

A STUDY OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION AND COMMITMENT IN JOHANNESBURG

by

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Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of
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DECLARATION

This dissertation is entirely my own, original work,
and has not been submitted for a degree in any other
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Date:



DEDICATION

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

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S Y N O P S I S

A STUDY OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION AND COMMITMENT IN JOHANNESBURG

A DISSERTATION BY

ALLIE ABRAHAM DUBB

The present study is an investigation of the nature and extent of Jewish identification and commitment in the Johannesburg Jewish Community. Jewish identification is defined as the attitudes and behaviour through which Jews express their identity with each other and with the Jewish group. It is conceived as comprising several dimensions - structural, cultural, religious, etc. - each of which may be assessed in terms of attitudes and/or behaviour. The aim of the study is, in the first place to describe the various dimensions of Jewish identification and to discover relations between them, and between them and other variables.

Fieldwork consisted in the administration of a schedule, lasting about an hour, by trained interviewers to a quota sample of Johannesburg Jews. The schedule comprised questions relating to behaviour, attitudes and personal particulars. These data were augmented by several intensive interviews and by interviewers' observations. The final sample consisted of 286 men and women, in almost equal proportions, who had answered affirmatively the initial question, "Are you Jewish?"

Five hypotheses were postulated, mainly on the basis of the findings of several previous studies in the United States. Briefly, it was postulated: firstly, that Jews would tend to identify through their attitudes to a greater extent than through actual behaviour; secondly, that the area in which identification on the behavioural level was most likely to be manifested, was in patterns of social relations; thirdly, that observance of religious rituals was primarily a manifestation of identification rather than religious commitment; fourthly, that there was some conflict between the desire to maintain the group and the feeling that barriers between ethnic groups should be minimal; and, finally, that the boundaries of the Jewish community could be defined most adequately in terms of the relevance of community membership to the allocation of roles, rather than in cultural terms. The first hypothesis had to be partially rejected; the remaining four were confirmed by the data.

The study comprises eleven Chapters: in the first four, the problem is defined, hypotheses stated and research and sampling methods discussed; in Chapter Five, the demographic background is described, and in Chapters Six to Ten the findings relating to the various dimensions are presented, and the hypotheses tested. In the final Chapter, the hypotheses and various specific findings are discussed in relation to their wider theoretical implications, as well as to their possibilities for further research and practical applications.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. The Aim of the Study

In the last official population census of the Republic of South Africa, 114,762 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 forebears 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.

B. 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, p. 273) as "the secret familiarity of identical psychological construction". Erikson himself (1965, p. 252) defines identity in terms of "sameness and continuities" and group identity (1960, p. 38) as "the identity of something in the individual's core with an essential aspect of a group's inner coherence". Kurt Lewin (1951, p. 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, p. 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

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 influences 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" (pp.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, i.e. what 'being Jewish' is seen by them to mean, or (2) the reflection in the individual of these attributes, i.e. how the individual sees himself by virtue of his membership of the ethnic group" (p.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 an understanding of 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.

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 tefillin² 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.

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 D, as well as several photographs. Tefillin (phylacteries) are 1-1½ 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.

Apart from his religious commitment and observance, he belongs to a congregation (i.e. 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 cheder⁴ or in some other way ensures that they receive a Jewish education. In addition he belongs to such associations as the Chevrah 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

3. Jewish day schools, which have been established throughout the Republic, are private schools, doing the normal government school curriculum, but including 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.

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, p. 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 the hypotheses postulated, while at the same time supplying the basic elements from which the research instrument itself was constructed.

C. 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, as well as of permitting a degree of valid generalization.

D. 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 - 57,806 - of the total Jewish population of South Africa. Furthermore, they comprise 14% of local whites - 3.75% 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.

E. The Plan of the Study

Broadly speaking, the study may be divided into several sections: Chapters One and Two are introductory; in Chapters Three and Four method, procedure and sampling are discussed; the demographic background is presented in Chapter Five; the findings, as they relate to the various dimensions of Jewish identification, are presented in Chapters Six to Ten; and the whole is drawn together in the concluding Chapter. The Appendices comprise the questionnaire, coding key, instructions to interviewers, a glossary, tables and photographs.

