
 (b) Adult classes — these respondents may or may not have had some Jewish education as children.

Jewish atmosphere of the home, than to formal study at school. Thus 'parents who have a positive attitude towards Jewish survival in general and the Jewish heritage in particular, will tend to manifest this concern in taking steps to provide their children with a Jewish education. It is, however, not the education itself which ensures that the children will have positive attitudes but the fact of the parents' concern as well as their own behaviour' (*ibid*: 31—32).²⁰

Rabbi S. Rappaport²¹ has suggested another possible explanation. In Central European countries where total assimilation of Jews was a continuous reality, the Jewish day school, in his opinion, was an effective counter-influence. In South Africa with its pluralistic ideology, as in Eastern Europe, a Jew is a Jew and not an Englishman or an Afrikaner. Jewish identity is natural to him, so that the effects of Jewish education would not be readily discernible. However, while 'naturalness' and strength of Jewish identification in Johannesburg seem to be clearly demonstrated by the findings (especially Chapters Five and Eight), it is noteworthy that in England, where the problem of assimilation is similar to what it was in pre-war Central Europe, at least two studies²² have yielded the same results as the present one.

Table 7.6 Responses on self-rating scale: 'I am a person with a strong feeling of being Jewish/no feeling of being Jewish' X source of Jewish education: median test

Source of Jewish education	Jewish feeling		Total
	Stronger	Weaker	
Day School (o - e) ² / e	19 ,69	13 ,67	32
Part-time (o - e) ² / e	59 ,68	75 ,66	134
Tutor/Parents (o - e) ² / e	20 ,33	16 ,31	36
None (o - e) ² / e	27 ,04	26 ,04	53
TOTAL	125	130	255

df = 3 chi square = 3,42 p < ,50

Jews as a Moral Community

Writing of the Hassidim of Williamsburg, New York, an isolationist orthodox Jewish sect, Jerome R. Mintz (1968: 139) comments:

'As the hassidim do not have any social relations beyond their religious circle, their knowledge of the mores of the outside community has always been limited. Because they often find housing in New York in depressed areas, compete for jobs with low-scale wage earners from ethnic groups poorly integrated into the urban scene, and hire such workers to tend menial tasks in their businesses and in their houses of worship, they continue to find evidence for the stereotype of the gentile who is thought to be morally and culturally inferior to the Jew. While the hasid represents the utmost attainment in piety and restraint, the gentile is considered the reverse side of the coin. Concerned with his appetites, the gentile is thought to act without thinking of his duties to the Almighty. Jew and gentile are both heir to the delights of brandy, but in tradition the Jew tempers his desire with divine observance. The deepest familial values — the relationship between parents and children — are also seen to suffer in the gentile home.'

Although the Johannesburg Jewish community is by no means an isolated, insulated orthodox sect, and their contacts with non-Jews are by no means limited to the lower socio-economic classes, the same stereotype of the poor moral fibre of gentiles as compared to Jews persists. Thus in the present study, responses to the questions 'how do Jews resemble one another and differ from non-Jews' and 'how do you resemble other Jews and differ from non-Jews', refer frequently to the moral superiority of Jews — a stereotype which is validated by citing what Jews do for one another: they help one another in need, they establish orphanages and old-age homes, they support numerous charitable organizations, and so on. In particular, Jews see themselves as being characterized by the 'soft' virtues: compassion, kindness, tolerance, generosity, honesty, sincerity, charity, love of family and children — rather than by courage, virility, strength and similar attributes. Only with reference to business and education do respondents cite ambition as a common Jewish characteristic. Where such traits as aggressiveness are mentioned they are generally regarded as negative. The value placed on these 'soft' virtues is further confirmed by responses to the questions 'what is a good Jew' and 'what is a good man' (Table 7.7). In the former, moral attributes, together with observance of Jewish customs and pride in the Jewish heritage, are cited, whereas in the latter, practically all responses refer to moral rectitude. The following texts of two interviews illustrate these attitudes:

A. I believe personally that if we went out to look for Jews and we converted gentiles to Judaism it would give a lot of lustre to the moral values of the world. Look at what the Jewish scientists or the Jewish doctors or the Jewish physicians have done for the world. I think that Jews being such a small percentage, the record is fantastic.

Q. Do you feel that these people have achieved this tremendous success because they were Jews?

A. Yes, because they were Jews. Emphatically, I believe so.

Q. Why? What has their being Jewish got to do with their achievements?

A. Because I think they have a certain way of life and a moral code that makes them different to other people. I think that their environment, their homes, the way they live makes them first of all want to produce better and want to do better than the rest can. I think that this is the environment they live in, I think that this is why they succeed.

Q. What would you say the difference between a Jew and a non-Jew is?

A. I think his moral values.

Q. In Johannesburg you know a lot of Jews and, presumably you do business with a lot of non-Jews as well. Would you say that in Johannesburg doing business with a Jew is much more certain and secure than doing business with a non-Jew?

A. I would say, in the long run, yes.

Q. How do you mean?

A. Look I know that there are a great deal of Jews who will take you for a ride, but I still would rather do business with a Jew than a non-Jew. I mean, it's a peculiar attitude.

Q. Why would you rather do business with a Jew?

A. Because I've got more faith in a Jew. I believe that his moral code and his conduct should be, and in many cases are, much better than a non-Jew.

Q. Can you give me some kind of concrete example? The sort of thing that a non-Jew would do and a Jew wouldn't do or vice versa? Or, better still, something that has actually happened.

A. No I can't give you a concrete example because I haven't got any concrete examples. Look, I want to tell you, emphatically, that I've done some bad business with Jews and yet I still do the same business with them again — I don't know why. It's peculiar. Maybe we Jews sort of stick together that way.'

I find it virtually impossible to attain a level of commonality with a non-Jew that I can with a Jew. There is a predisposition with a Jew to an association — similar background, similar interpretations, similar concepts of what constitutes good and wholesome living, similar interpretations of good and bad. Very difficult to define. There is a greater element of trust with a Jew in business, for instance. Taking a Jew to court would be a breach of communal solidarity. Jews are potentially much more moral than non-Jews, there is a feeling of brotherhood between Jews. I distrust non-Jews to a much greater

degree than Jews . . . Jews have a background of internationalism, of cosmopolitanism which makes them much more get-atable, approachable, much more communicative. This is only true if they think you are a Jew. Jews do not easily accept non-Jews. They are unfriendly, they treat non-Jews with suspicion. As soon as they know you are a Jew their attitude changes. [This last point made by respondent's wife who does not look Jewish]. The Jew has a greater sense of justice. Basically I believe that Jews have a higher moral and ethical standard than other people. What they do here in business [dishonesty, hardness] doesn't really belong to them, it is a necessity. Jews are opportunistic in order to survive.

The sense in which the Jewish community constitutes a moral community in practice is, however, perhaps best-illustrated from the personal experiences of the author when he first moved to Johannesburg.

Soon after my arrival in Johannesburg, I required some clothing. I was hard-pressed and wanted to open an account. I went to a clothing store near the University and talked to the owner, a Jew. He soon identified me as a Jew, and spoke a few words in Yiddish to make certain. From that moment, his attitude was clear. He invited me to open an account and to select whatever goods I required. No references were requested, no deposit, no undertaking regarding rate of repayment. I was a Jew, and he could trust me. I, on my part, trusted him. He would not cheat me. Even if his prices were high, he would not sell me anything that was inferior. He 'would look after me', he 'would see me right' and I, in return, would buy more or less exclusively from him and would recommend him to others.

A similar experience occurred with a pharmacist. I met this man through his brother on a previous visit to Johannesburg. When I came to settle, he told me that if I ever needed anything, I should let him know and he would give me the same discount he gave his family, as well as deliver the goods on his way home from work. On my first purchase, he opened a charge account without being requested to do so and without asking for references of any kind. Even though my account often remained unpaid for several months, he never withdrew the discount or queried my tardiness. On moving to another part of Johannesburg, a local Jewish pharmacist again supplied my needs and simply opened an account.

Another incident concerned a student. Soon after my arrival I marked an essay and awarded a very low mark to a particular student. She came to see me about it and I explained my reasons but she was not satisfied. About a week later she again came to see me and explained that she had previously been convinced that I was antisemitic and had discriminated against her. She had subsequently ascertained that I was

Table 7.7 Responses to the question: 'What is a good Jew?'

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>No of Responses</i>
Jews and Jewish traditions	
Proud of Jewish heritage	7
Proud of being a Jew	29
Committed to the Jewish community	11
Keeps a Jewish home/teaches children Jewishness	12
Observes traditional Jewish religious customs	123
Helps fellow-Jews	6
Feels attachment to Israel/works for Israel	16
Religion	
Should be religious, but not hypocritical	5
Should be religious in the ethical and moral sense	14
Should be religious, though not necessarily observant of laws and customs	18
Need not be religious	22
Moral, ethical and personal attributes	
Should be moral — honest, decent, straightforward	94
Sincere — believe in what one does, self-respecting	15
Kind, compassionate, considerate, tolerant (not in inter-ethnic context)	118
Charitable, generous (in financial sense)	44
Helpful to others	23
Respects other people	5
Honours obligations to others, sense of responsibility	8
Tolerant (in inter-ethnic context)	7
Does not discriminate against non-Jews, mixes with non-Jews	6
Just	8
Ambitious	1
Family	
Family conscious, puts children first, treats wife well	15
Miscellaneous	
Other personal traits	4
Other	3
No good Jews, only bad ones	4
A good Jew is a good person	5
TOTAL RESPONSES	623
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	

NOTE: Responses to the question 'What is a good person?' are virtually identical, except that items relating to Jews and Jewish traditions are omitted.

Jewish, and therefore could not be an antisemite and might consequently indeed have had valid criticisms.

Experiences involving financial assistance, discounts, unquestioned credit, assistance by an unknown Jew contacted through a mutual friend in obtaining a service or goods, friendship shown by Jews who were relative strangers in times of trouble — all these illustrate the belief that Jews ought not only to conduct themselves in a moral fashion but that they should be helpful to a fellow-Jew who might be in less fortunate circumstances than themselves. What is important is that Jews *expect* both to give to, and to receive aid, trust and so on from, other Jews.

Another example is provided by an incident related by a colleague, who recently employed a (Jewish) tiler to do some repairs to his house.

The tiler, having completed the job, called back several times to check on some aspects with which he (the tiler) had not been entirely happy. On one such occasion he remarked that the job was really a very small one for him and didn't warrant all the trouble he was taking. In fact, he normally wouldn't have bothered about such small faults, but he didn't want to let down a nice young Jewish boy. He wanted him to have a good job.

The converse is evident when we examine Jewish expectations from non-Jews. Jews are often accused of 'spoiling' their African servants by paying them too much, while service workers will often concede that Jews tip generously. However, the promise of a gratuity is often made *prior* to actually receiving the service. Thus a not uncommon occurrence in an earlier generation, and perhaps even today, was that when travelling by train a Jewish passenger would give a dining-car steward a generous tip in advance with the request that the steward should 'look after me'. What is important is that in such a situation, the client is not paying for anything to which he was not, in any case, entitled. It is suggested, rather, that the Jew does not expect anything for nothing from a non-Jew. One may even go further and say that some Jews might expect discourtesy or some other antisemitic manifestation, from non-Jews and that the large gratuity paid in advance is an effort to forestall such treatment.

By contrast with the Jewish attitude, English-speaking South African colleagues point out that there is no category of people in relation to whom they would have the kind of expectations Jews have in each other although they suggest that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans might have.

The explanation of this pattern is partially negative, partially positive. The negative aspect stems from the fear of antisemitism in dealing with non-Jews and the consequent sense of security in relation to other Jews. The positive aspect relates to what Jacobson (1971) refers to as 'trackability'. When two people meet they are strangers and are mutually wary — at least until they are able to establish one another's identity. In the

present context, once this identity is found to be Jewish, each party perceives the other as a member of the same community, sharing similar norms and, therefore, being 'trackable'. By identifiable and trackable is meant the expectation 'that the individual in a relationship can be located and sanctioned and will therefore be responsive to its normative regulations' (*ibid*: 633). It is essentially a question of transaction: if the parties feel they have good grounds for expecting the terms of the transaction to be completed in a continuing relationship they are willing to take a risk, to extend social credit; if there is no expected continuity, the relationship is severely limited or totally severed. The assumption is, then, that a Jew will always fulfil his obligations in any transaction with his fellow Jews, and that if he does not, moral pressure can be brought to bear.²³

Another interesting aspect of Jewish morality is that certain political issues are perceived by many Jews in purely moral and ethical terms. Thus many respondents mentioned that Jews were more 'liberal' (in the South African context) or tolerant than non-Jews, while many also regarded tolerance in the same sense as an important attribute of a good Jew and a good person. The justification for this attitude is twofold: in the first place respondents believe that oppressive discrimination is contrary to the teachings of the Bible and of traditional Jewish ethics, while in the second place they mention the long history of Jewish persecution and ask how, in view of this, Jews could possibly share in the oppression of other minorities.²⁴ It is interesting that in the attitude scale, this tolerance was reflected in responses to items referring to so-called petty *apartheid* whereas items expressing more general political policies aroused a considerably less negative reaction.²⁵

In concluding this discussion, we may say that if observance of Jewish traditional forms is decreasing and is in any case confined to certain situations, it appears that the moral values of Judaism — which in their emphasis appear to differ from the more authoritarian and masculine virtues of the larger society — have persisted and have, to a degree, resisted acculturation. This is evident not only in the expression of attitudes but in the way in which Jews see their relations to other Jews and to the community as a whole.

Conclusions

It is probably on the cultural dimension that the greatest extent of individual variation is observable. It has been shown that it would be incorrect to speak of a Jewish sub-culture in Johannesburg in any systematic sense. At most, it is possible to identify a wide range of customs, usages, habits and traits which may be regarded as characteristic of Jews. These characteristics derive from three sources: Jewish tradition (mainly religious), Jewish life and general conditions in Eastern Europe, and the

process of adaptation to South Africa. Yet, it must be emphasized that the largest proportion of Johannesburg Jews is thoroughly acculturated to local English-speaking culture and that 'Jewish' characteristics are superimposed upon (or, perhaps, integrated into) the primary cultural patterns.

In attempting to understand the nature of the Jewish component of the culture of Johannesburg Jews, and the relationship between the cultural and structural elements of identification, the insights of urban African anthropology are, once again, useful. Mitchell (1966: 44ff) distinguished between 'historical' (or 'processive') and 'situational' change, and (*ibid*: 58—59) discusses the role of situational selection in accounting for behaviour. In the first place, he suggests that the 'overall changes in the social system should be called 'historical' or 'processive' change, while the changes in behaviour following participation in different social systems should be called 'situational change' (*ibid*: 44). Mitchell warns against confusing the two types of change, emphasizing the characteristics of the latter with a quote from Southall: 'The switch of action patterns from the rural to the urban set of objectives is as rapid as the migrant's journey to town'.²⁶ Mitchell continues: 'The individual does not bring his social institutions with him to town. The institutions are parts of different social systems and the individual moves from one into the other. It is fallacious, therefore, to think of rural institutions as changing into urban types of the same institutions. The fact is rather that urban dwellers develop institutions to meet their needs in towns and these, because of their different contexts, differ from rural institutions meeting the same need in the tribal social system' (*ibid*: 47—48). In some American cities, because immigrant Jews were able to re-create many of the basic conditions of life to which they had been accustomed in Eastern Europe, they were also able to transplant much of the way of life of the ghetto. Thus Wirth's study of the Chicago Ghetto (1928) dealt to a large extent with 'processive' change.²⁷ In Johannesburg, however, climate, the mining-camp and frontier-like character of the place, the type of Jewish immigrant — these and other factors added up to conditions as different from Eastern Europe as a town is from a rural tribal area. *Mutatis mutandis*, then, what Mitchell has said about the African migrant to town applies to the Jewish immigrant to Johannesburg: faced with a new set of conditions and needs, he had to adopt new ways in order to meet them.

Change does not, however, occur in a vacuum. In order to meet new needs the individual must utilize the repertoire available to him from his own culture, while learning new responses in the new situation itself. Whether old or new responses are selected will, however, depend on the nature of the situation. Mitchell comments (*ibid*: 58) that the principle of 'situational selection' becomes relevant. By examining the pressures exerted on the individual, specific choices, or inconsistencies in choice or behaviour, may be understood. At another level, however, the choices available to

individuals, in general, and the overall characteristics of situational determinants, provide a key to the understanding of the cultural characteristics of a group. This has been the mode of analysis adopted in the present chapter.

The relationship between the structural and cultural dimensions must now be examined. The cultural dimension of Jewish identification has been shown to be the most readily amenable to rapid change, though neither change nor attenuation through acculturation appear to lead, necessarily, to other forms of assimilation. For many, Jewish culture survives as a variety of discrete behavioural traits which serve, consciously or unconsciously, to signal Jewish identity in appropriate situations. Nevertheless, while Jewish culture, *as a systematic whole*, is probably the least durable aspect of Jewish identification, the importance of certain aspects of traditional culture which have survived, must not be underestimated. Thus, it has been shown that moral notions, different from those of the core culture, are typically held by Jews and that these underpin Jewish community life. Furthermore, both the belief in a shared morality and value system, as well as a shared religion, bind local Jews to Jews in every other part of the world. Thus it may be said that while, as was suggested in the Conclusions to the previous chapter, the structural dimension was the most important aspect of Jewish identification inasmuch as the survival of the group probably depended upon it, it is the culture — and, in particular certain traditional aspects — which renders community life both valuable and possible.

Notes

1. This chapter is based largely on impressions, personal experiences, literary insights, and the author's own familiarity with Jews and their way of life as a participating and committed member of the group. This is because, by its very nature, the culture of a group cannot be directly ascertained by means of the type of survey which provided the data for the present study. At best, such a survey can provide some conceptions and perceptions relating to the culture of a group, as well as attitudes to various aspects of this culture. This chapter, then, is offered by way of necessary background as well as being suggestive of possible further lines of more rigorous enquiry.
2. Quoted by Wirth from Milton Reizenstein, 'General Aspects of the New York Ghetto' in Charles S. Bernheimer, *The Russian Jew in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1915.
3. *Gefüllte* or *gefillte fish* — minced fish flavoured with herbs and spices either packed around the bone and stuffed into the skin, or simply made into balls, and boiled.
4. The reference to the role of women in Jewish mobility is interesting but, in the present context, beside the point. It is the fact of mobility itself which is for noting.

5. *Kishke* — intestine with savoury breadcrumb stuffing; *kreplach* — like ravioli, but almost invariably eaten in soup; *kugel* — pudding which is often eaten as part of the main course rather than as a dessert.
6. The *mezuzah* is a small metal, wooden or plastic phial about 2.5–3 inches long and about .25 inch diameter (the size may vary), often embellished with decorative motifs part of which is always the Hebrew word *Shaddai* (one of the names of God). Inside the phial is a piece of rolled parchment on which are handwritten several passages from the bible. The *mezuzah* is attached to the right-hand doorpost of every door in the house about two-thirds way up. The *mezuzah* fulfils the biblical injunction: 'And thou shalt write them [God's commandments] upon the doorposts of thy house and upon thy gates' (Deut VI, 9).
7. Candlesticks for Sabbath and festival candles are a common sight in Jewish — and certainly in orthodox — homes. They are often passed from mother or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter.
8. The *menorah* is an eight-branched candelabra used for the eight nights of the Channuka festival.
9. That is, she observed the dietary laws strictly in her home.
10. A non-Jewish colleague, of Eastern European origin, commented during the course of discussion, that much of what is popularly regarded in South Africa as being typically Jewish — for example, eating habits — is, in fact, Eastern European. Thus, he says that he feels very much at home visiting with Jews who had emigrated from those countries.
11. In a personal communication, Professor L.W. Lanham, Head of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg commented that South-African -born Jews had, for some reason, adopted the most extreme form of South African English. When students were asked to identify recordings of various South African English dialects in terms of socio-economic indices, the one adopted by local Jews was classified as lower class. Initially, the dialect was retained because Jews were apparently unaware or unconcerned with the implications of dialect for social class. I would add the probability that for the first local-born generation the important consideration was that they spoke without an Eastern European accent. Lanham pointed out that nowadays many Jewish parents send their daughters to elocution teachers to improve their accent, but that frequently certain dialectal characteristics remained uncorrected. He felt that he could identify Jewish students — now mostly second-generation local-born — with about 60% certainty by their speech patterns alone.
12. An example of word-order inversion might be: 'To a person like you, this shouldn't happen'. Yiddish expressions used quite frequently and, probably, unconsciously include, for example: 'What a *chazer*' (swine); 'You must be *meshugge*' (mad); '*Oy vai*' (oh, my); 'She's grown into a beautiful girl, *kein ein horre*' (not to tempt the evil eye).
13. *Minyan* — a quorum of ten men (ie males over the age of thirteen) is required for a religious service to be conducted in full. In the present context it refers to the holding of regular communal prayers.
14. Reader, cantor, *chazan* — the man who leads the service. His main function is

to repeat in the traditional chant the last sentence of the prayer just completed and the first few words of the next one. While any man can act as reader, an established congregation usually employs someone, with a good voice, for the position. In South African synagogues, as in the larger and wealthier European ones, the *chazan* sings solo pieces — often assisted by a choir — as well as leads the congregation in traditional hymns and chants.