In the first two Chapters, including the present one, the nature of the problem is discussed, the scope of the study defined, and the specific questions and hypotheses which directed enquiry, are set out. This statement of scope and aim is followed by a discussion, in Chapter Three, of the way in which concepts and problems were operationalized and of the procedures followed in constructing, administering and processing schedules. Chapter Four is a discussion of sampling problems, of the methods finally adopted in selecting the sample and of the rationale behind these methods. The demographic characteristics of South African Jews in general, and of Johannesburg Jews in particular, are described in the following Chapter. This is based on government census returns and elaborated from data collected in connection with the present study. Succeeding Chapters deal specifically with the various aspects of Jewish identification. In Chapter Six, the results of an attitude scale are presented and analysed, while Chapters Seven to Nine deal, respectively, with the social, cultural and religious dimensions of identification. In Chapter Ten, findings relating to ethnocentrism, intermarriage, Zionism, antisemitism and the relation of Jews to South Africa are discussed. In Chapter Eleven, the Conclusion, an attempt is made to describe, in general terms, the nature of Jewish identification in Johannesburg, to relate the findings to other similar studies elsewhere, and to suggest some practical implications of the study for the Jewish community.

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) Are any patterns of identification evident both within and between dimensions?
- (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 attitude 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 (pp. 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'.

Inasmuch as Neusner's conclusion is based on a survey of other writings on the matter, it is not surprising that most of the studies of Jewish identification referred to in the present work were concerned wholly or primarily with discovering attitudes towards Jews and Jewishness, rather than with attempts to describe any modes of behaviour which might be characteristically Jewish.

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., pp. 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 Five, 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, pp. 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 is, 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. In the following Chapter the ways in which they have been translated into a research design and instrument will be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

A. Introduction

Having defined the dimensions of the problem and stated the main hypotheses to be tested, it is now proposed to discuss the development of the research instrument.

Since this was to be the first study of Jewish identification in recent years 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 study were undertaken.

B. Preliminary Interviews

Twelve interviews were arranged with men and women, the form and degree of whose Jewish identification were known by the author to vary widely. 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.

C. The Pilot Study

On the basis of what had been learnt from the preliminary interviews, perusal of other relevant surveys¹, and the author's own familiarity with the general field of study, two pilot schedules were constructed. The first comprised: a 16-item test of Jewish knowledge; 59 questions - some being open-ended but the majority being of the multiple-choice type - relating to action tendencies, reasons for specific actions, and opinions about various issues; and a 19-item biographical questionnaire. The second schedule included: a 98-item Likert-type attitude scale; 24 questions selected by Dr. S.N. Herman² from his study of American Jewish students, and to be used mainly for comparative purposes; a 12-item basic values test; the Maudsley Personality Inventory³; and the biographical questionnaire.

The schedules were administered separately to two accidental samples of 9 for the behaviour and 32 for the attitude schedule, respectively. Interviewers were directed to record not only the responses, but also respondents' reactions

1. See, for example, Sanua (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).

3. Developed by H.J. Eysenck to measure Neuroticism and Extraversion. Manual, citing relevant references, published 1959 by University of London Press, Ltd., London.

to the various questions. They were further instructed to allow respondents as much time as they wanted, to note how long certain specified questions took to be answered, and to record the total interview time. Various approaches to prospective respondents were also investigated and reported.

From the composition of the two pilot schedules it should be clear that it was intended to probe Jewish identification at many levels: action tendencies, attitudes, values, knowledge. At the same time, it was intended to relate modes of identification to aspects of personality as well as to a large number of personal and demographic characteristics. One purpose of the pilot study, then, was to discover whether this breadth of coverage was feasible. Its other aims may be summarized as follows:

- (a) To indicate the amount of coverage and degree of precision necessary to evaluate identification on any element or dimension. Thus, for example, twenty-nine yes-or-no questions were asked about Sabbath observance and a further forty-seven about festivals. While they yielded a high degree of precision, it was virtually impossible to evaluate and compare the resulting permutations, while the actual process of obtaining the answers was time-consuming and irritating. In the final schedule, these were replaced by eight simple multiple-choice questions (Appendix A, Question 8 a - h).
- (b) To test alternative phraseology. This applies particularly to the attitude scale, but is also true of the other components. Thus where questions about behaviour or biographical particulars were unclear, alternative forms were tried. In general, attention was paid to wording from the point of view of clarity, comprehensibility to all types of respondents, and offensiveness.
- (c) To test acceptability of various types of questions. Apart from the phrasing of a question, there was also the problem of whether respondents would be willing to answer it and, if they did so, whether their answers were likely to be truthful. Of particular concern were questions regarding conversion, intermarriage, political opinions, income, etc. It was found that while there

was some reluctance to answer some of these questions early in the interview, there was seldom any difficulty once rapport had been established and the purpose of the questionnaire had been understood. Respondents were, however, reluctant to elaborate on their political views in open-ended questions and were more willing to respond to Likert-type items.

(d) To test various approaches to prospective respondents. An alarmingly high refusal rate was encountered at first, with most interviewers not being able to get beyond the front door. This was dramatically decreased when interviewers were instructed to introduce themselves immediately by name (all of which were definitely Jewish-sounding) and as students, and to wear an item of jewellery (such as a Star of David pendant) which would confirm the identification visually. It was also found that most respondents were irritated when Kish's table⁴ was used, so that this method was abandoned in the final survey.

(e) To test the time factor. The ultimate intention was to develop a single schedule, which could be administered in approximately one hour. The pilot schedules took between one-and-a-quarter to two hours for the behaviour items, and from forty minutes upward for the attitude and personality scales.

(f) To test the feasibility of multiple-choice type questions and the possibility of precoding the questionnaire to facilitate processing.

The pilot study, then, was undertaken in order to evolve an instrument which would be conceptually 'tight', and technically well-constructed. As a result of the pilot, it was decided to eliminate the Jewish knowledge test, which aroused considerable resentment; the basic values test, which was not successful; and the M.P.I., which measured aspects of personality that were not really relevant to the problems in which we were interested. Poorly-worded and time-consuming items were either eliminated or amended, while the format of some questions was

4. A technique for randomizing the selection of respondents in a household. See L. Kish: "A procedure for objective respondent selection within the household", Journal of the American Statistical Association, 44, 1949, pp. 380-387.

altered from open-ended to multiple-choice or vice versa. The amended and considerably shortened schedules were then combined into a single questionnaire designed to take about an hour to administer. After some further testing and adjustment, the form, which is reproduced in Appendix A, was finalized.

While it is not intended to present either the pilot schedules or the detailed results of the whole pilot study, the development of the attitude scale from its initial to its final form will be discussed in the following section.

D. The Attitude Scale

The pilot attitude scale comprised 98 items including original statements as well as some used in various other studies.⁵ The items, which were randomly arranged on the schedule itself, comprised eight sub-scales. These were:

- (a) Religion - traditional: orthodox beliefs, attitudes to ritual, attitudes to reformed Judaism.
- (b) Religion - reform (or 'modern'): the same items as in (a) were used but scoring procedure was varied.
- (c) Ethnocentrism - E 1: covered in-group survival, purity of in-group.
- (d) Ethnocentrism - E 2: dealt with in-group characteristics as compared with out-groups.
- (e) Antisemitism: included both fear of non-Jewish antisemitism as well as Jewish antisemitism or self-hatred.
- (f) Zionism: orientation to Israel.
- (g) Social Relations: preferences, at various levels of association, for Jews or non-Jews.
- (h) South Africa: included attitudes to official policy towards non-whites as well as opinions relating to the possibility of official resort to antisemitism.

5. Sources include Geismar (1954), Adelson (1958), Herman (1945).

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 (d.p.) obtained for these statements in the pilot study.⁶ The d.p.'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 d.p. 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 d.p.'s in the pilot, 7 obtained low d.p.'s but were regarded as interesting in their own right, and 5 were new items (see Note(i), Table 3.1). This schedule was scored in the same way as the pilot one, and d.p.'s were calculated in relation to eight slightly amended sub-scales which were:

6. 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, pp. 275-6, for a brief discussion.