15. Collector — an official, not to be found in every congregation, whose task in this particular case appeared to be the recruitment of members and the raising of funds for congregational projects. He received a percentage of funds raised, as his fee.
16. *Baalebatim* — literally, householders, but connoting men of importance. In this context it refers to the honorary officers of the congregation.
17. *Chumash* — the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses, Genesis to Deuteronomy.
18. In many *cheders* — and some years later, probably all — translation was into English rather than Yiddish. This, naturally, added to the difficulties of the mainly Yiddish-speaking teachers.
19. According to the 1960 census (B of S 1966b: 17) there were 19 109 Jews between the ages 0—14 in the Transvaal urban areas and 5 603 between the ages 15—19. Assuming an even distribution within each category, there would be approximately 15 000 of school-going age (between 7—18). Since 57 806, or 80%, of the total 72 209 Transvaal Jews lived in Johannesburg, we could estimate that there were 12 000 schoolgoing children in the city. Of these, the SA Jewish Board of Education gave a figure in excess of 4 000 in 1971 for attendance at day schools, while the United Hebrew Schools claimed a *cheder* attendance of about 1 500 (both personal communications). An additional, but unascertainable, number of children received tuition from private tutors.
20. Dr Leonard Fine, Professor of Politics and Social Policy at Brandeis University, during a discussion with Jewish social scientists at the University of the Witwatersrand, mentioned that a PhD student working under his supervision had found that, in a sample of New York Jews, a Jewish education superimposed on a child from a home lacking a Jewish atmosphere was of little use in promoting commitment.
21. Former Head of Department of Hebrew, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg — personal communication.
22. Bernard Wasserstein: 'Jewish Identification among Students at Oxford', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 13,2, Dec 1971, 135—151; Vera West: 'The Influence of Parental Background on Jewish University Students', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 10,2, Dec 1968 (quoted by Wasserstein, 136—137).
23. Jacobson (*ibid*: 632) points out that 'trackability is produced by a knowledge of a person's network of family or friends. 'Who do you know', (ie where are you from, what do you do, and, by implication, who knows you) is a game often played by people who have just met one another and, in part, represents their attempt to locate themselves and others in social space'. In the case of Jews in South Africa, it must be born in mind that they number just over 100 000; that they have been largely endogamous; that they have tended to cluster in a few large cities where, in turn, they have concentrated in certain residential areas:

and, finally, if the present sample is any indication, that most belong to a synagogue congregation. Given these characteristics, the expectation that individual networks will intersect at many points, thereby ensuring trackability, is probably well-founded in fact. In the author's personal experience, he has, in by far the most cases, been able to 'locate' a Jewish stranger through such interlocking networks.

24. It is suggested that sympathy for non-whites among Jews stems, probably, from two sources: firstly, Jewish valuation of the 'soft' virtues (see above) and, secondly, the influence of post-world war II antipathy to racism (which, it should be remembered, is largely a reaction to the Nazi massacre of six million Jews). However, in seeking support for this attitude, many Jews find its justification in a particular interpretation of biblical and post-biblical Jewish ethics, and of Jewish historical experiences.
25. On the attitude scale, 52% agreed with the statement that *apartheid* was the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem, with 31% disagreeing. On the other hand, 73% disagreed with the statement that Africans should not be employed in traditionally white jobs; 49% disagreed (and 30% agreed) that contact between black and white should be minimized; and 72% agreed with the idea of a qualified franchise for all, irrespective of race.
26. Quoted by Mitchell (*op cit*: 44) from A. Southall, 'Introductory Summary', in A. Southall (ed), *Social Change in Modern Africa*, OUP, London, 1961.
27. Not all Jewish immigrants to America transplanted from one ghetto into another, while even at the time Wirth wrote, the Chicago ghetto was beginning to disintegrate.

Chapter Eight

The Role of Religion

Introduction

'Judaism is a system of spiritual truths, moral laws and religious practices. The moral laws and religious practices have been duly classified, codified and clothed with binding authority. Not so the spiritual doctrines. No formulation of these exists which enjoys universal recognition by the House of Israel. There are various reasons for this. One of them is the fact that Judaism never made salvation dependent upon doctrine *in itself*, apart from its influence on conduct.'¹ This emphasis on conduct and the pervasiveness of the rules relating to it led, historically, to the development of distinctive Jewish cultural forms. This culture reached its fullest flowering in the *shtetlach* (villages) of Eastern Europe, from which the overwhelming majority of English-speaking Jews or their forbears originated. Here, isolated from the non-Jewish world, there was 'complete penetration of religious precept and practice into every detail of daily life.' (Zborowski and Herzog 1952: 34). In the *shtetl* there was no distinction between religious and secular, only between Jewish and non-Jewish. Thus both religious and irreligious alike observed the *mitzvoth* (religious laws) — the former as an expression of faith and piety, the latter out of habit and convention.

In South Africa, as in the United States, Britain and other western countries, immigrant Jews had to adjust to a way of life in which observance of *mitzvoth* involved a deliberate decision and, often, considerable inconvenience. Economic pressure, lack of amenities of Jewish life (such as ritual slaughterers, circumcisers, religious experts) and exposure to new, and frequently attractive, cultural influences led to the abandoning of many religious practices. Today, fifty years and two generations removed from Eastern Europe, South African Jews are highly acculturated to the gentile majority and relatively few are still strict in their ritual observances. Yet many of these customs do persist: not, primarily, it is suggested, as an expression of religious commitment but, rather, as an expression of Jewish identity.² This is one of the propositions which will be examined in the present chapter.

Another problem which arises out of the peculiar relationship in Judaism

between belief and practice, is that of the connection between observance and religious feeling. Much earlier than the secularization of religious ritual in Eastern Europe, we find the *dictum* that: 'A man should always perform the *mitzvoth*, even if he does not believe (*literally*, even if not for its own sake); since by *doing* so he will come to believe.'³ It has already been suggested that an irreligious Jew may be observant (though whether he thereby becomes religious we cannot say), but what about a non-observant religious Jew? In the *shtetl* such a possibility was probably remote — after all, what alternative expression of his feelings and fulfilment of his needs did the prevailing cultural environment offer? In South Africa, however, Christianity is a ubiquitous example of religious a-legalism and a-ritualism which suggests an alternative kind of relationship between man and God. This possibility is also investigated in the present study.

In this chapter, then, it is proposed to examine:

- (a) the nature and extent of observance of *mitzvoth*;
- (b) the nature and extent of religious belief and its relation to observance; and
- (c) the relationship between religious belief and observance, on the one hand, and other dimensions of identification, on the other.

The Measurement of Religious Beliefs and Behaviour

Although there are, according to tradition, six hundred and thirteen *mitzvoth*, it is not necessary to investigate each in detail in order to establish the nature and degree of religious observance. In the first place, many *mitzvoth* refer to situations which arise only infrequently or have no relevance for a Jew in South Africa,⁴ while many others concern moral, ethical and personal conduct. A large proportion of the remaining *mitzvoth* form 'sets' of rules relating, among other things, to sabbath and festival observance, the dietary laws, mortuary and memorial rites, and the daily prayer routine. It is possible, then, to obtain a reasonably accurate picture of religious behaviour by determining observance of a relatively few individual *mitzvoth* and sets of *mitzvoth*.⁵ In the present study, the necessary information was obtained by means of more or less direct questions about specific observances.

The measurement of religious beliefs and attitudes was predicated on the assumption that, notwithstanding the absence of an 'official' doctrine, there are certain fundamental tenets of Judaism which every believer would accept. Statements about these beliefs were included in the attitude schedule and formed the Religious Beliefs Sub-scale. A second sub-scale, Religious Conservatism, was also constructed in order to measure commitment to traditionalism as against a desire for change. In addition, respondents were asked their reasons for certain behaviour and were asked to rate themselves on two seven-point scales ranging from very religious to

irreligious and from very observant to non-observant, respectively.

An examination of the religious rules, their nature and the situations in which they apply, suggests a classification in terms of two cross-cutting dimensions: firstly, whether they are performed publicly, domestically or privately and, secondly, whether they may be regarded as ceremonial or ritual in nature. The categories may be defined and explained as follows:

(a) *Private*: There are certain *mitzvoth* which are always or usually performed, by an individual, in private and away from the public gaze. Observance of these *mitzvoth* would, therefore, normally be known only to intimates. They include the benedictions which should be recited before or after certain acts like the ritual washing of hands, eating food, performing various natural functions and so on. Also in this category are prayers on rising and retiring, the wearing of *tzitzith* or *arba kanfoth*⁶ and, frequently, the morning prayer at which men put on the *tefillin*.⁷ Ritual bathing by a woman before her wedding, during menstruation and after child-birth, as well as other observances by both men and women relating to *taharath hamishpacha* (the purity of family life), may also be considered as being private. In the present study male respondents were asked whether they kept their heads covered at all times (a positive *mitzvah*), used a safety or 'cut-throat' razor for shaving (a negative *mitzvah*) and regularly recited the morning prayers with *tefillin*. All respondents were further asked to what extent they recited *brachot* (benedictions) when prescribed, whether they said grace after meals and whether they observed *kashruth* (dietary laws) both at home and outside.

(b) *Public*: Some *mitzvoth* are, by their very nature, generally observed together with, or in the presence of people beyond the circle of intimate kinsmen and friends. Attendance at synagogue services on weekdays, sabbaths and festivals are one obvious example, and has been included in this investigation. Observance of many of the prohibitions applying on sabbath and festivals — such as working, riding, writing, smoking, cooking — have both their public and private aspects, but are placed in the former category because infringements are, for the most part, unavoidably public. Other important *mitzvoth* which were investigated are: circumcision of sons and their confirmation at the age of thirteen (*barmitzvah*); confirmation of daughters at age twelve (*batmitzvah*); the marriage ceremony; and mortuary, mourning and memorial rites for the dead. All these rites are by their very nature, public, while some *must* be performed in the presence of witnesses and, in some cases, with the assistance of a religious functionary.

(c) *Domestic*: This category comprises all those *mitzvoth* which involve the whole household, and includes both ritual and ceremonial. The *mitzvoth* investigated were: *kashruth* observance (dietary laws),

observance of the prohibition against *chametz* on Passover,⁸ lighting candles and saying *kiddush* on holy days, grace after meals, *Channuka* candles,⁹ and mourning rites.

(d) *Ritual*: Some *mitzvot* may be regarded as being single acts, routine and undramatic in nature, performed in terms of a fixed formula. This type of *mitzvah* is defined here as a *ritual*. In the present study, rituals about which questions were asked, include observance of *kashruth* (dietary laws), keeping the head covered, putting on *tefillin*, reciting of benedictions and grace after meals, aspects of sabbath and festival observance, aspects of mourning and memorial rites for the dead, private prayer and attendance at synagogue.

(e) *Ceremonial*: Ceremonial (or ceremony) is distinguished from ritual as being a single *mitzvah* or set of *mitzvot*, performed collectively or in the presence of others, *which has a certain element of drama*. The ceremonial, therefore, always consists of a ritual or rituals, but not all rituals are ceremonial. Ceremonies include not only publicly-performed *mitzvot*, but also *mitzvot* associated with the family and household. Those which have been investigated in this study are: lighting of candles on sabbath and festival evenings, reciting of *kiddush* (a special benediction for holy days, including a blessing over wine and bread, which is recited before the festive meal by (usually) the male head of the household), grace after meals (which is frequently sung by the whole family on holy days), the *seder* (festive evening meal on Passover, during which the story of the exodus from Egypt is related), mortuary and the preliminary mourning rites, the marriage ceremony, circumcision, *Barmitzvah*, and lighting the *Channuka* candles.

This classification is useful in that it suggests several related hypotheses. Thus, it is postulated that private *mitzvot* are likely to be observed primarily, if not only, by people who hold strong positive religious beliefs and who also observe other categories of *mitzvot* or, in other words, that observance of private *mitzvot* may be regarded as an index of maximal religious commitment. At the other end of what is probably a continuum, it is postulated that non-religious Jews may use specific *mitzvot* as *symbols* of their identification with the Jewish group or, to put it more strongly, that few Jews who do not completely deny their Jewishness, will *not* observe at least some *mitzvot*. In these cases the *mitzvot* which would be most durable would be those which are performed in public and/or at home. Furthermore, it is suggested that as we move along the continuum from maximal to minimal observance, so the relationship between observance and religious belief approaches zero, and that only at the minimal extreme, there may be, though not necessarily so, a negative relationship.¹⁰

Religious Behaviour: the Observance of Mitzvoth

The observance of *kashruth*, the dietary laws, involves a number of injunctions and prohibitions. Basically, these include the avoidance of forbidden foods; the exclusive use of meat from animals slaughtered by a suitably-qualified ritual slaughterer (*shochet*); soaking and salting or, in some cases, searing of meat in order to draw away the blood; and maintaining separate sets of utensils for meat and milk foods. Table 8.1 indicates that the dietary laws are observed in varying degrees of strictness: those who say they observe all the rules meticulously at all times; those who observe them only at home but do not avoid forbidden foods outside; those who observe some of the rituals in some combination; and those who do not claim to observe the dietary laws at all. What is interesting, however, is that while a quarter of the 195 respondents who observed *any* rules did so for religious reasons, a third were motivated primarily by the desire to identify as Jews.¹¹ Interestingly, the chi-square test indicates that the only significant relationship between degree and reason for observance is that those who observe *kashruth* for religious reasons tend to observe it fully. A similar relationship was found between *kashruth* observance and scores obtained on the Religious Beliefs and Religious Conservatism attitude scales: most respondents who observe *kashruth* completely are high scorers on both sub-scales, most who do not observe at all are low-scorers, while those who observe partially may be either high or low-scorers (See Table 8.6).

It is suggested that the pattern of *kashruth* observance and its relation to religious belief lends some, though not conclusive, support to our hypothesis. To elaborate: *kashruth* is a set of rituals which has private, public and domestic aspects. If we regard complete observance of the rules *outside* the home as essentially private,¹² we find that fewest respondents (13% of 275) fall into this category. By contrast, 19% observe *kashruth* fully at home only, while most partial observance — practised by 39% of the sample — is also domestic in nature (eg keeping separate sets of utensils, using only *shochet*-slaughtered meat). The most widely observed public aspect of the dietary laws is the avoidance of pork in any form and, in several cases, of shellfish. That *kashruth* observance has more to do with identification than with religious conviction seems to have been adequately demonstrated.

Turning now to the other *mitzvoth* whose observance was investigated, it was found that:

(a) Those *mitzvoth* which are entirely private and ritual in nature — covering the head, not using a razor, putting on *tefillin*, and reciting the benedictions — are, as Table 8.2 shows, the least frequently observed. In no instance are they regularly or completely observed by *more* than 6% of respondents, nor do *less* than 88% ignore them. Furthermore, as Table 8.7 indicates, those who do observe these *mitzvoth* also tend to observe most

other *mitzvoth*. Strict observance of these *mitzvoth*, then, is a reliable indicator of a *generally* high level of observance, although the converse does not hold (ie a high level of observance of other *mitzvoth* does not indicate observance of these private *mitzvoth*). There is a similar relationship between observance of the private *mitzvoth* and religious conviction. Table 8.6 shows that most who observe regularly or completely are high scorers on both the Religious Belief and Religious Conservatism attitude scales, but that for partial or non-observance there is no significant relationship.

(b) All other private *mitzvoth* mentioned in Table 8.2 also have public or domestic aspects, while three are ceremonial as well as ritual in nature. With the exception of grace after meals, which is observed no more frequently than the benedictions, the remaining three — avoidance of leaven on Passover, mortuary rites, memorial rites — are *totally* neglected by only a very small proportion of respondents. It is interesting that the degree of observance of the prohibition on leaven corresponds fairly closely with scores on the two religious attitude scales (Table 8.6).

(c) The public *mitzvoth* of a ceremonial nature are, as Table 8.3 shows, observed by almost all respondents. These include mortuary and memorial rites, circumcision and *barmitzvah* of sons, and the marriage ceremony. The one exception is *batmitzvah* of daughters — but this is an innovation by the Reform movement which, though adopted by some Orthodox congregations, is not a part of orthodox Jewish tradition. As might be expected, observance of these *mitzvoth* gives no clue as to the general pattern of observance or belief of the individual. Even non-observance, as far as this particular sample is concerned, does not reflect a high degree of alienation since this was due in most cases to temporary isolation from an organized Jewish community.¹³

(d) Table 8.3 indicates that the most frequently observed public *mitzvoth* of a ritual nature, are those relating to New Year and the Day of Atonement. While, on the one hand, they involve only three days *per annum* (two, in the case of Reform Jews) their widespread observance cannot be explained in those terms only. These three days are the most solemn in the Jewish calendar and are occasions for repentance and prayer. On New Year the synagogue service takes anything up to six hours, while on the Day of Atonement the service continues throughout the day and worshippers fast from sundown to sundown. On these days, it may be easily observed, by Jew and non-Jew alike, that many (if not most) Jewish businesses and offices are closed and that synagogues are packed to capacity — some even organizing additional 'overflow' services. Certainly casual observation suggests that observance of the so-called High Festivals has been extremely durable and might be thought of as the most irksome set of *mitzvoth* whose observance, more or less completely, is a *sine qua non* of being a Jew. However, they are not as universally observed as, for example,

circumcision of sons while, like *kashruth*, there is a good deal of room for variability in the degree of observance. Unlike *kashruth*, however, Table 8.6 shows that there is an overall correspondence between observance of New Year and Atonement and degree of religious conviction, while Table 8.4 shows that those who do *not* observe, fall significantly below the median of the self-rating scale, 'I am a person with a strong feeling of being Jewish — with no feeling of being Jewish'.

(e) Still referring to Table 8.3, the next most frequently observed public *mitzvoth* relate to *Pesach*, *Shavuoth* and *Succoth* and to synagogue attendance. Observance of the three festivals consists, for most respondents, of attendance at evening services and the practice of some of the domestic rituals and ceremonies connected with them. Few, however, attend morning services or stay away from work. With regard to synagogue attendance, those who attend services weekly or more often are included in the category 'Regularly/completely', and those who attend monthly or on *all* three days of the High Festivals (or two in the case of Reform Jews) are included in the second category. It should, however, be noted that most weekly attendance refers to Friday evening services which many attend only for as long as they enjoy the cantor or preacher. Turning now to the relationship between patterns of festival observance and synagogue attendance, on the one hand, and religious conviction, on the other, Table 8.6 shows that in both cases, complete or regular observance is related to high-scores on the two scales while non-observance is related to low-scores. Partial observance, however, does not reflect the degree of religious belief or conservatism and is, as has been suggested in the discussion on *kashruth*, probably motivated by the desire to identify as Jews.

(f) The least frequently observed of the public *mitzvoth* are those relating to the Sabbath. Thus, it is not unexpected, as Table 8.6 shows, that strict observance corresponds with high-scores on the religious sub-scales, while partial or non-observance are quite unrelated to religious conviction. The reasons for the infrequency of sabbath observance are fairly obvious: sabbath falls weekly, on the busiest business day of the week, and also on a day on which many sports fixtures take place. Add to this the irksomeness of the prohibitions and the fact that their observance would preclude both work and sport, and it becomes clear why the public and private aspects of sabbath observance are widely ignored. Insofar as the sabbath is observed at all, this is primarily through Friday evening synagogue attendance and, to a greater extent, through the domestic ceremonies which are discussed below.