Social Relations; Insecurity in South Africa; Antisemitism; Religious Beliefs; Ethnocentrism; South African Politics; Zionism; Religious Conservatism. Seven items were eliminated in calculating the final sub-scale totals because of low d.p.'s. A summary of the construction of the schedule, ab initio, is given in Table 3.1.

E. The Final Schedule

The final form of the schedule, see Appendix A, comprises three main sections: biographical and behavioural (action tendencies)(questions on sex, age and questions 1-33); the attitude scale (question 34.1 - 34.48); and the Herman schedule (question 35 a - q). 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, at the appropriate time, 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, on which they were carefully briefed, dealing with behaviour and biographical details. They were instructed, however, to read questions 34 and 35 exactly as they were and without comment. The one exception to this rule was 34.26 ('The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish'). In this case they were told to qualify the term 'clannish' with the explanation 'that is, if they did not stick together so much'. These rules enabled twenty-one respondents, whose knowledge of English was limited, to complete at least the biographical and behavioural section of the schedule. The characteristics of these respondents are discussed in the chapter on the attitude scale.

Turning again to the actual content of the schedule, it is proposed to devote the remainder of this discussion to a consideration of the behavioural, biographical and Herman items.

TABLE 3.1

SELECTION OF ITEMS FOR ATTITUDE SCALE - GIVING
PILOT AND FINAL SCHEDULE ITEMS, SUBSCALES, ITEM
ORDER ON SCHEDULES AND DISCRIMINATIVE POWERS.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final			inc/exc
		Ref. d.p.	No. d.p.	no. scale sub- d.p.			
<u>Religion (traditional) Sub-scale</u>							
1.	God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.	-	54 3.2	5 RB 2.3		I	
2.	The Torah is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt.Sinai and may not be changed.	-	47 3.0	9 RB 2.1		I	
3.	God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of man-kind.	-	58 2.6	20 RB 1.8		I	
4.	God will reward the righteous and punish the wicked.	-	2 2.5	See 53			
5.	The orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	-	83 2.5	2 RC 2.6		I	
6.	God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	-	10 2.4	24 RB 2.0		I	
7.	All <u>mitzvot</u> (religious laws) have been commanded us by God.	-	93 2.2	-			
8.	One should try to observe all the <u>mitzvot</u> (religious laws).	-	68 2.0	38 RB 2.1		I	
9.	<u>Kashruth</u> (dietary laws) is one of the cornerstones of Judaism, and must be observed.	-	92 2.0	40 RB 2.2		I	
10.	Non-observance of any of the <u>mitzvot</u> (religious laws) will be punished by God.	-	45 1.9	-			
11.	I believe that in the past some of my prayers have been answered.	-	85 1.8	-			
12.	It is better to remain loyal to tradition-al Judaism even if one is not very observant, rather than to join a Reform congregation.	-	24 1.7	See 28			
13.	<u>Kashruth</u> (dietary law) is meaningless nowadays and should be abolished.	-	73 1.7	-			
14.	It is wrong to tamper with Jewish beliefs and practices.	-	50 1.5	-			
15.	The orthodox synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	-	48 1.3	-			
16.	God is concerned with my personal problems.	-	33 1.1	-			
17.	Orthodox Judaism is old-fashioned and meaningless in the modern world.	-	60 1.1	-			
18.	The observance of <u>mitzvot</u> (religious laws) is plain superstition.	-	74 1.1	-			
19.	Meticulous observance of the <u>mitzvot</u> is not essential. One should observe only those which are personally meaningful.	-	77 1.1	See 30			