(g) As a group, as Table 8.5 shows, it is the *mitzvoth* involving home and family that are most frequently and completely observed. Sabbath (as well as the festivals) is observed primarily by the lighting of candles, the reciting of a special benediction over wine (*kiddush*), and a festive meal.¹⁴ In addition, *Pesach* (Passover) is marked by the organization of, or

participation in, a family (frequently, the extended family) *seder*. The *seder*, apart from a festive meal, is a fairly lengthy ceremony in which the story of the exodus from Egypt is related, and the freedom of the Children of Israel from slavery is commemorated. There are several symbolic objects and foods on the table which invite attention and discussion, and children demonstrate some of what they have learnt at *cheder* by asking the 'four questions' (to which the narrative of the exodus from Egypt is the answer), or by explaining the meaning of the symbols to the adults. Also related to Passover, is the avoidance of leaven and the eating of *matzah* (unleavened bread) for eight days. This entails a total taboo on certain foods, and the use of others which are certified fit for Passover by the Jewish Ecclesiastical Court (*Beth Din*). It also involves the ritual cleansing or changing of utensils which normally come into contact with leaven, and a thorough spring-cleaning of the home, culminating in the ceremonial burning of the last crumbs of leaven on the morning before Passover. Although it is likely that many respondents who claimed to observe completely the *mitzvot* relating to Passover, made the claim out of ignorance, it does at least indicate that they did participate in a traditional ceremony at home, that some ritual cleansing had been performed and that leaven was not used.¹⁵

The relationship of all these *mitzvot* to religious conviction varies. Observance of the *seder* and taboos relating to leaven are, like observance of New Year and Atonement, amenable to considerable variation and, as Table 8.6 shows, exhibit an overall correspondence with the degree of religious belief and conservatism. Lighting of candles exhibits least correspondence with the two sub-scales, insofar as only non-observance is related to low scores. *Kiddush* occupies an intermediate position with *kashruth*, in that regular observance corresponds with high scores, non-observance with low scores, and occasional observance with either high or low scores.

The two domestic *mitzvot* which are least frequently observed — grace after meals and the lighting of *Channuka* candles — must now be discussed. The first of these may be regarded as being something of a family ceremony on sabbath and holy days and, in fact, those who observe it as such may or may not have strong religious convictions (Table 8.6). However, only high-scorers on the religious sub-scales recite grace regularly. Although the lighting of *Channuka* candles is not irksome, the festival is not marked by special synagogue services, *kiddush*, festive meals, rules or prohibitions, and is, therefore, probably simply overlooked. Furthermore, *Channuka* also generally falls during the December summer vacation when many people are away from home.

(h) Given the patterns of observance described above, the question arose as to whether any *mitzvot* tended to go together. In the first place an attempt was made to construct a Guttman scale.¹⁶ This did not succeed since, as Table 8.7 illustrates, the more frequently *mitzvot* are observed the more

random is their relationship to other *mitzvot* observed. Thus while it may be predicted that a man who does not use a razor, for example, will tend to observe most other *mitzvot*, predictability decreases in respect of someone who observes the sabbath, and is almost zero for observance of New Year and Atonement. While in the last-mentioned case one may predict that *something* else may be observed, it is extremely difficult to specify exactly *what* it will be.

(i) The result of factor analyzing ten *mitzvot*, Table 8.8, is the emergence of two factors which, in terms of our argument, may perhaps be labelled 'Jewish Identification' and 'Religious Commitment'.

It is now possible to test the hypotheses postulated earlier. These state that:

(a) Private *mitzvot* are likely to be observed primarily, if not only, by people who will also tend to observe other categories of *mitzvot*, and who hold strong positive religious beliefs.

(b) Non-religious Jews may use *mitzvot* as symbols of their identification with the Jewish group or, to put it another way, one who does not completely deny his Jewishness will observe at least some *mitzvot*.

(c) The most durable *mitzvot* would be those performed in public or at home.

(d) Moving along the continuum from maximal to minimal religious observance, one finds that the relationship between observance and religious belief approaches zero, but at the minimal extreme there *may*, though not necessarily be a negative relationship.

The data seem to support, with little reservation, propositions (a) and (c). With regard to (d), Table 8.6 shows that in three instances — New Year and the Day of Atonement, the Passover, *sefer*, and the avoidance of leaven — the proposition is not supported and that there is a consistent relationship between observance and belief.¹⁷ Proposition (b) depends, to a large extent, on (d), and is an attempt to explain the instances of zero relationship. To the material already cited which supports the proposition, it may be added that the attempt to construct a Guttman scale did show that of a total of 283 respondents, only 19 did *not* observe at least three of the ten *mitzvot* partially.¹⁸

Religious Beliefs

Scores on the two attitude scales, Religious Beliefs and Religious Conservatism, are, as Table 5.1 shows, normally distributed about their means and cover virtually the whole range from most positive to most negative. This represents quite a different pattern of distribution from that exhibited by observance, and accounts for the low degree of relationship between them that has already been discussed. An examination of

individual item scores, however, reveals even more dramatically the discontinuity between religious attitudes and behaviour.

The seven items comprising the Religious Beliefs subscale¹⁹ probably includes, on the one hand, the irreducible fundamentals of Judeo-Christian belief in general, and on the other hand, those of Judaism in particular. There are thus questions about God's attributes and about His revelation to man as well as about the unchangeability of God's revealed word, Israel's chosenness, and the centrality of observance. Three items elicited a high degree of agreement: 71% agreed with the statement that God is creator and guide, 69% that God is concerned with each individual and may be approached through prayer, and 64% that God revealed His word on Mount Sinai and that it may not be changed. The item most frequently rejected was that dealing with Israel's chosenness — 57% disagreed and only 26% agreed. A possible partial explanation of the idiosyncratic pattern of actual observance may be that only 42% believed that God rewarded the good and punished the wicked! Be this as it may, it is interesting, given the patterns of observance, that more than half agreed that one should try to observe all the *mitzvot* and that only 31% disagreed. (The more specific question on attitudes to *kashruth* tallied fairly closely with actual observance of dietary laws). Even more surprising are the patterns of response to the items on the Religious Conservatism scale. Here it was found that although 62% agreed that Reform Judaism was a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life, 55% as against 35% found the Orthodox service inspiring, and 51% as against 40% felt that it was better to remain even nominally Orthodox than to join a Reform congregation.

The overall picture, then, is of a tendency towards fundamentalism in those elements which are common to both Judaism and Christianity, and that there is also a tendency towards conservatism in attitudes relating to the observance of the *mitzvot*. It is suggested, in line with the argument in the previous section, that these attitudes reflect a desire to preserve traditional modes of identification rather than a belief in their religious efficacy. To take the argument even further: for most respondents, religious questions are resolved through certain basic beliefs in God, His attributes and His activities, whereas observance of *mitzvot* has relatively little religious significance for them.

One final point which should be made in connection with the relation between observance and belief is that it appears that most Jews make no distinction in their own minds between being religious and being observant. Thus, as can be seen in Table 8.9, the two seven-point self-rating scales 'I am a religious/irreligious person' and 'I am an observant/non-observant Jew', exhibited a significantly high relationship.

Differences between Jews affiliated to Orthodox and Reform Congregations

Examination of the relation between attitude sub-scale scores and synagogue affiliation revealed no significant differences between Orthodox and Reform Jews — with the exception that Reform adherents expressed greater readiness to mix with non-Jews (Chapter Five). Patterns of responses to the self-rating scales 'I am a religious/irreligious person' and 'I am an observant non-observant Jew' (Table 8.10) confirm this. It must therefore be concluded that on the attitudinal level (including beliefs and traditionalism) Reform and Orthodox adherents do not differ significantly.

Turning now to behaviour (or, action tendencies) and biographical characteristics, however, significant differences do emerge. Thus Table 8.10 shows that with regard to the dietary laws, *kashruth*, Reform Jews are significantly less observant than Orthodox Jews. This is in line with the attitude of the Reform movement that observance of many *mitzvot* is neither obligatory, nor even necessary, but a matter of personal choice. It would seem that although Reform and Orthodox respondents rate themselves as being equally religious and observant, they must *mean* very different things. It is worth noting that proportionately more Reform than Orthodox Jews regard themselves as being more observant now (ie during the period of fieldwork) than they had been before. This supports a frequent assertion by the Reform rabbinate that the movement 'recaptured' Jews who had been drifting away from the fold.

Although the author found in a study (unpublished) of Jewish university students in 1969, that those who belonged to the Reform movement had received less Jewish education than Orthodox youth, no significant differences have been found in the present study. There is also no significant difference in the general educational level of the two groups, nor in their age distribution.

What does appear to be significant is background. While both groups have a similar proportion of local-born adherents, all Eastern European-born respondents but one, are Orthodox. On the other hand, though this could not be tested for significance, proportionately more Central European Jews belonged to Reform. This is probably due partly to the strangeness of the Reform service for Eastern European Jews, and partly to the existence of Reform in Germany for many years. These differences in background provide at least a partial explanation for the greater willingness of Reform respondents to mix with non-Jews.

It may be concluded that in Johannesburg, at any rate, there is little relation between the degree of identification and Orthodox and Reform affiliation. On the other hand, as Chapters Five and Six show, the differences between Jews affiliated to either movement and those who were

not so affiliated, are apparent all along the line: in attitudes, in observance of *mitzvot*, and in patterns of social relations.

Conclusions

It was postulated in Chapter Two, that 'apart from the most strictly orthodox section of the community, there is little relationship between religious beliefs and practices. Thus people who observe few taboos, rituals or other rules may have strong positive religious attitudes while, conversely, even those who believe very little, will tend to observe at least some practices. This is because religious practices are modes of Jewish identification rather than expressions of religious feeling . . . ' (p 10, above). The findings presented in this chapter appear to confirm the hypothesis. Thus while the majority of respondents believed in the basic tenets of Judaism, relatively few expressed their faith through maximal observance of the *mitzvot*. Furthermore, apart from a small proportion who were either religious and observant, or irreligious and completely non-observant, there was little relationship between behaviour and the degree of belief and few people, even if they believed little, did not observe at least some *mitzvot*. It was argued, therefore, that observance of *mitzvot* was primarily a means of identification, rather than of religious commitment — a conclusion further supported by evidence of the greater durability of public and domestic *mitzvot* as compared with privately-performed rituals.

As a means of *signalling* Jewish identity, then, observance of *mitzvot*, the major component of traditional Jewish culture, has the same status as non-traditional elements — a point which was argued in the previous chapter. It should, however, be clear, both from the discussion of Jewish education, as well as from what has been said in the present chapter, that the traditional elements are seen as being the *essence* of Jewish culture and, it might be added, as being the link between Jews of all countries today and throughout history.

The high level of synagogue affiliation (noted in Chapter Six), the emphasis placed upon providing children with a Jewish education (noted in Chapters Seven and Nine), and the patterns of synagogue attendance and observance of *mitzvot* (Chapter Six and the present chapter), correspond with Herberg's (1955: 191—198) observation among American Jews, that both religious observances and a good deal of the institutional life of the synagogue has become 'secularized and drained of religious content' (*ibid*: 196). There is no support, however, for Herberg's hypothesis explaining the wide-spread 'return', in the United States, of the grandchildren of immigrants (the so-called third generation) to the religion of their grandparents. Specifically, the hypothesis holds (*ibid*: Chapters Two and Three) that second generation Jews (as well as other

immigrant groups) rebelled against the foreignness of their parents, while they themselves tried to become more Americanized. Since ethnic identity had, for the immigrants, become tied to the synagogue or church, the second generation rejected religion as the symbol of their parents' foreignness. However, the great American dream of the melting pot did not work out in practice. For one thing, the 'old Americans' — White Protestant Anglo-Saxons — did not accept the children of the immigrants; for another, the second generation had not *totally* rejected their parents or their culture. However, says Herberg (*op cit*: 30—31):

'The third generation, in short, really managed to get rid of the immigrant foreignness, the hopelessly double alienation of the generation that preceded it; it became American in a sense that had been, by and large, impossible for the immigrants and their children. That problem, at least, was solved; but its solution paradoxically rendered more acute the perennial problem of 'belonging' and self-identification. They were Americans, but what *kind* of Americans? . . . But what group could they belong to? The old-line ethnic group, with its foreign language and culture, was not for them; they were Americans. But the old family religion, the old ethnic religion, could serve where language and culture could not; the religion of the immigrants — with certain modifications, such as the replacement of the ethnic language by English — was accorded a place in the American scheme of things that made it at once both genuinely American and a familiar principle of group identification.'

Thus the third generation re-emphasized their identity in the same way as the original immigrants, and in the only legitimate manner in America: through religion.

It is suggested that this hypothesis is simply not applicable to Jews in South Africa. In the first place, there was no ideal of the melting pot: while acculturation was desirable, and desired, as a more effective means of adapting to and exploiting the new environment, there was no ideal of 'South Africanization'. The Jew had to adapt to both Afrikaners and Englishmen — generally preferring the culture of the latter — without being accepted by, or wanting to become assimilated into, either group. There was, therefore, considerably less pressure, in South Africa than in America, on Jews — immigrants or their children — to renounce their distinctive identity.²⁰ Furthermore, religion was not the only legitimate expression of ethnic identity: Alexander²¹ points out that the Zionist movement had an extensive following among South African Jews ever since its inception at the end of the last century, and that in many smaller centres Jewish community, synagogue congregation and Zionist society were co-extensive. It appears that Zionism, despite its nationalist and political nature, was not perceived to be in conflict with an overarching loyalty to South Africa, but had a long time ago received the sympathetic support of non-Jewish politicians like Nationalist Party Prime Minister

Herzog and United Party leader Smuts. It is suggested, therefore, that since in South Africa it was quite legitimate for Jews to be openly involved in a nationalist movement, and since a large and ever-increasing proportion of Jews expressed their ethnic identity in these terms, religion was less important here than in the United States. The second generation did not feel it *necessary* to abandon their religion, they simply continued a trend, initiated by the immigrants themselves, of a drift away from strict adherence to orthodox Jewish traditions. However, this did not deprive them of an anchor for their ethnicity: the Zionist movement provided this. The third generation, therefore, also had no 'need to return' to religion to express their ethnic identity. The South African material, then, suggests that Herberg's hypothesis requires considerable modification if it is to be applicable to immigrant situations outside the United States.

Table 8.1 *Observance of kashruth X reasons for observance*

Degree of Observance	Reasons for Observance				
	Religious reasons	In order to identify; for sake of children	Habit, upbringing or 'feel happier'; for sake of parents, relatives, spouse; healthier, tastier, similar rationalization	Total (excluding no response, don't know)	
	No	No	No	No	%
Observe fully at home and outside	15	7	13	35	18
Observe fully at home only	20	15	18	53	27
Observe some dietary laws	12	47	48	107	55
Total observing kashruth	47	69	79	195	100
	24	35	41	100	
Total not observing kashruth	—	—	—	80	—
Total (excl no response don't know)	—	—	—	275	—

Table 8.2 *Private mitzvoth observance*

Mitzvah	Ritual(R) Ceremony (C)		Degree of Observance			No Response	Total
			Regularly/ Completely	Occasionally/ Partially	Seldom/Little or Not at All		
Observe Kashruth	R	No	37	164	80	2	283
		%	13	58	28	1	100
Use head covering (men only)	R	No	4	6	127	146	137
		%	3	4	93	Applicable	100
Do not use bladed razor (men only)	R	No	6	0	131	146	137
		%	4	0	96	Applicable	100
Do put on tefillin (men only)	R	No	8	7	122	146	137
		%	6	5	89	Applicable	100
Do say brachoth (benedictions)	R	No	13	20	250	—	283
		%	5	7	88	—	100
Do say grace after meals	R, C	No	15	19	249	—	283
		%	5	7	88	—	100
Do not eat leaven on Passover	R	No	175	63	45	—	283
		%	62	22	16	—	100
Observe mortuary and mourning rites	R, C	No	16	18	2	247	36
		%	—	—	—	Applicable	—
Observe memorial rites	R, C	No	90	53	19	121	162
		%	56	33	12	Applicable	101

Table 8.3 Public mitzvah observance

Mitzvah	Ritual(R) Ceremony(C)		Degree of observance			No Response	Total
			Regularly Completely	Occasionally Partially	Seldom, Little or Not at all		
Observe Sabbath rules and prohibitions	R	No	30	11	212	—	283
		%	11	4	85	—	100
Observe Pesach, Shavuoth and Succoth	R	No	31	176	73	—	283
		%	12	62	26	—	
Observe New Year and Atonement*	R	No	211	31	38	—	283
		%	75	12	13	—	100
Observe mortuary and mourning rites	R C	No	16	18	2	217 Not applicable	36
		%	—	—	—		—
Observe memorial rites	R C	No	90	53	19	121 Not applicable	162
		%	56	33	12		101
Circumcision of sons**	C	No	150	5	—	128 Not applicable	155
		%	97	3	—		100
Barmitz- — actual vah of — intend sons Total	C	No	85	—	4	128 Not applicable	155
		No	63	—	3		
		No	148	—	7		
		%	95	—	5		
Batmitz- — actual vah of — intend daugh- Total ters***	C	No	14	2	66	131 Not applicable	149
		No	27	1	39		
		No	41	3	105		
		%	28	2	70		
Attend synagogue	R	No	66	137	78	22	283
		%	23	48	28	1	100
Own marriage ceremony****	C	No	215	16	—	1	232
		%	93	7	—	51 Not applicable	100

- NOTE: (a) * The category 'Regularly, completely' includes a fairly wide range of actual observance. The main characteristics are that these respondents do not work but attend synagogue on the three days concerned.
- (b) ** 'Partial' refers to non-ritual circumcision by doctor.
- (c) *** An innovation not regarded as necessary or binding.
- (d) **** 'Regularly Completely' refers to Jewish religious ceremony; 'Occasionally Partially' refers to civil marriage ceremony. No respondents were married by Christian rites.

Table 8.4 Observance of New Year and Day of Atonement X self-rating scale: 'I am a person with a strong feeling of being Jewish/no feeling of being Jewish': median test

<i>New Year, Atonement observance</i>	<i>Religious</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Above median</i>	<i>Median and below</i>	
Observe fully	104	88	192
$(o-e)^2 / e$	1,20	1,39	
Observe partially	12	21	33
$(o-e)^2 / e$	1,04	0,99	
Do not observe at all	10	24	34
$(o-e)^2 / e$	2,56	2,41	
Total	126	133	259

df = 2 Chi square = 9,59 p < ,01

Table 8.5 Home and family mitzvot observance

Mitzvah	Ritual (R) Ceremony (C)		Degree of observance			No Response	Total
			Regularly/ Completely	Occasionally/ Partially	Seldom/Little or Not at All		
Observe Kashruth at home	R	No	90	111	80	2	283
		%	32	39	28	1	100
Do say Grace after meals	R C	No	15	19	249	—	283
		%	5	7	88	—	100
Do light Sabbath candles	R C	No	220	20	41	2	283
		%	78	7	14	1	100
Do recite Sabbath Kiddush	C	No	153	25	103	2	283
		%	54	9	36	1	100
Participate in Seder on Passover*	C	No	200	41	42	—	283
		%	71	14	15	—	100
Do not eat leaven on Passover	R	No	175	63	45	—	283
		%	62	22	16	—	100
Do light Channuka candles	C	No	81	27	171	1	283
		%	30	10	60	—	100

NOTE: * It is probable that many informants who said that they participate in an orthodox *seder* do, in fact, shorten the proceedings to a greater or lesser degree. Nevertheless their responses have been classified in the category 'Regularly/Completely'. Those participating in a reform *seder* have been classified as 'Occasionally/Partially'.

Table 8.6 *Observance of mitzvot X religious beliefs and religious conservatism attitude sub-scales: median test*

<i>Mitzvah</i>	<i>Religious Beliefs</i>			<i>Religious Conservatism</i>		<i>Comments</i>
	<i>df</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i> <	χ^2	<i>p</i> <	
Grace	2	15,41	,001	17,07	,001	Most who observe <i>mitzvah</i> regularly or completely are high-scorers. Those observing partially, irregularly, seldom or not at all, may be high- or low-scorers.
Brachoth	2	12,20	,01	9,36	,01	
Sabbath	2	14,06	,001	12,63	,01	
Tefillin*			,002		,002	All or most who observe <i>mitzvah</i> regularly, completely, irregularly or partially are high scorers. Those observing seldom or not at all may be high- or low-scorers.
Use of Razor*			,014		,075	
Head covering*			,004		,014	
Candles	2	17,74	,001	8,57	,02	Those observing <i>mitzvah</i> regularly, completely, partially or irregularly may be high- or low-scorers. Most who observe seldom or not at all are low scorers.
Pesach, Shavuoth and Succoth	2	29,67	,001	16,59	,001	Most who observe <i>mitzvah</i> completely or regularly are high-scorers. Most who observe seldom or not at all are low-scorers. Those observing partially or irregularly may be high- or low-scorers.
Kiddush	2	10,10	,01	18,32	,001	
Kashruth	3	40,41	,001	37,13	,001	
Synagogue attendance	3	14,41	,01	12,14	,01	
New Year, Atonement	2	21,87	,001	21,21	,001	Degree of observance of <i>mitzvah</i> shows overall correspondence with sub-scale scores.
Seder	2	35,67	,001	38,44	,001	
Leaven	2	50,63	,001	37,16	,001	

NOTE: * Fisher Exact Probability Test used as a two-tailed test — ie obtained probabilities were doubled (Siegel 1956: 96—194).

Table 8.7 Patterns of observance: proportion of respondents observing eight selected mitzvot who also observe other mitzvot

Mitzvah Observed	Total	Not Applicable	No Response	Also observes:												
				Head Covering	Not use razor	Tefillin	Brachoth	Grace	Sabbath	Pesach, Shavuoth Succoth	Kashruth	Kiddush	Leaven	Seder	Candles	New Year and Atonement
Head Covering (men only)	1	146	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Not use Razor (men only)	6	146	1	.8	—	1	.8	.8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tefillin (men only)	8	146	1	.6	—	—	.7	.7	.8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brachoth	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	.9	.8	.8	1	1	1	.9	1	1
Grace	15	—	—	—	—	—	.8	—	.7	.9	1	1	.9	1	.9	.9
Sabbath	30	—	—	—	—	—	.3	.4	—	1	1	.8	.9	1	1	1
Kashruth	90	—	—	—	—	—	.1	.2	.3	.9	—	.8	.9	.9	1	.9
New Year and Atonement	211	—	—	—	—	—	.06	.07	.1	.2	.4	.6	.9	.8	.7	—

Table 8.8 *Observance of ten mitzvah: rotated factor matrix*

<i>Mitzvah</i>	<i>Identification I</i>	<i>Religious Commitment II</i>
Kashruth	—	7
Candles	7	—
Kiddush	7	—
Sabbath	—	8
Seder	6	—
Leaven	6	4
Pesach, Shavuoth, Succoth	5	6
New Year and Atonement	8	—
Synagogue Attendance	7	—
Synagogue Affiliation	7	—

NOTE: Observance of each *mitzvah* was scored on a 3-point scale and the results subjected to a Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation. Since the data do not form interval scales, the technique is not, strictly, applicable and the results should be treated with reservation.

Table 8.9 *Self-rating scales on the religious dimension: 'A very observant/completely non-observant Jew' X 'A very religious/a completely irreligious person': median test*

<i>Religious</i> <i>Observant</i>	<i>Median and above</i>	<i>Below median</i>	<i>Total</i>
Median and above	161	25	186
Below median	11	59	73
TOTAL	175	84	259

df = 1 Chi square = 105.57 p < .001

Table 8.10 Synagogue affiliation (Orthodox - Reform) X biographical and behavioural variables and self-rating scales: chi-square test

Variable	df	χ^2	p<	Comments
Age	—	—	—	No significant differences irrespective of the number of categories into which ages are grouped.
Generation	1	5.39	.05	Chi square value made up almost entirely by smaller number of Reform adherents born in Eastern Europe.
General Education	—	—	—	No significant differences irrespective of the number of categories into which educational standard is divided.
Jewish Education Standard	1	2.67	.20	No significant differences
Observant (Self-Rating)	1	.82	.50	No significant differences.
Religious (Self-Rating)	1	2.01	.20	No significant differences, though chi square made up almost entirely of larger number of Reform adherents rating themselves as less religious.
Kashruth Observance	1	36.25	.001	Reform adherents observe <i>kashruth</i> significantly less than expected; orthodox adherents disregard <i>kashruth</i> significantly less than expected.
Changes in Observance	1	3.16	.10	Chi square made up almost entirely of larger number of Reform adherents who are now more observant than previously.

NOTE: In calculating chi squares, respondents either affiliated to, or indicating preference for, one of the two movements were included. Those who were neither affiliated, nor indicated any preference, were omitted from the calculation.
All chi squares have been corrected for continuity (see Siegel 1956: 107).

Notes

1. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, with commentary by the Chief Rabbi, the late Dr J.H. Hertz, Shapiro, Vallentine and Co, London, 1947 (revised ed), p 248. Hertz mentions one 15th century scholar, Joseph Albo, who enumerated three basic principles of the Jewish creed: the Existence of God, Revelation, Reward and Punishment. The most generally accepted, however, are Maimonides' 'Thirteen Principles of the Faith' which are included in the Prayer Book and on which this discussion by Hertz is a commentary.
2. This view is shared, for example, by Sklare, *et al* 1955 and Baron 1964.
3. *Babylonian Talmud*, Pesachim p 50B and Nazir p 23. Translation published by Soncino Press, London.
4. These include, for example, *mitzvot* relating to the ancient Temple and its service (including sacrifice), to agricultural practices (including tithes, the jubilee year), exclusively to residents of the Holy Land.
5. This procedure has been adopted in all the studies of Jewish religious behaviour which are cited in the present work.
6. A fringed undergarment worn by men. See Glossary.
7. Phylacteries (see Glossary). Morning prayers are usually recited at home, privately, though some synagogues have early morning services daily. These are, however, attended mainly by mourners who can only recite the memorial prayers at a public service. See Glossary: *minyán*.
8. All leaven is forbidden, and a Jew must thoroughly clean his home and, literally, get rid of every crumb of leaven.
9. *Chanukka*, the 'festival of light and rededication', is celebrated towards the end of the year by the lighting of candles for eight days. See Glossary.
10. It is expected, then, that observance and belief vary independently except at the extremes of maximal and zero observance. On the other hand, a high degree of belief may not necessarily be accompanied by a high degree of observance, while zero belief may be accompanied by at least some observance.
11. Although some respondents gave more than one reason, only one was recorded. Classification was in terms of the reason placed 'highest' in Table 8.1 Thus, if a religious reason was given, any others were ignored. While, therefore, the frequency for 'religious reasons' is correct, other frequencies may be, and frequently are, underestimates.
12. Such a person would avoid forbidden foods, or any other infringement of the rules, by not eating out or by limiting consumption to a few 'safe' dishes. This may be, and often is, accomplished quite unobtrusively, and the individual concerned may give no clue as to the reason for his behaviour.
13. One respondent whose sons had been circumcised by a doctor, was living in Kenya at the time. It should be noted too that the Reform movement permits

- circumcision by a doctor with the ritual performed by an attending Rabbi. In practice, however, most seem to prefer the orthodox circumcision by a *mohel* (ritual circumciser).
14. This was not ascertained in the final questionnaire. Nevertheless it is common knowledge that even if lighting candles and *kiddush* are not observed, the festive meal is usually retained and members of the family are often invited. This assertion was supported by the pilot study.
 15. The category 'occasionally/partially' includes those who observe some of the *mitzvoth* relating to leaven at home, but do not bother about it outside. At home, they are mainly concerned that there should be *matzah* and no bread or other obvious leaven, but make little or no effort to conform to all the food taboos.
 16. 'Guttman (1944, 1947) proposed a non-metric method for scaling attitude items. This method is based upon the idea that items can be arranged in an order such that an individual who responds positively to any particular item also responds positively to all other items having a lower rank. If items can be arranged in this manner, they are said to be scalable.' (Shaw and Wright 1967: 25). Guttman's technique is also referred to as scale analysis or the scalogram technique.
 17. Unfortunately it is only possible to relate observance of specific *mitzvoth* to religious conviction. There is no way of combining specific observances into an overall measure. An attempt was made to obtain weights for each *mitzvah* by interviewing all practising rabbis in Johannesburg — but it was impossible to achieve consensus.
 18. Each respondent was scored 1 for complete observance, 2 for partial observance and 3 for non-observance. The range of scores was, therefore, from 10—30. Partial observance of at least three *mitzvoth* (or complete observance of one and partial observance of a second) yielded a score of 27. The ten *mitzvoth* used were: *Kashruth*; candles; *Kiddush*; Sabbath; *seder*; leaven; *Pesach*, *Shavuoth* and *Succoth*; New Year and Atonement; synagogue affiliation; synagogue attendance.
 19. See Appendix C, Table 55.
 20. For a brief, but more detailed discussion of pluralistic ideology in South Africa, see Chapter Nine.
 21. Alexander, Jack: 'South African Zionism', Chapter Four in Saron and Hotz (1955).

Chapter Nine

Other Findings

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, some major dimensions of Jewish identification have been dealt with: attitudes and sentiments; formal and informal social relations; cultural characteristics; moral and ethical values; and religion. There remain a number of aspects of identification on which less information is available, while the question of attitudes and attachment to South Africa must still be discussed.

Zionism

Before the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionism could be defined as a movement dedicated to the emancipation of the Jewish people from the confinement of the ghetto and other modes of discrimination through the establishment of a National Home in the Holy Land. Within the Zionist movement there were, in addition, a variety of parties with differing political ideologies — relating both to the attainment of the common goal and to the type of society that was envisaged. Before 1948, then, being a Zionist in South Africa involved commitment to the ideal of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and perhaps to a political ideology such as socialism, participation in Zionist societies of a social and cultural nature, raising and contributing funds for resettlement schemes, and, for the few, actual immigration or *aliya* (*literally* ascent) to the Holy Land.

In the conclusion to the previous chapter, Alexander (in Saron and Hotz, 1955) was cited as remarking that the Zionist movement had an extensive following in South Africa from the very beginning and that in many smaller centres Jewish community, synagogue congregation and Zionist society were co-extensive. Since 1948, the picture has gradually changed. A Jewish National Home does now exist while its political system is primarily the business of its citizens. *Aliya* to Israel has proceeded at a steady pace so that today there are several thousand former South Africans living there. Finally, the need to resettle Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust and refugees from the Arab countries, and the fragility of the

Israeli economy as the result of its huge defence budget, have led to a constant demand for ever-increasing financial support. Zionism in South Africa today, then, has lost most of its ideological content and has become transformed into a commitment to Israel. It is expressed less in active participation in associations of a social and cultural nature, and more in contributing and raising funds, visits to Israel, concern with and awareness of what is happening in and to Israel, and to a limited extent *aliya*.

What the present study shows is that the widespread commitment to Zionism prior to 1948 has been continued in an almost universal sentimental attachment to Israel and commitment to its survival. As was suggested in the conclusion to the previous chapter: Zionism (including its modern connotation) has been and is one of the most important and durable expressions of identity for South African Jews.

Antisemitism and Selfhatred

In the discussion of Jews as a moral community it was suggested that fear of discrimination against them by non-Jews has reinforced the feeling of Jewish interdependence and of security within the group. That antisemitism is seen as ever-present and potentially threatening is reflected in responses to several attitude scale items (Appendix C, Table 55). Thus 41% of respondents felt that Jews tried to intrude into circles *where they were not wanted*; 58% were of the opinion that discrimination against non-whites in South Africa could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews; and 49% disagreed with the statement that the National Party government would never allow antisemitism to take root in the Republic. These beliefs are partly rooted in the realities of the recent past: many Jews, now in their sixties or more, claim that during the twenties and thirties it was almost impossible for a Jew to obtain employment in the civil service or with certain private firms; Jews were (and in some cases still are) not welcome as members of certain sports and social clubs or as pupils in private schools; for many years Jews could not join the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal; and, of course, at various times antisemitism has manifested itself in violent action against Jews and their property, in parliamentary debates, in legislation designed to limit Jewish immigration, and in such demonstrations as that against the admission of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany at the beginning of the war.¹ Today, overt antisemitism is barely discernible and has little direct effect on the day-to-day lives of South African Jews. Thus in the pilot schedule, a question on personal experiences of antisemitism was dropped because no-one could recall any specific instances. Nevertheless, the idea of Jews as a distinct category persists. Thus the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, a representative federation of Jewish congregations and institutions throughout the Republic, until recently published a weekly digest of news from the English and Afrikaans press, which included a special section of Jewish

interest. While most of the items in this section dealt with Israel, which was newsworthy in its own right, and with Jewish personalities who were not necessarily identified as such in the reports, there were others in which ethnicity was irrelevant but nevertheless mentioned.² Antisemitism, both as a threat and a reality, then, provides at least a partial explanation of Jewish exclusiveness (as observed in the chapter on Social Relations) and of Jewish attitudes to South Africa.

Whether or not antisemitism has led to what Kurt Lewin (1948: 186—200) has termed 'selfhated' is difficult to determine. Lewin postulated that where minority-group membership is an obstacle to the attainment of valued goals, the consequent frustration may, among some individuals, lead to selfhated — ie strong negative feelings towards the group, its characteristics and the individual's own identification with it. One of the manifestations of this selfhated is that the majority-group's pejorative evaluation is accepted by the minority group member. As Lewin puts it (1948: 194): ' . . . members of the lower social strata tend to accept the fashions, values, and ideals of the higher strata. In the case of the

Table 9.1 Responses to question: 'Do you think that the behaviour of Jews contributes to the spread of antisemitism?' and if so, 'What in the behaviour of Jews contributes towards antisemitism?'

<i>Response</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Jews do not contribute to antisemitism	65
Jews have a negative attitude towards gentiles and regard themselves as superior	29
Jews are dishonest, hard in business — especially in relation to gentiles	20
Jews are pushy, showy, aggressive, throw their weight around, loud, generally behave badly	107
Jews cause antisemitism just because they exist and have different habits, accent, gestures	24
Jews are clannish	19
Jews are ambitious, successful and non-Jews are jealous	29
Jews too anti-government/ left-wing/ liberal	12
Miscellaneous and unspecified	22
TOTAL RESPONSES	327
NO RESPONSE	32
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	283

underprivileged group it means that their opinions about themselves are greatly influenced by the low esteem the majority has for them'.

In earlier studies by Herman (1945: 70ff) and Lever (1968: 83—84), it is suggested that there is little evidence of selfhatred among Johannesburg Jews. In the present study, although Tables 9.1, 7.1 and 7.2 reflect critical appraisals of Jews by some respondents, the data are not conclusive since they provide no evidence relating to either rejection of the group or to self-rejection.

Jewish Survival and the Parent-Child Relationship

The strong desire by Jews to survive as a distinct entity has been referred to in the discussions of the attitude scale, patterns of social relations, and Jewish education. This desire is also reflected in the aspirations of parents for their children. Table 9.2 shows that 95% of parents of unmarried children strongly desired or preferred, that these children should bring up *their* children as Jews. Many parents see this continuity of Jewish identity as being expressed through Jewish tradition inasmuch as 41% and 67%, respectively, would like their children to observe *kashruth* and/or other customs when they have their own homes (Table 9.3).

The question which now arises is what parents do towards the realization of these aspirations. Apart from the observance of various customs in their own homes (some fairly extensively — as was shown in Chapter Eight), parents of schoolgoing children were asked about their children's Jewish education and their observance of sabbath and festivals. Their responses are given in Tables 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6. From these tables it would appear that most parents do make some attempt to ensure that their children are exposed to the external agencies of socialization — the synagogue and *cheder* or day school — which they believe will foster Jewish identification. Furthermore, parents' insistence (or at least encouragement) that children should stay away from school and other activities on sabbath and festivals, should observe some prohibitions, and should attend synagogue, is another indication of their practical concern.

Intermarriage and Jewish Survival

As in the United States and Britain, South Africa's marriage laws do not require a bride and groom to state their religious affiliations. It is therefore impossible to determine exactly the extent of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews or to discover any trends over a period of years. It has been argued elsewhere (Dubb 1970 and 1973) that only a very large sample of the *total* population could yield even a reasonable approximation of an intermarriage rate.³ Certainly a sample of just under 300 people,

Table 9.2 *Desire of parents that unmarried children bring up their children as Jews*

<i>Response</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Desire strongly	114	80
Prefer	22	15
Indifferent	7	5
Would prefer them not to	0	0
TOTAL	143	100

Table 9.3 *Desire of parents that unmarried children observe Jewish customs in their own homes*

<i>Response</i>	<i>Kashruth</i>		<i>Generally Observant</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Desire strongly	22	15	35	24
Prefer	37	26	61	43
Indifferent	79	55	46	32
Would prefer them not to	3	2	1	1
No response	2	1	—	—
TOTAL	143	99	143	100

Table 9.4 *Jewish education of school-going children*

<i>Type of Jewish Education</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
None	19	(22)
Some children none; some <i>cheder</i> or private tutor	15	(17)
Some children <i>cheder</i> and/ or private tutor	8	(9)
All children <i>cheder</i>	21	(24)
Some children <i>cheder</i> ; some day school	2	(2)
All children day school	23	(26)
No response	1	(1)
TOTAL	89	101

Table 9.5 Sabbath observance by school-going children

<i>Degree of Observance</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
All children observe strictly	12	(13)
All children attend services but do not otherwise observe strictly	26	(29)
Some children attend services; some observe little or nothing	8	(9)
All observe little or nothing	40	(45)
No Response	3	(3)
TOTAL	89	99

Table 9.6 Holy Day observance by school-going children

<i>Degree of Observance</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
All children attend all or most services, do not attend school on any festival, and refrain from riding (except, in some cases, to synagogue), writing, attending cinemas or parties, playing sport	17	(19)
As above, but observe few or none of the prohibitions against riding, writing, attending cinemas, parties or sport.	35	(39)
All children attend New Year and Day of Atonement services and possibly some other festival services, do not attend school on any festival, and observe few or none of the customary prohibitions.	19	(21)
All children do not attend school on any festival, some children may attend some services	9	(10)
Various degrees of medial observance by each child	4	(4)
All observe little or nothing	2	(2)
No response	3	(3)
TOTAL	89	98

responding affirmatively to the question 'Are you a Jew?', is quite inadequate for the purpose.

Nevertheless the present study is useful insofar as it reflects some of the characteristics of intermarriage as well as prevailing attitudes relating to it. Dealing first with the characteristics of intermarriage, we see from Table 9.7 that 42% of respondents have one or more close relatives who have married out, while Table 9.8 indicates that 5 of the respondents were themselves not born Jews, that 11 out of 230 had married non-Jews and that 9 out of 81 children of respondents had done likewise. While there may be some overlap between the two tables, it is apparent that almost half the sample had experience of intermarriage within the immediate family. Although it was not established in the present study whether outmarrying relatives, apart from children, had remained within the Jewish fold, this was ascertained in the author's earlier study (Dubb 1970, Table 1). Of 20 relatives mentioned, six gentile spouses had converted to Judaism while in the remaining fourteen cases neither spouse had adopted the religion of the other. In the present study, Table 9.8 shows that of 25 non-Jewish respondents, spouses, and children's spouses, 7 had converted to Judaism; in 17 cases there had been no conversion either way; and in 1 case the Jewish spouse had accepted Christianity.

Before drawing any conclusions from the data just presented, it is necessary to comment briefly on the question of conversion to Judaism. It is the policy of both the Orthodox and the Reform rabbinate to limit conversions to the barest minimum. Few conversions are performed during the course of a year and practically all are in connection with intermarriage. For the most part, too, applicants for conversion are discouraged and delayed, are seldom accepted before marriage and, particularly in the case of the Orthodox authorities, are often put off until the marriage has been in existence for some years and may be regarded as stable. It should also be noted that Reform conversions are not recognized by the Orthodox rabbinate, and that a child born of a female Reform convert is not considered Jewish. However, Orthodox, as well as Reform, tend to be sympathetic to an applicant who was brought up as a Jew though born of a non-Jewish (or Reform-converted) mother. This being the case, the relatively small number of non-Jewish spouses who have been converted to Judaism does not reflect the number who have, *de facto*, been drawn into the Jewish group and rear their children as Jews. But the figures also do not reflect the number of people regarding themselves as Jews who are technically not Jews, but who are included among both the converts and the non-converted.

From Tables 9.7 and 9.8, as well as from the foregoing discussion, we may conclude, then, that:

- (a) A large proportion of Jews have experience of intermarriage among their close relatives.

- (b) Given the rule that children follow the religion of the mother (according to Jewish law) and that Reform conversion is not recognized by Orthodox authorities, it is impossible to establish, from the sample, how many respondents, spouses and children's spouses who were not *born* Jews were *reared* as Jews. Or, to put it another way, it cannot be ascertained to what extent intermarriages in the sample have been purely technical and to what extent they represent selection of spouses entirely outside the Jewish community.
- (c) It is probable that some Jews and, of course, their children are lost to the group as a result of outmarriage. However, not all outmarriage constitutes such a loss: on the contrary, the present sample, which comprises only respondents who regard themselves as Jews, includes one non-Jewish woman married to a Jew, as well as 9 Jews whose spouses have not been converted. Thus whatever the *rate* of intermarriage, its significance will always depend on the nett loss or gain which it entails for the community.
- (d) It is widely believed, though obviously there is no precise support, that intermarriage used to involve mainly Jewish men and non-Jewish women, but that nowadays Jewish women are increasingly marrying out. Whether this is so or not, in the present sample outmarriage has involved mostly Jewish men.