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final		
		d.p. ref.	no. d.p.	no. scale	d.p. sub- scale	inc/exc
20.	Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to come to grips with the application of fundamental principles of Judaism to modern problems.	-	31 1.0	See 55		
21.	There should be changes in Jewish practice, but these should be made by orthodox rabbis in consultation.	-	32 1.0	-		
22.	No Jewish festival has any relevance or meaning today.	-	51 0.8	-		
23.	The Reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	-	1 0.3	See 27		
24.	The Reform synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	-	88-0.3	-		
25.	The observance of <u>kashruth</u> (dietary laws) is entirely a matter of individual preference.	-	19-0.2	-		
26.	I believe that if one sincerely tries to be a good person, observance of rituals is unimportant.	-	7 0.1	-		
<u>Religion (reform) Sub-scale</u>						
27.	The Reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	-	1 2.7	28 RC 2.7		I
28.	It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant, rather than to join a Reform congregation.	-	24 2.1	12 RC 2.8		I
29.	Orthodox Judaism is old-fashioned and meaningless in the modern world.	-	60 1.4	-		
30.	Meticulous observance of the <u>mitzvot</u> is not essential. One should observe only those which are personally meaningful.	-	77 1.3	See 54		
31.	<u>Kashruth</u> is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.	-	92 1.3	See 9		
32.	The Reform synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	-	88 1.2	-		
33.	God is concerned with my personal problems.	-	33 1.1	-		
34.	It is wrong to tamper with traditional Jewish beliefs and practices.	-	50 1.0	-		
35.	I believe that in the past some of my prayers have been answered.	-	85 1.0	-		
36.	God is concerned with each one of us, and may be reached through prayer.	-	10 0.9	See 6		
37.	The orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	-	83 0.9	See 5		

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source		Pilot		Final			
		ref.	d.p.	no.	d.p.	no.	scale	sub-	d.p.
									inc/exc
38.	God will reward the righteous and punish the wicked.	-		2	0.8	See 4			
39.	Non-observance of any of the <u>mitzvoth</u> will be punished by God.	-		45	0.8	-			
40.	God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	-		58	0.8	See 3			
41.	<u>Kashruth</u> is meaningless nowadays and should be abolished.	-		73	0.7	-			
42.	I believe that if one sincerely tries to be a good person, observance of rituals is unimportant.	-		7	0.6	-			
43.	Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to come to grips with the application of fundamental principles of Judaism to modern problems.	-		31	0.6	See 20			
44.	The orthodox synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	-		48	0.6	-			
45.	All <u>mitzvoth</u> have been commanded us by God.	-		93	0.6	-			
46.	The Torah is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt. Sinai and may not be changed.	-		47	0.5	See 2			
47.	No Jewish festival has any relevance today.	-		51	0.5	-			
48.	God is the Creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.	-		54	0.5	See 5			
49.	One should try to observe all the <u>mitzvoth</u> .	-		68	0.5	See 8			
50.	The observance of <u>kashruth</u> is entirely a matter of individual preference.	-		19	0.4	-			
51.	There should be changes in Jewish practice, but these should be made by orthodox rabbis in consultation.	-		32	0.3	-			
52.	The observance of <u>mitzvoth</u> is plain superstition.	-		74	0.1	-			
<u>Religion - Final Schedule only</u>									
53.	God will reward the good and punish the wicked.	-		See 4		32 RB 2.1			I
54.	It is not necessary to observe all the <u>mitzvoth</u> (religious laws). One should only observe those that are personally meaningful.	-		See 30		44 RB 0.7			I
55.	Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.	-		See 20		16 RC 1.7			I
<u>Ethnocentrism - E 1 Sub-scale</u>									
56.	I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as Xmas trees.	A h		86	2.5	23 ETH 1.8			I
57.	If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish name, he is justified in changing the name.	G h		64	2.1	See 77			