Jewish *attitudes* to intermarriage are, perhaps, more accurately mirrored by our sample. Table 9.9 gives the frequency with which various attitudes are held. Thus, we find that two-thirds disapprove strongly of intermarriage, while a further 9% disapprove somewhat less vehemently. Only 24% either approve or are indifferent to the question. This response pattern is in sharp contrast to that of the 86 parents of teenage children in the sample. Table 9.10 shows that 41% would be strongly opposed to, and would try by all means to prevent, their teenage children from marrying out, and of these 7% were adamant that they would never accept the gentile spouse and might even disown the errant child. However, while a further 41% would not like their children to marry out, they would sooner or later accept the inevitable — 8% provided the gentile spouse converted. Thirteen percent were indifferent or said that they would not disapprove. These findings confirm those of the earlier, smaller sample that: 'Respondents, then, tended to distinguish between the desirability of intermarriage as such, and what they would do about it if directly and intimately involved. Clearly the primary value influencing the latter possibility was the preservation of the parent-child relationship . . . Another factor, however, must also be considered: the right and effectiveness of parental intervention' (Dubb 1970: 118).

It would appear that many parents are anxious to prevent the possibility of intermarriage by limiting contact between their teenage children and non-Jews. Table 9.11 shows that 54% either disapprove totally of non-Jewish friends or approve only if there is no interdating. At the same time, given

the widespread tendency for Jews to cluster in certain residential areas and to limit social relationships within the group (Chapter Six), the social environment of the Jewish child is in any case closely circumscribed.

Attitudes to intermarriage raise, once again, the dilemma of Jewish exclusiveness which was discussed in general terms in the chapter on Social Relations. The author takes up this question in his earlier study (1970: 112—113):

'If, as Gordon⁴ suggests for the United States intermarriage becomes a major problem largely as a consequence of social integration at primary group level, then its prevention must pose a moral dilemma: on the one hand the minority group seeks social acceptance for itself, on the other hand it denies the acceptability of others. Thus the Jew is concerned to reduce majority group prejudice and discrimination while he himself maintains, in regard to marriage at any rate, an extreme ethnocentric position. That his dilemma is real, but unresolved is vividly reflected in the response of a Jewish husband when asked how his parents reacted to his intermarriage:

'My parents tried to talk me out of it. They said, 'The problem is too great; how can you do this thing!' They said that my wife had dirty finger-nails, that she was too sophisticated. They criticised her for everything except the fact that she was Gentile. Her being Gentile was the underlying reason against her. [Asked why his parents didn't mention this, he replied:] My parents were all for the great American ideal of democracy, for the ideal that there is no difference between groups. They could not admit their feelings were prejudiced.' (John E. Mayer, 1961: 140).

'Although South African Jews have also achieved a high degree of acculturation and structural integration, the situation in South Africa is possibly unique in one important respect. Unlike the United States and, perhaps, some other western countries, there is no 'South African ideal' of cultural and structural homogeneity. On the contrary, an ideology of pluralism prevails both between and within the various racial communities. The policy of *apartheid*, or 'separate development', legitimizes the conventional cleavage between whites and non-whites and envisages ultimate territorial and political separation between, at least, whites and Africans. Within the white group itself, further cleavages are acknowledged. The major division is between the approximately sixty percent Afrikaans-speaking descendants of early Dutch settlers and the remaining English-speaking stock. Each of these groups has been augmented by immigrants of other origins some of whom have become completely assimilated (eg the Huguenots), and others who still preserve something of their own identity (eg Greeks and Jews). However, although the doctrine of 'separate development' holds that each ethnic group has a distinct *and valid* heritage and must be encouraged 'to develop along its own lines' (*sic*), this is not a doctrine of tolerance, but a charter for discrimination. Thus Afrikaner attitudes to Jews are ambivalent: on the one hand Jews are white and mirror the Afrikaners'

Table 9.7 *Intermarriage among close relatives of respondents*

Number of Close Relatives Married Out	Frequency	
	No	%
None	157	55
One sibling	12	4
One uncle/ aunt	16	6
One nephew/ niece/ cousin/ unspecified	40	14
Two or more close relatives	50	18
Not applicable/ no response	8	3
TOTAL	283	100

Table 9.8 *Intermarriage and conversion: respondents and married children*

	Born Jewish		Converted Orthodox		Judaism Reform		Not Converted		Jewish spouse converted Christianity		Not Applicable	No Response	Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			M	F
	Respondent	136	112	—	1	1*	2	—	1**	Not Applicable	—	—	—	137	146
Spouse	123	96	1	1	—	—	1	5	Not Applicable	53	Never married	2	128	102
Married Children's Spouses	48	21	—	—	—	1	1	6	—	1	—	—	50	31

NOTE: (a) In two last rows, sex refers to 'spouse' and 'married children's spouse', and not to Respondent or to Respondents' children.
 (b) * One male Respondent was converted by the Reform movement together with his mother and, therefore, regarded himself as Jewish at the time of his marriage. All other conversions were tied to marriage.
 (c) ** One female Respondent who was married to a Jew, but was herself not converted, had answered affirmatively the interviewer's opening question, 'Are you a Jew?', and is, therefore, by definition, included in the sample.

Table 9.9 *Attitudes to intermarriage*

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Approve	16	6
Do not disapprove/indifferent	50	18
Disapprove — but not strongly	22	8
Disapprove — unless Gentile spouse converts to Judaism	3	1
Disapprove strongly — no elaboration	95	34
Disapprove strongly — marriage cannot work out because of differences in background and religion, family friction	43	15
Disapprove strongly — children have identity problem: neither Jews nor Gentiles	34	12
Disapprove strongly — undermines Jewish community	17	6
No response	3	1
TOTAL	283	101

Table 9.10 *Attitudes of parents of teenage children to their possible intermarriage*

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Do not disapprove/indifferent	11	(13)
Would not like it, but would not oppose	14	(16)
Would try to prevent it, but would ultimately accept	15	(17)
Would try to prevent it, but would accept if spouse converted to Judaism	7	(8)
Would try to prevent it because totally opposed	29	(34)
Would never accept gentile spouse and might even disown child	6	(7)
No Response	4	(5)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS WITH TEENAGE CHILDREN	86	(100)

Table 9.11 Attitudes of parents of teenage children to their having gentile friends

Attitude	Frequency	
	No	%
A good thing	7	(8)
Approve/indifferent	27	(51)
Approve provided only occasional dating or dating in a crowd	3	(3)
Approve provided no dating	14	(16)
Approve of friends of same sex only	16	(19)
Strongly disapprove	16	(19)
No response	3	(3)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS WITH TEENAGE CHILDREN	86	(99)

own struggle to preserve their identity in a hostile world; on the other they are an alien people with an alien culture who stalwartly resist assimilation. The Jews, on their part, are aware of Afrikaner antisemitism and of the fact that it is an aspect of prejudice in general but, at the same time, they feel no external pressure to merge their identity in an overarching South African peoplehood.'

Attitude to South Africa

The factor analyses of sub-scale totals (Table 5.2) and of attitude scale items (Chapter Five, footnote 3) showed that there was no discernible relation between any of the measures of Jewish identification and attitudes to South Africa. In particular, as Table 5.3 showed, there is no correlation ($r = .07$) between commitment to Israel (Zionism sub-scale) and the South African Politics sub-scale, and only a slight negative correlation ($r = -.20$) between Zionism and the Insecurity in South Africa sub-scale. It may be added that the application of chi square tests indicated that there were also no significant relationships between the Jewish identification sub-scales and responses to the questions on political party affiliation, intention of remaining in South Africa, and whether or not Jews should avoid involvement in politics. These findings would suggest that, while Jews have strong Zionist and pro-Israel feelings, these in no way affect their loyalty to South Africa. Loyalty to South Africa or, perhaps more precisely, attitudes to South African politics and other issues, are determined by other factors.

Feelings about South Africa are reflected, as has been mentioned, in responses to a number of questions. Dealing first with the question of politics, it was found (Table 5.1, Figure 5.I and Appendix C, Table 55) that

there is a fairly normal distribution of attitudes to the major issue in South Africa: *apartheid* or separate development. At the same time, however, there is quite considerable opposition to those aspects of *apartheid* which most immediately affect the individual such as the prohibition against non-whites filling certain jobs, total disenfranchisement, and limitations in contact across the colour line. It is perhaps these which account for the relatively small proportion of Jews who support the National Party (Table 9.12) as compared with the number approving *apartheid*. This last observation must, however, be treated with reservation, since a large number of respondents did not reveal their political allegiance.

South African politics and political attitudes are, however, more complicated than simple divergencies of opinion. Political parties and their ideologies have ethnic associations; in particular, the governing National Party is seen both by Afrikaners and non-Afrikaners as an Afrikaner party whose aims are associated with the aspirations of that specific group. The United Party represents English-speaking South Africans and 'moderate' Afrikaners. The two small, remaining parties⁵ are, ideally, multi-ethnic and seen as a threat to Afrikaner national aspirations. To many non-Afrikaners, then, the progressive entrenchment of the National Party Government since 1948, has led to some fear as to their future in South Africa. Many feel that non-Afrikaners have little influence in the political sphere and that they are being increasingly disadvantaged in the civil service, the educational system and, even, economically. Furthermore, more and more limitation of personal freedom — such as stricter censorship, wider police powers, opposition to many forms of protest and Sunday observance laws, to quote a few examples — which is contrary to trends in the rest of the western world, are disliked or resented. Thus many non-Afrikaners have actually left the country or contemplate the possibility of doing so. In this situation, the Jew differs from other non-Afrikaners in one important respect: his sense of insecurity and feeling of not belonging is enhanced by the historical experience of the Jewish people — the constant threat of antisemitism. That this threat is an aspect of Jewish reality, even in the absence of official or serious unofficial antisemitism, is shown by responses to items on the Insecurity in South Africa sub-scale (Appendix C, Table 55).

In interpreting Tables 9.12, 9.13 and 9.14, then, it must be borne in mind that many of the misgivings which they reflect are shared with other non-Afrikaners, but that these may be heightened — though it cannot be determined to what extent — by the fear of possible overt and official antisemitism. Against this background it is noteworthy that the political affiliations of 38% of respondents could not be ascertained (Table 9.12)⁶; that almost one-third felt that Jews should avoid politics altogether or, at least, anti-government politics (Table 9.13); and that only 53% stated unequivocally that they intended to remain in South Africa all their lives (Table 9.14). Of those who had fairly definite intentions of leaving South

Africa, 15 would definitely emigrate to Israel and 8 to some other country, while another 17 *might* go to Israel as against 6 to another country.

Omissions

It might at this point — the end of the final substantive chapter in the present work — be appropriate to comment briefly on some aspects of Jewish identification which have not been covered.

In the first place, mention should be made of certain problems which are frequently the focus of minority group studies, such as marginality, personality and minority group status, attitudes of the majority group, reactions of the minority group to prejudice and discrimination, and so on. These problems have not been dealt with in the present study, except *en passant*, for a variety of reasons: because they were not felt to be central to a discussion of Jewish identification and commitment (eg a detailed study of majority group attitudes); because they fell outside the professional competence of the investigator (eg problems relating to personality); or because the data relating to them proved inadequate or suggested their irrelevance in the South African or Johannesburg context (eg selfhatred).

The second category of omissions related to information on specific issues, such as: relations with Jews and Jewish communities outside South Africa; comparison of Johannesburg with other South African Jewish communities; readership of books, journals, magazines, newspapers of Jewish interest; personal involvement with Israel through relatives, children living there, more or less frequent visits; personal experiences of antisemitism; and similar particulars. The reasons for these omissions are much the same as for the first category — though some information, which has not been discussed in the body of the study, is presented without comment in Appendix C.

No apology, then, is made for the omissions mentioned: every study must have set limits of interest, relevance and competence, while even the most carefully constructed research instrument may yield some unusable data.

Conclusions

In this chapter some aspects of Jewish identification, which had not previously been dealt with, have been discussed. The material presented on Zionism and Selfhatred was inconclusive and further study of those dimensions are indicated insofar as they may be of interest. The discussions of intermarriage and of the desire of parents to ensure Jewish survival through their children, underlined the more general finding, based on analysis of attitude scale items, that group survival is a paramount value and that it is pursued at both the cultural and structural levels. The brief

account of antisemitism in South Africa and of the prevailing pluralistic ideology relate back to some of the comments on attitudes to intermarriage as well as to the discussion of Herberg's 'return of the third generation' hypothesis (see Conclusions to Chapter Eight).

All the findings mentioned, together with those relating to patterns of social relations, tend to confirm the fourth hypothesis postulated in Chapter Two: 'that Jews are caught up in a conflict between the desire for survival as a distinct group and the belief that barriers between groups should be minimal. This dilemma will be manifested in ambivalent attitudes to intermarriage, ethnocentrism and social relations. However, it is suggested that the dilemma is probably not as acute in South Africa, with its pluralistic ideology, as in the United States and other western countries where assimilation of minority groups is favoured' (p 10). While the relative strength of the dilemma in South Africa as compared with other countries can only be inferred, such an inference appears to be reasonable from the data presented.

Table 9.12 *Political party allegiance*

<i>Party</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
National Party member	5	2
National Party supporter	36	13
United Party member	17	6
United Party supporter	63	22
Progressive Party member	16	6
Progressive Party supporter	31	11
Liberal Party supporter	7	2
Don't know/undecided/indifferent	94	33
Refuse to answer	14	5
TOTAL	283	100

NOTE: The Liberal Party voted itself out of existence some time after fieldwork was completed.

Table 9.13 *Should Jews avoid participation in politics?*

<i>Response</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
No, they need not avoid political participation	127	45
Yes, they should avoid left-wing and anti-government political activities	66	23
Yes, they should avoid participation in right-wing or National Party politics	23	8
Yes, they should avoid United Party Progressive Party/ specific combination of parties/ extremism	8	3
Yes, they should avoid all involvement in politics	23	8
Don't know	17	6
Refuse to answer no response	19	7
TOTAL	283	100

Table 9.14 *Intention to remain in South Africa*

<i>Response</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes, intend to remain in South Africa	151	53
Yes, if possible/ probably/ as far as I know	41	14
Yes, if it is still alright for Jews here	4	1
Yes, unless political developments make it impossible and I emigrate (Israel not mentioned)	10	4
Yes unless political developments make it impossible and I emigrate to Israel	2	1
Yes, unless I emigrate to Israel (reasons not stated)	15	5
No, do not intend to remain in South Africa	10	4
No, intend to emigrate (Israel not mentioned)	7	2
No, I intend to emigrate to Israel	17	6
Don't know	25	9
No Response	1	—
TOTAL	283	99

Notes

1. Numerous references to pre-World War II antisemitism are to be found in Alan Paton, *Hofmeyr*, London 1964, and elsewhere.
2. Examples of two such items, as they appeared in the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, *News Digest*, 'Items of Jewish Interest' are cited below:
SA Financial Gazette: 25.2.72 — Referring to the collapse of a large Durban finance and investment house, Sidarel, the directors are described as 'typical of Durban's tightly-knit Jewish community', while the rise of the business 'for Durban's Jewish community (the main investors in Sidarel), . . . must have seemed too good to be true'.
Die Vaderland: 17.3.72 — A letter criticizing the paper for always drawing attention to the religion or origin of a person, especially if charged with some offence, when that person was Jewish. Examples are quoted.
3. The main problem of quantifying intermarriage is to reach Jews who have married out and no longer identify themselves as Jews. However, even if frequencies and rates can be established, their significance may not always be easy to determine. Thus, for example, marriage between a Jew and a person born of a Jewish mother, but not reared as a Jew, would not be classified as intermarriage, whereas marriage to the child of a Jewish *father*, brought up as a Jew, would be so classified, since according to Jewish law a child follows the religion of its mother. Other difficulties are discussed in Dubb (1970 and 1973).
4. Gordon (1964: 80—81, 181).
5. The Liberal Party was disbanded after fieldwork had been completed.
6. It should be noted that not all of these refused to answer. Some, undoubtedly, were genuinely undecided or indifferent.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

Introduction

As was indicated in Chapter Two, the aim of the present study has been a limited one: to describe, in some breadth, patterns of Jewish identification in Johannesburg. Nevertheless, although its emphasis has been ethnographic rather than theoretical, an attempt has been made, particularly in the concluding section of each chapter, to compare the findings with those of similar studies elsewhere, and to relate them to wider theoretical issues. It is the purpose of the present chapter to draw together these specific conclusions into a more general statement, thereby testing the hypotheses originally postulated in Chapter Two.

Testing the First Four Hypotheses

The first hypothesis (pp 8—9) was derived largely from the findings of previous studies of various aspects of Jewish identification in the United States. It states:

'To the degree to which South African Jews resemble their co-religionists in the United States —two local-born generations, relative absence of serious overt antisemitism, a high degree of acculturation to the host culture, a high degree of economic, political and civic integration, an apparent decrease in adherence to religious laws — so one would expect that Jewish identification would also be manifested primarily in sentiment rather than in behaviour. As a corollary to this hypothesis, one would expect that there would be little congruence between attitudes and behaviour except at the extremes: thus only the most heavily committed would also identify in their overt behaviour, while those who were minimally committed would probably observe few, if any, customs and participate little, if at all, in community life. For the rest, it is expected that behavioural identification will tend to be random and not necessarily directly related to specific attitudes. There will be, it is suggested, a far greater range of variation in behaviour than in attitudes.'

There is no question that sentiment does play an extremely important role

in Jewish identification. Thus, it was found, in Chapter Five, that distributions of responses to most of the 31 attitude scale items relating to Jewish identification, were positively skewed — especially on those items pertaining to Zionism (and Israel) and Jewish survival. Furthermore, as was pointed out, there were many items which were omitted from the attitude schedule because of the high level of agreement on the positive side which they elicited. It cannot be stated unequivocally, however, that behaviour (or more precisely, in terms of the present research procedure, action tendencies) was always less positive than sentiment.

The most complete appraisals of action tendencies were on the social relations and religious dimensions, with some more general observations about Jewish culture generally. With regard to social relations it was found, in Chapter Six, that in many respects there was a high degree of congruence between attitudes and behaviour. Where this was not so, it was essentially where respondents felt that their *actual* tendency towards exclusiveness was, perhaps, a bad thing. On this dimension, then, the hypothesis must be rejected. On the religious dimension, however, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour are close to what was hypothesized: where attitude scale scores were cross-tabulated against items of behaviour it was found that while some high-scorers behaved positively and some low-scorers behaved less positively, in most cases attitudes and behaviour varied independently, with attitudes being considerably more positive than behaviour. On this dimension the hypothesis is confirmed.

Taking the cultural dimension as a whole — ie to include religious beliefs and customs — the picture is more complex. On the one hand, Jewish culture as a systematic whole has ceased to exist except for a small minority of ultra-orthodox individuals. On the other hand, a wide range of culture traits deriving from a variety of sources, discussed fully in Chapter Seven, serve as diacritics of Jewish identification. At the same time many of the traditional traits, generally derived from the Jewish religion, are valued as being the 'essence' of Jewish culture. At both the community level and that of the individual, this is translated into action through an elaborate and expensive Jewish educational system. And there is also another, more subtle, aspect of traditional culture which — as will be suggested in the discussion below on the second hypothesis — finds expression in behaviour: a traditionally-derived set of moral ideas. On the cultural dimension, then, it is difficult to confirm or reject the hypothesis. More direct and precise data are still needed.

The second hypothesis reads:

' It is suggested that the area of behaviour in which Jewish identification is most widely, consistently and, often, exclusively manifested is that of social relations. In other words, given that Jews cluster residentially, it is postulated that they also confine their primary, as well as other intimate, multiplex relationships within the

frequently observed tended to be ceremonial in nature and domestic or public in locus. What was observed by any person appeared to be largely independent of what he believed or, even, of the extent of his belief. In the case of *kashruth* (dietary laws), where reasons for observance were elicited, a large proportion were motivated by the desire to identify with other Jews. It was concluded from the evidence, that belief and behaviour varied independently to a large degree, and that the *mitzvoth* were observed by many primarily as symbols of their Jewish identity.

One interesting problem arising out of the hypothesis and the findings, is the manner in which *religious*, as distinct from identity, needs are satisfied. If, as it is argued above, observance of *mitzvoth* is frequently not an expression of *religious* commitment, how then is such commitment expressed? How, in other words, do Jews approach God in whom, according to Appendix C Table 55, most respondents believed? This would merit closer attention but was beyond the scope of the present enquiry.

The fourth hypothesis states:

‘... that Jews are caught up in a conflict between the desire for survival as a distinct group and the belief that barriers between groups should be minimal. This dilemma will be manifested in ambivalent attitudes to intermarriage, ethnocentrism and social relations. However, it is suggested that the dilemma is probably not as acute in South Africa, with its pluralistic ideology, as in the United States² and other western countries where assimilation of minority groups is favoured’ (p 10).

The findings in Chapters Five, Six and Nine adequately support the first part of the hypothesis. The second part — that comparing the extent of the dilemma in the South African and other contexts — can only be inferred. Nevertheless, it is argued (in Chapter Nine) that this is the most reasonable inference from what is known. The hypothesis is, therefore, confirmed.

The Fifth Hypothesis: The Boundaries of the Jewish Community

In testing the final hypothesis, material from the whole study must be drawn together. The hypothesis states that:

‘... the Jews are a community because they see themselves as such and because many of the most important roles played by individuals are affected by their membership of the community. The boundaries between the Jewish community and non-Jews are, therefore, to be found in the organization and ascription of roles rather than in identifiable cultural characteristics’ (p 10).

To understand the implications of this hypothesis, it will be necessary to examine briefly the concept of ethnic boundaries developed by Frederik Barth. According to Barth (1969: 10—11):

'The term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature . . . to designate a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating,
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms;
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction;
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from others of the same order.

He suggests that too much emphasis tends to be placed on the cultural aspect of ethnicity: that is, an ethnic group is characterized by shared culture which, in turn, constitutes the boundary between it and other similar groups. This approach raises numerous problems: how to account for cultural heterogeneity within an ethnic group; how and why ethnic boundaries persist in the face of a high degree of acculturation (which might include passage of personnel and their complete assimilation into the other group); how ethnic continuity is maintained through time and space in spite of local changes and adaptations; and so on. Barth proposes, therefore, that ethnic groups should be studied 'as a form of social organization' (p 13) rather than as a cultural entity. In this context the focus shifts to ascription and role allocation: 'To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense' (pp 13—14). Defined in this way, says Barth, 'the nature and continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural differentiation or the internal organization of the group may change yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural forms and context' (pp 14—15).

The aptness of Barth's approach in the understanding of the findings of the present study becomes apparent from the following brief overview.

During the course of discussion it was pointed out that the culture of Eastern European Jewry was rooted in the beliefs, customs and practices of traditional Judaism. The pervasiveness of religion in everyday life was extensive since, because of its emphasis on practice rather than on dogma, Judaism had evolved a body of rules prescribing appropriate behaviour in situations ranging from the most trivial (such as the correct order of dressing and undressing), through those governing interpersonal relations, to those concerning the proper worship of God. This was the idiom of everyday life: in the *shtetl* and the ghetto there was no distinction between religious and secular, only between Jewish and non-Jewish.

In South Africa, the immigrants themselves were forced to abandon many of their traditional customs and to adapt to totally new conditions, while their descendants have rapidly acculturated to the culture of the English-

speaking section of the white population. The extent of this acculturation is, to some extent, reflected in the study: the generally high standard of education, the proportion of Jews in the professions, the considerable decline in Yiddish as a home language, the piecemeal and situational practice of traditional religious customs, and the difficulty of identifying and distinguishing the individual Jew. In short, on the cultural and religious dimensions, it was found that within the Jewish community there was considerable heterogeneity. Thus, on the one hand, it is impossible to predict what, if any, distinctive cultural characteristics any individual Jew will exhibit, while on the other hand, it is equally impossible, with any precision, to characterize the Jewish group as a whole on the basis of a shared culture.

But although it has now become virtually impossible to define Jews in cultural terms, the community has, nevertheless, retained its identity and there is no evidence of large-scale assimilation in Johannesburg. Organizationally, it has been shown, there exists an elaborate network of institutions including synagogues, community centres, an orphanage, old age homes, Zionist and cultural societies, welfare associations, a Jewish press, sports and social clubs, private schools and hostels, and others. Almost all respondents in the sample identified, albeit only nominally in many cases, with one or more of these communal organizations or philanthropies, with almost three-quarters, alone, being affiliated to some synagogue congregation. But what is perhaps more significant is that informally, and without apparent conscious intent, Jews have tended to 'stick together' residentially, in their choice of friends and acquaintances and even to some extent in the economic sphere. This tendency appears to be related to four factors: that Jews 'feel more at home' among Jews and living in a Jewish neighbourhood; that by limiting intimate social relations within the group the possibilities of outmarriage and assimilation are minimized; that they form a moral community; and that they believe, not without some justification, that they are not always welcomed by non-Jews although there is little overt antisemitism in South Africa today.

What these findings seem to suggest, then, is this: the effective boundary between Jews and non-Jews does not lie in cultural differences, but in the field of social relations. That there are cultural differences is clear, and certainly for some sections of the Jewish community the boundary may be perceived in those terms. But for the community as a whole this is not so: the cultural differences between a strictly orthodox Jew and a highly acculturated agnostic are probably greater than they are between the latter and a non-Jew. The only way that the existence and continuity of the whole community can be accounted for, therefore, is in terms of the effect of being Jewish on roles and statuses. Thus individual Jews who pass out of the group are not simply those who are the most highly-accultured (and therefore the least visible), but, rather, those who no longer regard

themselves as members of the Jewish community, who neither give nor take advantage of their membership in assigning or assuming roles, and who, by not acknowledging their Jewish identity, do not suffer the disadvantages which Jews may experience.

The hypothesis, then, is confirmed, inasmuch as it has been shown that the continued existence of Jews as a distinct ethnic group or, from another point of view, the irreducible minimum in terms of which an individual may identify with his fellow Jews, depends on the continuity of the positive value placed on survival, and the maintenance of a degree of role allocation on the basis of ethnicity.

The Fate of the Five Hypotheses: a Summary

The five hypotheses, and their respective fates, may now be summarized:

Hypothesis One states that Jewish identification would be manifested primarily in sentiment rather than in behaviour: that apart from the extremes of maximal and minimal identification, there will be little congruence between attitudes and behaviour; and that there would be greater variation in behaviour than in attitudes. This hypothesis was confirmed for the religious, cultural and Zionist dimensions of identification. However, it was found that on the social relations dimension, identification was manifested in behaviour while attitudes exhibited some ambivalence. On this dimension, then, the hypothesis had to be rejected insofar as it stresses the primacy of attitudes.

Hypothesis Two states that the area of behaviour in which Jewish identification is most widely manifested is that of social relations — particularly primary social relations. This hypothesis was confirmed.

Hypothesis Three states that, apart from the most strictly orthodox Jews, there is not necessarily any relationship between religious commitment and observance of religious rituals (*mitzvot*). *Mitvot* are observed primarily as symbols of Jewish identification rather than for religious reasons, so that religious individuals may not be more observant than irreligious people. This hypothesis was confirmed.

Hypothesis Four states that Jews are caught up in a conflict between the desire to survive as a group, and the belief that barriers between groups should be minimal. This is manifested in ambivalent attitudes towards intermarriage, ethnocentrism and social relations. The dilemma is similar to that among American Jews but, because of South Africa's pluralistic ideology, is probably less acute for South African Jews. The first part of the hypothesis was confirmed directly by the data; the second part could be reasonably inferred to be true.

Hypothesis Five states that the Jews are a community because they see

themselves as such and because membership of the community affects role allocation. The boundaries of the community are to be found at this level rather than at the level of shared culture. This hypothesis was confirmed, although the underlying importance of a shared culture — manifested most particularly in common traditions and a shared moral system — should not be lost sight of.

Thus, hypotheses two, three, four and five were confirmed, and hypothesis one partially confirmed.

Some Theoretical Implications of the Hypotheses

Considering the five hypotheses as a whole, they can be seen to have important implications for a number of theoretical issues in sociology and social anthropology beyond the immediate problem of Jewish identification. Three important areas are discussed below.

(a) *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation*

Two related problems — the importance of group membership as part of the individual's identity and the nature of the assimilation process — have been considered by both sociologists and social anthropologists. Gordon (1964) has synthesized a good deal of this thinking in his analysis of assimilation in the United States, and it is his formulations which are employed in the following discussion. With regard to ethnic identity, Gordon (*op cit*: 24—25) suggests:

'My essential thesis here is that the sense of ethnicity has proved to be hardy: As though with a wily cunning of its own, as though there were some essential element in man's nature that demanded it — something that compelled him to merge his lonely individual identity in some ancestral group of fellows smaller by far than the whole human race, smaller often than the nation — the sense of ethnic belonging has survived. It has survived in various forms and with various names, but it has not perished, and twentieth-century urban man is closer to his stone-age ancestors than he knows.'

Ethnic belonging, Gordon states, following Herberg (1955), is '*expected in American society*' and is not an identity 'from which one may voluntarily resign' (*ibid*: 29). Most important, however, is that the ethnic group

'... bears a special relationship to the social structure of a modern complex society which distinguishes it from all small groups and most other large groups. It is this: *within the ethnic group there develops a network of organizations and informal social relationships which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all the stages of the life-cycle*' (*ibid*: 34 — emphasis supplied).

Gordon is, perhaps, saying much the same thing as Erikson in his more 'mystical' definition of ethnic identity as 'the identity of something in the individual's core with an essential aspect of a group's inner coherence' (Erikson 1960: 38). Gordon's formulation, however, permits the deduction of more specific hypotheses for testing. Thus it may be postulated that if a network of social relations has developed within the ethnic group so that its members tend to confine all their primary relationships within the group, then ethnic identity will be closer to 'the core of personality and self-identification' (Gordon, *op cit*: 25) than if the network of ethnic relations tends to be largely secondary (as, for example, a Caledonian Society which is concerned with perpetuating certain aspects of Scottish culture but may be the only context within which its members interact as Scotsmen).

While the present study was not designed specifically to test such a theory of identity, the hypotheses do provide some confirmation — though without indicating causation — that where primary relations are ethnically determined (hypothesis two) there is a strong commitment to the group (hypothesis one). The present study does not, however, throw any light on the second aspect of the theory.

Related to this theory of identity, is Gordon's theory of the nature of assimilation. He distinguishes seven types or stages of assimilation which he summarises (*op cit*: Table 5) as follows:

The Assimilation Variables

<i>Subprocess or Condition</i>	<i>Type or stage of Assimilation</i>	<i>Special Term</i>
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

Gordon then goes on to discuss the relationships between the various stages or types of assimilation and suggests, among others, the following two hypotheses:

' [The relationship of cultural assimilation to all the others] may be stated as follows:

- 1) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene; and
- 2) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely (*op cit*: 77) . . .

'Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow . . . Structural assimilation, then, rather than acculturation, is seen to be the keystone of the arch of assimilation' (*op cit*: 81 — emphasis supplied).

To some extent, all five hypotheses bear upon, and confirm, Gordon's theoretical formulation. They also suggest that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between the perpetuation of structural identity, and the degree to which such a structure involves (or, even, determines) primary relations for members of the ethnic group.

(b) *Urbanization in Africa*

In the conclusions to Chapters Six and Seven, it was suggested that the adaptation of Jewish immigrants from Eastern European *shtetlach* was not dissimilar to what is happening to Africans coming to town in most countries south of the Sahara. Thus, the findings relating to the second hypothesis — that is, the tendency for ethnicity to define the boundaries of primary relationships — are similar to those of Mayer (1961) concerning 'Red' (conservative) Xhosa of East London. Similarly the fifth hypothesis — the definition of ethnic boundaries in terms of role ascription (which could, though not necessarily so, include primary relationships) — is related to the whole question of tribalism in town: to what extent tribal divisions are recognized; whether and in what ways they may be important in urban social organization; their significance for the individual; and, whether 'tribalism' is manifested structurally, culturally or in both ways. Insofar, then, as the present study and studies of African urbanization may be subsumed under the broader questions of ethnic identity and assimilation, they are mutually relevant.

In addition, however, the question of the nature of urban communities also unites the two fields of study in a common theoretical concern. Wirth, in his classic paper on the urban way of life,³ describes urban social relationships as follows (1938: 54):

'Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. They are, to be sure, dependent upon more people for the satisfaction of their life-needs than are rural people and thus are associated with a greater number of organized groups, but they are less dependent upon particular persons, and their dependence upon others is confined to a highly fractionalized aspect of the other's round of activity. This is essentially what is meant by saying that the city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts'.

Wirth has been criticized by Morris⁴ on the basis of Wirth's own study of the Chicago ghetto (1928), as well as of other studies of urban communities (eg Gans 1966)⁵:

'A . . . valid criticism of Wirth relates to his account of the functions of primary groups. He was fully aware, from his own studies of ghetto dwellers, that primary groups existed among city dwellers; but his theory was unable to assimilate the idea that they had essential functions in urban society. The ghetto has functions other than the assimilation and protection of its members. Primary groups and relationships are sometimes survivals from a traditional rural culture; but at others they are integral aspects of urban society, and are highly functional in dealing with the strains in urban life and in filling in gaps in its structure. They may, indeed, be supplemented by 'quasi-primary' groups in the suburbs . . .

'He is also acutely aware that heterogeneity is a potential source of conflict and malintegration; and he is aware that in avoiding this potential problem, people tend to surround themselves with like-minded others. Yet he does not stress that this may be a powerful source of integration; although the congregation of like-minded neighbours in an area may be largely unintentional, the possibility of finding a considerable number of persons who share one's own values may be a very real attraction of the city' (Morris 1968: 170).

This discussion as well as other theoretical issues relating to the nature of urban communities, provides another framework within which the hypotheses in the present study may be viewed, and which make it extremely relevant to urban African problems. Thus, tribal associations in West Africa (Little 1965),⁶ groups based on common rural origins in East London (Mayer 1961) and Cape Town (Wilson and Mafeje 1963),⁷ or religious communities in East London (Dubb 1961 and 1976)⁸ and Johannesburg (Schutte 1972)⁹ may be compared with characteristics of the Johannesburg Jewish community. In particular, the role of shared values, the locus of primary relationships, and the perception of a moral community are relevant.

Finally, though not reflected specifically in the hypotheses, is the relevance of the present study to the process of urbanization in Africa, but this has already been discussed in the conclusions to Chapters Six and Seven.

(c) Marginality

While the present study is not concerned with the Jew as 'a marginal man' (Park 1928 and Stonequist 1935 and 1937),¹⁰ it does throw some light, if only obliquely, on what Goldberg (1941)¹¹ refers to as a 'marginal culture' and Antonovsky (1956)¹² as a 'marginal situation'. Both cite the Jewish group as an example of their particular refinements of the theory of psychological marginality proposed by Park and Stonequist. Goldberg (*op cit*: 52) defines a marginal culture as a 'region [not in the geographical sense] where two cultures overlap and where the occupying group partakes of the traits of both cultures', but denies that members of the occupying group are necessarily marginal men 'possessed of characteristic feelings and attitudes of insecurity, ambivalence, excessive self-consciousness, and chronic nervous strain' (*op cit*: 53). On the contrary, says Goldberg, the theory can be qualified as follows: if a person has been socialized since birth into a marginal culture, shares this experience with others, participates in its institutional activities and is not frustrated by his situation, then he will not be a marginal man: his marginal culture will be normal to him. The best example of a marginal culture is that of the second-generation Jew in America which is 'a mixture of the cultural elements of immigrant Judaism provided by his family situation and of the elements contained in the wider Gentile culture in which he must function' (*op cit*: 55).

While Goldberg's qualification of the marginal man theory is a useful one, his use of the term 'marginal culture' is questionable. Given the conditions under which the marginal culture is normal to its members, Goldberg himself refers to 'a stable and normal person participating in an *integrated manner in the activities of a unitary culture*' (*op cit*: 53 — emphasis added). It might, perhaps, be more useful to reserve the term 'marginal culture' for that phase of culture contact in which the overlapping region is characterized by conflicting, rather than by integrated, norms. The findings of the present study would appear to support this criticism of Goldberg insofar as it would be meaningless to define Johannesburg Jewish culture as marginal — despite its 'mixed' sources — since firstly, it is not in conflict with the dominant culture or within itself and secondly, its members place a high value on the survival of their community which, in turn, provides the framework for their most intimate relationships.

Antonovsky (1956), however, emphasizes the 'marginal group' and the 'marginal situation' which he defines in terms of unequal access to opportunities and resources imposed upon members of a subordinate group by a dominant group. He then suggests (*op cit*: 62), as a modification of the marginal man theory, that individuals often

'seem to develop definitions of the situation which are relatively smooth, satisfying and livable. The marginal group as a whole remains in a conflicted state until it disappears or regains its independence. Individual members work out a way of life which can be

relatively non-marginal. They do so by laying greater or lesser stress on their relations to one or the other culture. The future of the group as a whole, in large measure, depends upon the proportions choosing each of several possible definitions.'

Given the reality of antisemitism in South Africa and consequent Jewish feelings of insecurity (Chapter Nine), the Johannesburg Jewish community could be defined as a marginal group in terms of Antonovsky's definition. His theory can then be tested at least partially by applying the hypotheses on sentiment (ie group survival) and social relations (ie a high degree of encapsulation within the group). These confirm that notwithstanding their marginal situation, Johannesburg Jews have, in general, worked out a satisfactory 'way of life which is relatively non-marginal'. It is clear, however, that appropriate measures of personality would have to be applied for the adequate testing of the marginal man theory and its refinements.

Conclusion

On the whole, the present study has succeeded in its objectives: it has provided more or less adequate answers to the questions posed in Chapter Two; it has provided the data for testing the five hypotheses; and it has provided material relevant to broader theoretical issues. While future studies of Jewish communities could refine and use many of the concepts and methods employed in this enquiry, the main thrust of such studies in South Africa should be comparative — Jewish communities outside Johannesburg and other, non-Jewish communities. One area in particular should be given more adequate treatment than in the present study, and that is the observation, description and analysis of non-traditional elements of ethnic cultures.

Notes

1. Table 4.3 shows that Jews comprise 23% of residents in the areas selected for sampling. Areas omitted were predominantly Afrikaans, or lower-class, or elite suburbs in which, according to census returns, few Jews lived.
2. The assimilationist ideal of the host society and the dilemma posed for a pluralistic minority such as the Jews, has been discussed frequently in the American context. The reader is, however, referred in particular to Herberg (1955) and Gordon (1964).
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Stonequist, Everett V. 1935: 'The problem of the Marginal Man', *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1935, 1—12
Stonequist, Everett V. 1937: *The Marginal Man*, New York
(All cited in Goldberg 1941: 52).
11. Goldberg, Milton M. 1941: 'A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory', *American Sociological Review*, 6, 1941, 52—58.
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Appendix A

Interview Schedule

Survey of the Johannesburg Jewish Community

(Note: OE following a question indicates that it is open-ended. All others are multiple choice)

Respondent's Code number

Respondent's Sex

Respondent's Age

Age Category 18—24/25—29/.../55—59/60—64/65 and over

Interviewer

Date of Interview

No of Calls: Not Jewish___; Jewish, but outside quota___; Jewish refusals___;

Language problems__

No interview sessions with Respondent

Total Length of Interview

Interview not completed

Comments on Interview

Interviewer's Observations:

- a. Was there a *mezuzah* on the front door? Were there *mezuzoth* on doors inside the house?
 - b. Describe briefly the material culture of the home insofar as it may identify it as a Jewish household (eg candle-sticks, *menorah*, Jewish books, Jewish or Israeli pictures and *objects d'art*, etc).
 - c. Describe briefly any characteristics of the respondent which, in your opinion, makes him/her appear to be (or not to be) Jewish (eg mannerisms, appearance, dress, use of Yiddish phrases, accent, gestures, etc).
 - d. Any further comments or observations.
- 1a Address
 - b How long have you lived in Johannesburg?
 - c How and why did you come to live in this suburb? (OE)
 - d What do you like most about this area? (OE)
 - e What do you like least — or dislike most — about this area? (OE)
- 2a Who was the first member of your family to come to South Africa?
 - b When did he/you first come to South Africa?
 - c In which country was he/were you born?
 - d Who was the first member of your family to be born in South Africa?
- 3 What formal education have you received?
 - 4 Do you keep *kosher* at home? Which of the following do you do?
 - 5 Compared with yourself, to what extent did your parents observe *kashruth* whilst you were still living with them?
 - 6 Why do you keep *kosher* as far as you do?
- 7a Apart from religious services and ceremonies, do you keep your head covered for religious reasons?

- b (If Respondent is a male) Do you avoid using a razor with blade — such as a cut-throat or safety razor — for religious reasons?
 - c (If Respondent is a male) Do you put on *tefillin*?
 - d Do you say a *brachah* (*broche*, blessing) before eating, after washing and on other appropriate occasions?
 - e Do you say grace after meals (*bensch*)?
- 8a Are candles usually lit in your home on Friday evenings?
- b Is *kiddush* over wine usually said in your home on Friday evenings?
 - c On *shabbes* (*shabbat*, Sabbath) do you generally not work? Smoke? Ride (except, possibly, to *shul*)? Write? Use money? Switch on electricity? Cook? Shave? Play sport? Attend cinema, dances, restaurants?
 - d On *pesach* (*peisach*, Passover) do you generally participate in a *seder*?
 - e On *pesach* do you avoid eating bread and other *chometz*/*dikke* (non-*peisach*) foods?
 - f How do you celebrate *pesach*, *shavuoth* and *succoth*?
 - g How do you observe *rosh hashanna* (Jewish new year) and *yom kippur* (Day of Atonement)?
 - h Do you usually light *chanukka* candles?
- 9a Are both your parents still living? Have you lost him/her/either during the last five years? What mourning customs did you observe for him/her/whichever passed away more recently?
- b What memorial customs do you observe for your late parent/s?
- 10 Have you ever been more, or less, observant than you are today?
- 11 Compared with yourself, to what extent did your parents observe Jewish customs and rituals?
- 12a What language do you use most frequently at home?
- b What language did your parents use most frequently at home?
- 13a During the past year did you read any newspapers or periodicals of Jewish interest?
- b Did you read any books? What proportion were of Jewish interest?
 - c During the past year did you attend any courses or lectures of Jewish interest?
- 14a What is your present marital status?
- b Did you have a religious wedding ceremony?
- 15 Do you have any children? Would you tell me a few things about them? (Age, sex, marital status, where living, at school or not, occupation)
- 16a (If Respondent has sons) Did you have your son/s *brissed* (circumcised)? If yes, by whom — a doctor or a *mohel* ('a Reverend', minister, Rabbi)?
- b (If Respondent has sons) Was there, or will there be, any celebration or ceremony on your son/s *barmitzvah*?
 - c (If Respondent has daughters) Was there, or will there be, any celebration or service on your daughter/s *batmitzvah*?
- 17 (If Respondent has school-going children)
- a To what extent do your children observe the Sabbath?
 - b To what extent do your children observe the Jewish festivals?

- c What formal Jewish education do, or did, your children — who are still at school — receive?
- d (If no children attend/ed Jewish Day Schools) Would you like, or have liked, any of your children, who are still at school, to go to a Jewish Day School?
Yes I would like/intend to send my child/ren to a Jewish Day School because (OE)
Yes I would have liked to send my child/ren to a Jewish Day School, but have not because (OE)
No I would not like to send my child/ren to a Jewish Day School, nor would I have liked to because (OE)
- e Are you satisfied with your child/ren's Jewish education? Could you please elaborate (OE)
- f Do your child/ren belong to any Jewish youth organizations? Which? (OE)
- g (If they do belong to Jewish youth groups) Are you satisfied with these groups? Why/why not? (OE)
- h (If they do not belong to Jewish youth groups) Would you like them to? Why/why not? (OE)
- 18 (If Respondent has unmarried children — including school-going)
- a To what extent would you like your children to keep *kosher* in their own homes?
- b To what extent would you like your children generally to keep Jewish religious customs when they have their own homes?
- c Would you like your children to bring up their children as Jews?
- d (If Respondent has teenage, or older, unmarried children) How do you feel about your teenage or older unmarried children having gentile friends?
- e Within the next few years, your teenage or older unmarried child/ren might, if they are not already doing so, begin to think seriously about marriage. What would your reaction be if your child informed you that he/she intended to marry a gentile? (OE)
- 19a In what ways would you say do Johannesburg Jews, in general, resemble one another and differ from non-Jews? (OE)
- b In what ways would you say that you resemble other Jews and differ from non-Jews? (OE)
- c Are there any divisions among Johannesburg Jews? (OE)
- d What is a good Jew? (OE)
- e What is a good person? (OE)
- 20a Do you belong to a Synagogue (*shul*, congregation)?
- b Why do you belong to this congregation? (OE) Why don't you belong to any congregation? (OE)
- c Do you belong to the *Chevrah Kadisha*?
- d Do you hold any position in your synagogue?
- e Apart from attendance at services, how much time does the Synagogue take in meetings, voluntary work, duties etc?
- f During the past year, how often did you attend Synagogue services?
- g How well can you follow the service in the Synagogue which you usually attend?
- h How well can you read and understand the *Siddur* (prayer book)?
- 21 Do you regard yourself as being a Zionist? If not, why not? (OE)
- 22 (If Respondent regards himself as a supporter of the Zionist cause) I am a Zionist and read a Zionist newspaper/or periodical/belong to a Zionist

party/support a Zionist party/attend Zionist gatherings/have/or intend visit Israel/settled for a period in Israel/intend to settle in Israel/have/or intend study in Israel/have children in Israel/have served as volunteer/or in army in Israel.

- 23a What formal Jewish education have you received?
b Where did you obtain your Jewish education as a child?
- 24a What is your normal occupation?
b What is, or was, your father's normal occupation?
- 25a Are you an employer? If yes, do you employ any Europeans? If yes, what proportion of your European staff is Jewish?
b If you employ any Jewish staff, in what types of jobs are they employed? Is there any reason for employing Jews in these jobs? (OE)
c If you do not employ any Jewish staff, is there any reason for this? (OE)
- 26 Would you mind indicating into which of the following broad categories your monthly income falls?
- 27a During the past year who were the people who visited you and whom you visited most frequently? Would you give me their initials? (You should regard a married couple as 'one person')
b What are the initials of your best friend or friends?
c Would you tell me which of the people whose initials you have given are Jews, non-Jews and relatives?
d To what extent do the remainder of your social relationships involve Jews and non-Jews?
e Who are your most important business associates or professional colleagues? What are their initials?
- 28 During the past year, did you belong to any organizations, associations, societies, clubs, etc? (If yes, considering the time spent, effort devoted and satisfaction derived, which were the most important to you? (Please exclude organizations etc to which you simply pay a regular fee or subscription but in which you are not really active, and your Synagogue).
(Note: First list the organizations. List a maximum of six. Thereafter ask the following questions in respect of each organization:
Is it a Jewish organization?
If not a Jewish organization, what proportion of its local membership is Jewish?
What type of organization is it? (Jewish communal, welfare or service, Jewish cultural, Zionist, other Jewish, sport, social, general community service or welfare, general cultural, other)
What position do you hold in the organization? (member only, committee member, executive member?)
- 29a Excluding house-to-house and street collections, did you make any regular contributions to any funds, charities or causes of any kind during the past year? (If yes) Did you contribute to any of the following: United Communal Fund/Israeli United Appeal/SA Jewish Board of Education Appeal.
Apart from these three funds, were there any others to which you contributed? (Exclude fees or subscriptions to a Synagogue or club, but include such bodies as 'Friends of the Hebrew University' Chevrah Kadish, 'Red Cross' etc)

- If yes, what proportion of these contributions were to Jewish causes and what to non-Jewish?
- b If you had, say R500 for distribution to any causes you might choose, how would you allocate the money? (OE)
- 30a What do you feel about intermarriage, in general? (OE)
- b Were you born of a Jewish mother, or have you ever been converted?
- c (If Respondent is married) Is your spouse Jewish?
- d (If Respondent has married children) Have any of your children married non-Jews? (Sex, whether any conversion)
- e Have any of your close relatives — uncles, aunts, first cousins, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces or grandchildren — married non-Jews? If yes, how many and how are they related to you? (OE)
- 31 Do you intend to remain in South Africa all your life? (OE)
- 32 Do you belong to any South African political party? If yes, which one? If no, which party do you favour?
- 33 Are there any political parties, policies or activities which you feel Jews should avoid becoming involved in? (OE)
- 34 I am going to read you a number of statements. Some people agree with many of these statements, others disagree. I would be grateful if you would give me your opinion. After I have read each statement, please tell me how you feel about it: do you strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree, disagree — or do you have no feelings about it either way. By way of illustration, would you tell me how you feel about the following: 'An unusual number of Jews excel in the arts, sciences and professions'. SA, A, ?, D, SD. We can proceed with the rest of the statements in the same way.
- 1 I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.
 - 2 The orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.
 - 3 Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa, could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.
 - 4 On the whole Africans are happy with their lot. It is only a handful of agitators and troublemakers who are trying to stir up dissatisfaction.
 - 5 God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.
 - 6 A Jew is more sensitive to his fellow-man's feelings than is a non-Jew.
 - 7 In the international arena Israel should be governed solely by her own interests even if this may cause difficulties or inconvenience to Jews in other countries.
 - 8 A young Jewish male who really loves a Gentile girl should give up his Jewishness if this is the only way he could marry her.
 - 9 The *Torah* (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt Sinai and may not be changed.
 - 10 The present government's policy of separate development (*apartheid*) is the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem.
 - 11 The Nationalist government has conclusively shown that it will never allow antisemitism to take root in the Republic.
 - 12 It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant rather than to join a reform congregation.
 - 13 If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.

- 14 I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.
- 15 It is important to participate in Jewish communal activities.
- 16 Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.
- 17 Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.
- 18 I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.
- 19 Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa.
- 20 God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.
- 21 Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.
- 22 I feel personally proud of Israel's achievements and sorrow at her setbacks.
- 23 I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as Xmas trees.
- 24 God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.
- 25 The silence of South African Jewish leaders in regard to non-white suffering in this country is as serious a crime as the silence of Christian leaders in Nazi Germany.
- 26 The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish. (*Note: 'Clannish' had to be explained by interviewers as 'stick together too much'*)
- 27 The future of Israel cannot be secured without large-scale settlement of Jews from western countries.
- 28 The reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.
- 29 It is essential to be a member of a synagogue.
- 30 Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones.
- 31 Antisemitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanized Jews.
- 32 God will reward the good and punish the wicked.
- 33 Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.
- 34 On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.
- 35 Our continued survival as Jews is *mainly* dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.
- 36 Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.
- 37 The preservation of western civilization in South Africa makes it necessary to minimize contact between whites and non-whites.
- 38 One should try to observe all the *mitzvoth* (religious laws).
- 39 If A Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing the name.
- 40 *Kashruth* is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.
- 41 All people in South Africa, irrespective of race, should be given the vote as long as they have reached a certain educational and economic standard.
- 42 Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.
- 43 I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.
- 44 It is not necessary to observe all the *mitzvoth* (religious laws). One should only observe those that are personally meaningful.
- 45 In general, I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores.
- 46 I believe that being born a Jew means that you are at a handicap in most occupations and professions.

- 47 The Zionist ideal was fulfilled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and no longer has any meaning.
- 48 I would rather a Jewish attorney or accountant handle my affairs than a non-Jew.
- 35 (Below is a rating scale, at one end of which appears the word 'Jewish', and at the other end the words 'South African'. Indicate your position on this scale by placing a cross X within the appropriate space on the scale. To the extent that the mark is nearer to 'South African', it means that you feel yourself to be that much more South African than Jewish. To the extent that the mark is nearer to 'Jewish', it means that you feel yourself so much more Jewish. Please note that the mark X should be placed *inside* the space between the points on the scale.)

- a Jewish

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 South African
- b A person with a strong feeling of being Jewish/A person with no feeling of being Jewish
- c A person with a strong feeling of being South African/A person with no feeling of being South African
- d A very observant Jew/A completely non-observant Jew
- e A very religious person/A completely irreligious person

(In each of the following questions you should choose that *one* response which is nearest to your own opinion and encircle the number next to that response).

- f Does being Jewish play an important part in your life? (A very important part/important part/of little importance/plays no part)
- g Does being South African play an important part in your life? (A very important part/an important part/of little importance/plays no part)
- h When I feel more South African: (I also feel more Jewish/There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African/I feel less Jewish).
- i When I feel more Jewish: (I also feel more South African/There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African/I feel less South African).
- j If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be born a Jew?
- k When a British journal praises the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were praising you?
- l When a British journal insults the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were insulting you?
- m When a British journal praises South Africa, do you feel as if it were praising you?
- n When a British journal insults South Africa, do you feel as if it were insulting you?
- o Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of South Africa?
- p Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of the Jewish people?
- q Do you think that the behaviour of Jews contributes to the spread of antisemitism?
(If Respondent thinks that the behaviour of Jews does make some contribution towards antisemitism, ask:)
What in the behaviour of Jews contributes towards antisemitism? (OE)

Appendix B

Glossary

Barmitzvah

At the age of 13, a Jewish male becomes fully responsible for the fulfilment of religious obligations (see *mitzvah*). Although automatic, the occasion is normally marked by a ceremony in the synagogue during a Sabbath morning service and usually by some celebration.

Batmitzvah

The ceremony was originally introduced into South Africa by the Reform movement as a counterpart of the *barmitzvah*, and has gradually been adopted by Orthodox congregations. It involves the confirmation of girls at age 12, and is usually performed for several girls simultaneously on a single annual occasion.

Beth Din

An Ecclesiastical, or Rabbinic Court comprising three ordained Rabbis. In Johannesburg, the Beth Din is responsible, *inter alia*, for supervision of establishments providing *kosher* foods, conversions, divorces, settling interpersonal disputes (though it has no legal standing) and, in general, for the proper application of Jewish religious law.

Brachoth

Benedictions (or blessings) recited before (or, sometimes after) performance of a religious rite or enjoyment of some activity or experience. Benedictions always begin with the formula: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God, King of the universe . . .'. An example of a ritual benediction, recited after washing the hands, continues ' . . . who has sanctified us by his commandments and has commanded us concerning the washing of the hands'. An example of the second type, the blessing before drinking wine, is ' . . . who created the fruit of the vine'.

Chametz

Leavened foods such as bread, cake, biscuits, breakfast cereals which are forbidden on Passover (*Pesach*). This prohibition is a reminder that the children of Israel could not wait for the dough to rise in their haste to depart from Egypt.

Chanukka

The festival of lights or, literally, rededication. It commemorates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem after its recapture from the Syracusan tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes by the Maccabees. Legend has it that only one day's supply of oil for the *menorah* (candelabra) was found, but that it miraculously burnt for eight days. The festival is accordingly celebrated for eight days. Each night candles are lit — one on the first night, two on the second night and so on — until all eight candles are burning. This festival is not marked by any other special observances or prohibitions, except that certain prayers are added to the ordinary daily services. It falls towards the end of the year.

Chazan

The cantor or reader leads the congregation in prayer. Almost all Orthodox

congregations (but not Reform) engage such a functionary. He is expected to have a good singing voice and good Hebrew diction.

Cheder

Also called *Talmud Torah* or 'Hebrew School'. Classes in Hebrew language, Judaism and other aspects of Jewish culture, held before or after regular school classes. The Jewish community of Johannesburg maintains a network of Hebrew Schools, many with their own premises.

Chevrah Kadisha

Burial society mainly, but also assists needy members of the Jewish community.

Haggadah

A text recited at the Passover *seder* in which the story of the exodus from Egypt is related and which also comprises psalms and prayers of thanksgiving.

Kaddish

A prayer praising God recited by the *chazan* at various points in a service. The *kaddish* is also recited at daily services by mourners for eleven months after the death of a parent and, subsequently, on the anniversary of the death.

Kashruth (Adjective: *kosher*)

The dietary laws. These laws define which animals, birds and fish a Jew is permitted to eat. They also prescribe the methods of slaughtering and inspecting animals and the manner in which the blood must be drained prior to consumption. The laws proscribe the eating of meat and dairy products together and, in fact, separate utensils should be kept for the two types of foods. The laws originate in the Bible, notably Leviticus, 11.

Kiddush

A prayer, meaning literally 'sanctification', recited on sabbath and festivals preceding the meal. In it God is praised for sanctifying his people by giving them the laws relating to the holy days. The blessings over wine and bread are also recited to start the meal.

Kosher — see *kashruth*

Matzah (pl *matzoth*, *matzes*)

Unleavened bread eaten on Passover (*Pesach*) to commemorate the exodus from Egypt, when the Israelites had no time to allow the dough to rise.

Menorah

The eight-branched candelabra used on *Chanukka*.

Mezuzah (pl *mezuzoth*)

A small phial, about two inches long by a quarter inch diameter which is nailed about two-thirds way up the doorposts of Jewish homes. The phial contains passages from the Pentateuch in which the Israelites were exhorted to remember God's commandments by writing them 'on the doorposts of your houses and upon your gates' (Deuteronomy, 6 : 9).

Mikvah or *mikve*

Ritual bath used mainly by women, but also by men, to restore ritual purity (eg after menstruation).

Minyan

According to Jewish custom, a minimum of ten Jewish males over the age of 13 (*barmitzvah*) constitutes a congregation. Certain prayers like *kaddish*, as well as the reading from the *Torah* scrolls, can only be recited with a *minyan*. The term also refers to a prayer meeting.

Mitzvah (pl *mitzvot*)

A religious law.

Mohel

A functionary trained to perform circumcision and its attendant rituals.

Pesach

Passover, the festival commemorating the exodus from Egypt. It falls in the spring (northern hemisphere) at about the same time as Easter.

Rosh Hashannah

The Jewish New Year falls in about September or October. It is believed to be a time of spiritual 'stocktaking' and of confession of sins. It is further believed that at this time God determines the fate of each person for the coming year. However, it is possible to avert an evil fate by repentance during the ten days between *Rosh Hashannah* and *Yom Kippur*. On *Yom Kippur* the book of destiny is sealed.

Seder

On *Pesach*, the festive evening meal is preceded by the reciting of the *haggadah*. The word means 'order', and refers to the fixed succession of rituals, reciting of the *haggadah*, prayers, psalms, festive meal, grace and hymns.

Shabbat

Sabbath. The Sabbath begins on Friday evening just before sun-down and continues until after the appearance of the first three stars on Saturday night. It is marked by synagogue services, evening and morning; a festive meal with *kiddush*; lighting of candles at home; and numerous prohibitions relating to working, riding, cooking, smoking, writing, handling money, etc. It is intended to be a day of complete rest, different from all other days of the week and, ideally, devoted to prayer and religious study.

Shavuoth

The festival of Pentecost falls seven weeks after *Pesach*, is the first-fruits festival and also commemorates the giving of the *Torah* to Moses on Mt Sinai.

Shiva

The seven days of deep mourning after the death of a parent.

Shochet

Ritual slaughterer. Meat is *kosher* only if the animal has been killed and inspected by a *shochet*.

Shtetl (pl *shtetlach*)

Literally a small town or village, the term refers to the small-town Jewish communities in Eastern Europe.

Shul

Synagogue.

Succoth

The festival of Tabernacles is celebrated five days after *Yom Kippur* and lasts seven days. It is the harvest festival and also commemorates the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness after the exodus from Egypt. The name refers to the temporary dwellings in which the Israelites lived. *Succoth*, *Pesach* and *Shavuoth* are known as the *Shalosh Regalim*, or three pilgrimages, since on these occasions the people used to make a pilgrimage to the temple. Most of the prohibitions applying to Sabbath apply to these festivals as well as to *Rosh Hashannah* and *Yom Kippur*.

Taharath Hamishpachah

Literally 'purity of the family', refers to such rituals as bathing in the *mikve* and abstaining from sexual intercourse at certain times.

Talmud Torah — see *cheder*

Tefillin

Usually translated phylacteries (from the Greek, meaning amulet). Two small leather boxes, about one-and-a-half inches square, containing passages from the Bible. They are strapped onto the left arm and forehead during morning prayers, by males over the age of 13, as a reminder to obey God's laws.

Torah

The five books of Moses, the Pentateuch, or *chumash*. More specifically it refers to the scroll on which the *chumash* is written and from which a portion is read three times a week and on festivals. It may also be used to refer to the whole of Jewish religious law.

Tzitzith or *Arba Kanfoth*

A fringed undergarment worn by males. It is a rectangular piece of cloth with a central cut-out through which the head is placed, and at each corner of which are *tzitzith* or fringes. Like *tefillin* and *mezuzah*, they are visible reminders of God's law (Numbers 15: 37—41).

Yahrzeit (*Yohrzeit*)

Anniversary of a death. *Kaddish* is recited and a 24-hour candle is burned in memory of the deceased.

Yiddish

A language spoken by Central and Eastern European Jews and their descendants. It is based on Middle High German and includes both Hebrew and local (ie Russian, Polish, English) words and idioms.

Yom Kippur

Day of Atonement. This falls on the tenth day after *Rosh Hashannah*. It is the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar. All the prohibitions relating to Sabbath observance apply in addition to a fast lasting from sundown on the day before *Yom Kippur* to sundown on the day itself. It brings to an end the ten-day period of penitence, which begins on *Rosh Hashannah*, and marks, according to tradition, the sealing of the Book of Destiny by God for the coming year.

Appendix C

A. Biographical and Demographic

1	Sex and Age: Table 3.1		
2	Area of Residence: Table 3.1		
3	Length of Residence in Johannesburg:		
	Lived in Johannesburg all my life	125	44%
	Since my arrival in SA 20 years ago or more	18	6%
	20 years or more	73	26%
	15—19 years	23	8%
	10—14 years	11	4%
	5—9 years	11	4%
	Less than 5 years	19	7%
	No response	3	1%
	TOTAL	283	100%
4	Reasons for coming to live in the area—advantages of the area in which Respondent resides:		
	Convenience (near shops, work, city centre, doctor, hospital, transport, etc)	158	56%
	Neighbourhood (like neighbours, quiet, respectable, friendly, pleasant, price of house or flat right)	119	42%
	Education (near nursery, primary or secondary school, university)	14	5%
	Near to family	21	7%
	Convenient to synagogue	26	9%
	Convenient to Jewish nursery school, day school, <i>cheder</i>	4	1%
	Jewish neighbourhood	27	10%
	No advantages—no particular reasons	10	4%
	No response	9	3%
	TOTAL RESPONDENTS	283	—
5	What Respondent dislikes about area of residence—disadvantages of area:		
	Inconvenience (lack of amenities)	25	9%
	Bad neighbourhood (deteriorated, noisy, unfriendly, snobbish, low-class neighbours)	89	31%
	Not a Jewish neighbourhood	13	5%
	Miscellaneous	35	12%
	No disadvantages	114	40%
	No response	7	2%
	TOTAL	283	100%

6	First patrilineal relative to come to South Africa:		
	Father's father before 1900	24	8%
	Father's father 1901—1929	17	6%
	Father before 1900	39	14%
	Father 1901—1929	93	33%
	Father 1930—1939	19	7%
	Father 1940 or later	1	—
	Self before 1900	2	—
	Self 1901—1929	13	5%
	Self 1930—1939	13	5%
	Self 1940 or later	19	7%
	Don't know/no response	43	15%
	TOTAL	283	100%

7	First patrilineal relative to come to South Africa and first patrilineal relative born in South Africa:		
	Father's father born in South Africa	3	1%
	Father's father came to SA, Father born SA	35	12%
	Father's father came to SA, Respondent born SA,		
	Father born Eastern Europe	15	5%
	Father born Germany/Austria	1	—
	Father born other outside SA	5	2%
	Father came to SA, Respondent born SA	139	49%
	Father came to SA,		
	Respondent born Eastern Europe	17	6%
	Respondent born Germany/Austria	2	—
	Respondent born other outside SA	6	2%
	Respondent came to SA from Eastern Europe	32	11%
	Respondent came to SA from Germany/Austria	8	3%
	Respondent came to SA from other	14	5%
	No response	6	2%
	TOTAL	283	98%

8 General Education: Table 4.4

9 Home language of Respondents and parents:

<i>Home Language</i>	<i>Respondents</i>		<i>Parents</i>	
	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>%</i>
English	243	86	132	47
English and Yiddish	14	5	31	11
Yiddish	18	6	82	29
English and other	4	1	8	2
Other	4	1	21	7
Unknown	—	—	9	3
TOTAL	283	99	283	99

10	Marital status:		
	Married by Jewish rites,		
	now separated	1	—
	now widowed	19	7%
	still married	195	69%
	Married by civil ceremony,		
	separated/divorced	2	—
	still married	14	5%
	Never been married	51	18%
	No response	1	—
	TOTAL	283	99%
11	Children (schedules not coded to ascertain number of children):		
	Respondent never married	51	18%
	Married — no children	30	11%
	One or more children	202	71%
	TOTAL	283	100%

12 Occupation and Father's occupation: Table 4.6

13 Income of males

	No	%
Less than R3 000 pa	16	12
R3 000 — R5 399 pa	23	17
R5 400 — R7 799 pa	18	13
R7 800 — R10 199 pa	8	6
R10 200 and above	11	8
No Response	61	44
TOTAL	137	100

14 Whether Jewish by birth or conversion: Table 10.10

15 Whether spouse Jewish by birth or conversion: Table 10.10

16 Jewish Education standard: Table 7.3

17 Jewish Education source: Table 7.4

B. Religious Observance

18	Observance of <i>mitzvot</i> : Tables 8.1 to 8.5		
19	Comparison between Respondent's and parents' observance of <i>kashruth</i> :		
	Parents more observant than Respondent	157	55%
	Parents same as Respondent	97	34%
	Parents less than Respondent	20	7%
	Not applicable/ no response	9	3%
	TOTAL	283	99%
20	Comparison between Respondent's and parents' observance of <i>mitzvot</i> in general:		
	Both parents more observant	166	59%
	One parent more observant	16	6%
	Both parents same	71	25%
	Both parents less	21	7%
	Not applicable/ no response	9	3%
	TOTAL	283	100%
21	Reasons for <i>kashruth</i> observance: Table 8.1		
22	Changes in extent of Respondent's observance:		
	No change	104	37%
	More observant now than before	19	7%
	More observant since marriage	12	4%
	More observant since children born	10	4%
	Less observant than before	132	47%
	Not applicable/ no response	6	2%
	TOTAL	283	101%
23	Synagogue affiliation: Table 6.2		
24	Synagogue attendance: Table 6.3		
25	Position in synagogue:		
	Committee member	2	1%
	Executive member	1	—
	Sub-committee member only	5	2%
	Other	3	1%
	None	166	59%
	Not a paying member of any synagogue	105	37%
	No response	1	—
	TOTAL	283	100%
26	Synagogue activities apart from services:		
	Six or more hours per week	2	1%
	Weekly meetings or task	5	2%
	Fortnightly-monthly meetings or task	8	3%
	Every two months or less	9	3%
	None	151	53%
	Not a paying member of any synagogue	105	37%
	No response	3	1%
	TOTAL	283	100%

- 27 Ability to follow synagogue services (Orthodox Respondents were asked only about orthodox services, Reform Respondents only about Reform services):

Can follow all or most orthodox services without difficulty	114	40%
Have some difficulty following orthodox services	36	13%
Have considerable difficulty following orthodox services	59	21%
Can follow all or most Reform services without difficulty	30	11%
Have some difficulty following Reform services	2	1%
Have considerable difficulty following Reform services	3	1%
Do not attend any services	36	13%
No response	3	1%
TOTAL	283	101%

- 28 Ability to read and understand prayer book:

Read prayers in Hebrew and understand all or most — orthodox	68	24%
Can read prayers in Hebrew but understand little or nothing — orthodox	75	26%
Cannot read Hebrew — orthodox	66	23%
Read prayers in Hebrew and understand all or most — Reform	5	2%
Can read prayers in Hebrew but understand little or nothing — Reform	12	4%
Cannot read Hebrew — Reform	18	6%
Do not attend any services	36	13%
No response	3	1%
TOTAL	283	99%

C. Cultural Interests

- 29 Whether Respondent subscribes to and reads Jewish-interest newspapers (several weeklies and monthlies published locally in English, Yiddish, Hebrew):

Read at least weekly	130	46%
Read irregularly	83	29%
Subscribe regularly but read irregularly	20	7%
Read seldom/ not at all	50	18%
TOTAL	283	100%

- 30 Extent to which Respondent reads Jewish-interest books:

Only or mainly Jewish-interest books	21	7%
About as many as others	51	18%
Mainly others	117	41%
Only others	52	18%
Best sellers whatever comes to hand	9	3%
Seldom or never read books	33	12%
TOTAL	283	99%

- 31 How frequently Respondent attends lectures on Jewish topics:

About weekly	21	7%
About monthly	7	2%
About six during the past year	21	7%
Few or none	234	83%
TOTAL	283	99%

D. Zionism

- 32 Zionist affiliation: Table 6.9
- 33 Zionist behaviour: not tabulated

E. Jewish Survival — Children

- 34 Children's Sabbath observance: Table 9.5
- 35 Children's festival observance: Table 9.6
- 36 Children's Jewish education: Table 9.4
- 37 Unmarried children — should they observe *kashruth* in their own homes: Table 9.3
- 38 Unmarried children — should they be observant generally as adults: Table 9.3
- 39 Unmarried children — should they rear their children as Jews: Table 9.2

F. Jewish Survival — Inter-marriage .

- 40 Teenage children — should they have gentile friends: Table 9.11
- 41 Teenage children — attitudes to their possible intermarriage: Table 9.10
- 42 Attitude to intermarriage: Table 9.9
- 43 Children's intermarriage: Table 9.8
- 44 Close relatives' intermarriage: Table 9.7

G. Social Relations

- 45 Employment of Jewish employees: Table 6.7
- 46 Close friends: Table 6.5
- 47 Acquaintances: Table 6.5
- 48 Business Associates: Table 6.6

Associational Participation: Type of Association X Ethnicity of Membership

Type of Association	Jewish Organization		Not Jewish Organization: Members				Total No of Respondents belonging to each type of Association	Totals
	No of Associations	No of Respondents	Predominantly Jewish		Not Predominantly Jewish			
			No of Associations	No of Respondents	No of Associations	No of Respondents		
Cultural	8	9	1	1	7*	12	26	—
Service & Welfare	17	11	1	3	17	17	53	—
Zionist	12	32	—	—	—	—	32	—
Sports & Social	8	19 ^o	12*	35	33*	31	79	—
Professional	—	—	1	2	19	18	19	—
Other (mainly Parent-Teacher Associations)	6	5	2	2	5	6	12	—
Total No of Associations	51	—	26*	—	81*	—	—	158
Total No of Respondents belonging to associations of each ethnic category	—	86	—	43	—	78	—	—
Total No of Respondents belonging to any association	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	157
Total No of associational memberships	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	300

- NOTE: (a) Respondents belonging to more than one association within a particular category (eg Jewish Cultural, Predominantly Jewish, Sports) are counted only once.
- (b) Total No of respondents in each column or row represents the actual number of individuals belonging to any associations in that column or row.
- (c) * Indicates that a number of associations were simply designated as 'study group' or 'golf club', so that the actual number of associations in that category may be slightly higher.
- (d) ^o These were the only Jewish associations to which 10 of the respondents belonged. Thus 76 belonged to Jewish associations excluding sports and social clubs.

50 Philanthropies:

Israeli United Appeal, United Communal Fund and/or SA Board of Jewish Education Fund, <i>only</i> (<i>Most remaining Respondents contributed to one or more of the above. Other philanthropies, excluding the above, to which contributions were made, were:</i>)	53	19
Overwhelmingly Jewish	100	35%
Mostly Jewish	49	17%
Equally Jewish and non-Jewish	16	6%
Mostly non-Jewish	3	1%
Overwhelmingly non-Jewish	5	2%
No contributions	54	19%
No response	3	1%
TOTAL	283	100%

51 Disbursement of hypothetical R500 to charity:

Zionist/ Israeli funds only	27	10%
Local Jewish funds only	72	25%
Zionist and Jewish funds only	36	13%
Non-Jewish funds only	35	12%
African funds only	10	4%
Zionist, non-Jewish and/ or African	10	4%
Zionist, Jewish, non-Jewish and/ or African	20	7%
Jewish, non-Jewish and/ or African	50	18%
Non-Jewish and African	4	1%
No response	19	7%
TOTAL	283	101%

H. Relation to South Africa

52 Intention to remain in South Africa: Table 9.14

53 Political party affiliation: Table 9.12

54 Should Jews avoid involvement in South African politics:
Table 9.13

Attitude Scale items arranged in subscales, showing frequency distributions, means, standard deviations, discriminative powers and significance of DP's

Notes and Key at end of Table

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
				1	2	3	4	5								
Social Relations																
1.	I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.	+	1	1	16	16	44	22	3,7	4,6	2,8	1,8	3,0	1,03	13,33	1%
2.	I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.	+	14	2	17	8	50	22	3,7	4,5	2,6	1,9	1,5	1,06	13,29	1%
3.	It is important to participate in Jewish communal activities.	+	15	1	23	12	53	11	3,5	4,1	3,0	1,1	6,5	0,99	7,00	1%
4.	It is essential to be a member of a synagogue.	+	29	5	21	6	48	17	3,5	4,3	2,7	1,6	4	1,16	9,41	1%
5.	Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones.	-	30	5	34	19	37	4	3,0	3,5	2,4	1,1	6,5	1,04	6,67	1%
6.	In general, I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores.	+	45	9	60	9	18	3	2,4	3,3	1,9	1,4	5	0,99	6,57	1%
7.	I would rather a Jewish attorney or accountant handle my affairs than a non-Jew.	+	48	6	32	10	41	11	3,2	4,1	2,2	1,9	1,5	1,18	12,02	1%

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
				1	2	3	4	5								
	Religious Beliefs															
8.	God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.	+	5	8	10	12	47	24	3,7	4,6	2,3	2,3	1	1,17	15,03	1%
9.	The Torah (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mount Sinai and may not be changed.	+	9	4	21	10	44	20	3,5	4,5	2,4	2,1	4	1,15	14,79	1%
10.	God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	+	20	15	42	17	24	2	2,5	3,5	1,7	1,8	7	1,06	12,68	1%
11.	God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	+	24	4	11	16	48	21	3,7	4,4	2,4	2,0	6	1,05	14,60	1%
12.	God will reward the good and punish the wicked.	+	32	9	22	26	34	8	3,1	4,1	2,0	2,1	4	1,14	16,03	1%
13.	One should try to observe all the mitzvoth (religious laws).	+	38	6	25	11	50	8	3,3	4,2	2,1	2,1	4	1,11	17,35	1%
14.	Kashruth is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.	+	40	9	31	10	41	9	3,1	4,2	2,0	2,2	2	1,20	17,19	1%
15.	<i>It is not necessary to observe all the mitzvoth (religious laws). One should only observe those that are personally meaningful.</i>	-	44	13	62	7	16	1	2,3	2,8	2,1	0,7	8	0,93	4,09	1%

55 Attitude scale items (contd)

Notes and Key at end of Table

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
				1	2	3	4	5								
	Ethnocentrism															
16.	A Jew is more sensitive to his fellow man's feelings than is a non-Jew.	+	6	4	16	8	46	26	3,7	4,6	2,7	1,9	1	1,12	12,84	1%
17.	A young Jewish male who really loves a Gentile girl should give up his Jewishness if this is the only way he could marry her.	-	8	1	22	15	37	25	3,6	4,4	2,7	1,7	4	1,11	12,23	1%
18.	Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.	+	21	7	32	13	41	8	3,1	3,9	2,1	1,8	2,5	1,14	12,50	1%
19.	I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as Xmas trees.	+	23	6	25	8	35	27	3,5	4,5	2,7	1,8	2,5	1,27	9,90	1%
20.	On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.	+	34	9	38	10	38	4	2,9	3,7	2,1	1,6	5	1,13	10,19	1%
21.	If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing the name.	-	39	2	24	6	48	19	3,6	4,0	3,2	0,8	6	1,10	4,52	1%

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p <
				1	2	3	4	5								
	Anti-Semitism															
22.	I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	—	18	22	45	4	24	5	2,5	3,5	1,6	1,9	1	1,21	11,66	1%
23.	The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish.	—	26	11	45	13	27	4	2,7	3,4	1,9	1,5	4	1,11	9,80	1%
24.	Anti-semitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanized Jews.	—	31	2	38	12	38	9	3,1	3,9	2,3	1,6	3	1,09	26,00	1%
25.	Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.	—	36	11	33	17	35	3	2,9	3,7	1,9	1,8	2	1,10	12,95	1%
26.	I believe that being born a Jew means that you are at a handicap in most occupations and professions.	—	46	0	9	2	64	24	4,0	4,5	3,6	0,9	5	0,78	6,47	1%

55 Attitude scale items (contd)

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No
Zionism			
27.	<i>In the international arena Israel should be governed solely by her own interests even if this may cause difficulties or inconvenience to Jews in other countries.</i>	+	7
28.	If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.	+	13
29.	Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.	+	17
30.	<i>I feel personally proud of Israel's achievements and sorrow at her setbacks.</i>	+	22
31.	<i>The future of Israel cannot be secured without large-scale settlement of Jews from Western countries.</i>	+	27
32.	Our continued survival as Jews is <i>mainly</i> dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.	+	35
33.	I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.	+	43
34.	<i>The Zionist ideal was fulfilled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and no longer has any meaning.</i>	-	47

Notes and Key at end of Table

Scores: %age Frequency					<i>M</i>	<i>M_u</i>	<i>M₁</i>	<i>DP</i>	<i>DP Rank Order</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> <
1	2	3	4	5								
3	22	10	50	15	3.5	3.9	3.1	0.8	7	1.09	4.49	1%
9	28	6	38	19	3.3	4.3	2.0	2.3	1	1.31	15.13	1%
14	41	8	29	7	2.7	3.8	1.7	2.1	3	1.22	14.79	1%
0	2	1	49	48	4.4	4.8	4.2	0.6	8	0.61	6.18	1%
0	9	11	58	22	3.9	4.5	3.3	1.2	5	0.83	9.02	1%
4	24	6	51	15	3.5	4.5	2.3	2.2	2	1.13	16.54	1%
3	10	6	60	21	3.9	4.5	3.2	1.3	4	0.95	8.44	1%
1	11	15	56	16	3.8	4.3	3.4	0.9	6	0.89	6.08	1%

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M _i	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
				1	2	3	4	5								
	Religious Conservatism															
35.	The Orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	+	2	9	26	11	35	20	3,3	4,5	1,9	2,6	2	1,29	21,67	1%
36.	It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant rather than join a Reform congregation.	+	12	11	29	8	35	16	3,2	4,4	1,6	2,8	1	1,32	28,00	1%
37.	Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.	-	16	6	56	13	20	5	2,6	3,6	1,9	1,7	4	1,02	12,59	1%
38.	The Reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	+	28	9	27	34	18	12	3,0	4,1	2,0	2,1	3	1,14	13,82	1%

55 Attitude scale items (contd)

<i>Item No</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Agree =</i>	<i>Question No</i>
39.	Insecurity in South Africa Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	-	3
40.	The Nationalist Government has conclusively shown that it will never allow anti-Semitism to take root in the Republic.	+	11
41.	Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	-	42

Notes and Key at end of Table

Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
1	2	3	4	5								
13	45	13	25	4	2,6	3,9	1,7	2,2	1	1,11	17,19	1%
11	38	21	27	3	2,7	3,5	1,9	1,6	2	1,07	10,60	1%
5	20	7	55	12	3,5	4,0	2,8	1,2	3	1,10	6,98	1%

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p<
				1	2	3	4	5								
	South African Politics															
42.	On the whole Africans are happy with their lot. It is only a handful of agitators and trouble-makers who are trying to stir up dissatisfaction.	+	4	13	29	8	39	9	3.0	1.0	1.8	2.2	1.5	1.26	14.57	1%
43.	The present government's policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem.	+	10	11	20	17	39	13	3.2	1.2	2.0	2.2	1.5	1.23	15.07	1%
44.	Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa.	-	19	7	18	10	48	17	3.5	1.2	2.6	1.6	5	1.16	8.99	1%
45.	The silence of South African Jewish leaders in regard to non-white suffering in this country is as serious a crime as the silence of Christian leaders in Nazi Germany.	-	25	6	23	21	37	10	3.2	4.0	2.3	1.7	3.5	1.10	11.23	1%

55 Attitude scale items (contd)

Notes and Key at end of Table

Item No	Item	Agree =	Question No	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M _l	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p <
				1	2	3	4	5								
46.	Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.	+	33	20	53	14	13	0	2.2	2.9	1.5	1.4	6.5	0.90	9.72	1%
47.	The preservation of western civilization in South Africa makes it necessary to minimize contact between whites and non-whites.	+	37	10	39	20	27	3	2.7	3.6	1.9	1.7	3.5	1.07	11.32	1%
48.	All people in South Africa, irrespective of race, should be given the vote as long as they have reached a certain educational and economic standard.	-	41	16	56	14	13	1	2.3	3.0	1.6	1.4	6.5	0.94	9.86	1%

NOTE: (a) *Agree* indicates direction of scoring. + indicates that Strongly Agree was assigned a score of 5; - indicates that Strongly Disagree was assigned a score of 5.

(b) *Item no* refers to order of items in the Table; *Question no* refers to order of items in the schedule.

(c) *M* = Mean; *M_u* = Upper Quartile Mean; *M_l* = Lower Quartile Mean; *DP* = Discriminative Power of items = $M_u - M_l$; *DP Rank Order* refers to each sub-scale; *SD* = Standard Deviation of item distribution; *t* = critical ratio of DP's; *p* = significance of *t* value.

(d) Italicized items nos 15, 21, 26, 27, 30, 31 and 34 have been excluded from sub-scale totals because of low DP's.

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