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot		Final		
		ref.	d.p.	no.	d.p.	no.	inc/exc
58.	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.	G h	98 2.1	8 ETH 1.7			I
59.	It is important to instill some feelings of Jewishness in Jewish children.	A h	41 1.7	-			
60.	I feel quite proud when I hear or read of an accomplishment by a Jew.	A l	70 1.5	-			
61.	A Jew should belong to a Jewish sports club rather than a non-Jewish one because he should support Jewish organizations.	-	13 1.4	-			
62.	God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	-	58 1.3	See 3			
63.	Because the Jews have endured so much persecution, those who have survived today are innately superior to other groups.	A l	82 0.3	-			
<u>Ethnocentrism - E 2 Sub-scale</u>							
64.	A Jew is more sensitive to his fellow-man's feelings than is a non-Jew.	-	17 2.5	6 ETH 1.9			I
65.	On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.	A h	20 2.5	34 ETH 1.6			I
66.	Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.	-	96 2.5	21 ETH 1.8			I
67.	Jews care much more about their families than non-Jews.	-	23 2.3	-			
68.	Jews treat their wives better than non-Jews.	-	95 2.2	-			
69.	Jews are more ambitious than non-Jews.	-	67 2.1	-			
70.	Jews are more charitable than other people.	-	55 2.1	-			
71.	The Jew has a greater sense of justice than non-Jews.	-	40 2.0	-			
	An unusually large number of Jews excell in the arts, sciences and professions.	A l	59 1.8	-			
73.	Jews show their feelings more openly than non-Jews.	-	37 1.5	-			
74.	There are no circumstances which can justify a Jew severing his connections with the Jewish group.	-	18 0.8	-			
<u>Ethnocentrism - Excluded from E 1 and E 2 because of large no. 'No Response'</u>							
75.	So many of the best Jews were killed during World War II that the Jews are today a third-rate nation.	-	16 -	-			
76.	Associating too much with non-Jews only leads to assimilation and intermarriage.	-	84 -	-			
<u>Ethnocentrism - Final Schedule only</u>							
77.	If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing the name.	-	See 57	34 ETH 0.8			E

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot		Final			Inc/exc
		ref.	d.p.	no.	d.p.	no.	sub-scale		d.p.
<u>Antisemitism Sub-scale</u>								
78.	I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	A h	56	2.1	18	AS	1.9	I
79.	The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish.	A h	11	2.0	26	AS	1.5	I
80.	The Jews have enough problems of their own without involving themselves in the difficulties of the non-white population.	-	30	1.9	-			
81.	Antisemitism is directed more against foreign Jews than against South African Jews.	H ?	52	1.8	See 103			
82.	Antisemitism is directed more against Jews who retain their Jewish culture and tradition, than against assimilated Jews.	H ?	34	1.7	-			
83.	Jews should not maintain their own Jewish sports or social clubs.	-	36	1.7	-			
84.	Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.	A h	42	1.7	36	AS	1.8	I
85.	The fact that Jews keep to themselves helps to cause antisemitism.	H ?	46	1.6	-			
86.	I believe that being born a Jew means that you are at a handicap in most occupations and professions.	H ?	14	1.5	46	AS	0.9	E
87.	Jews should not maintain their own communal and welfare associations.	-	15	1.5	-			
88.	Jewish high school students should avoid congregating in groups.	G h	4	1.3	-			
89.	Because of discrimination against them, a Jew in most professions or occupations has to be abler or work harder in order to succeed.	H ?	65	1.3	-			
90.	If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish name, he is justified in changing the name.	-	64	1.1	See 57			
91.	Jews should avoid prominence in political parties.	H ?	5	1.0	-			
92.	It is not consistent with good citizenship for South African Jews to have specific Jewish organizations.	H ?	22	1.0	-			
93.	Jews should avoid overcrowding certain professions in order not to increase antisemitism.	H ?	38	1.0	-			
94.	Jews who meddle in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	-	57	1.0	See 147			
95.	Most gentiles are not to be trusted when it comes to their attitudes towards Jews.	H ?	79	1.0	-			
96.	Jews should not speak Yiddish in public, when non-Jews are nearby.	H ?	78	0.8	-			
97.	I am convinced that antisemitism does interfere with my search for personal success and happiness.	H ?	9	0.6	-			

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final	Inc/exo
		ref. d.p.	no. d.p.	no. scale sub- d.p.	
98.	I feel the whole world is hostile towards me because I am a Jew.	H ?	90 0.6	-	
99.	I sometimes resent the fact that my parents brought me up in the world as a Jew.	H ?	89 0.5	-	
100	A Jew should belong to a Jewish sports club because he might experience anti-semitism in mixed clubs.	-	39 0.3	-	
101	There are no circumstances which can justify a Jew severing his connections with the Jewish group.	H ?	18 -0.2	-	
102	I find life as a Jew unsatisfactory because of existing discrimination.	H ?	94 0.2	-	
<u>Antisemitism - Final Schedule only</u>					
103	Antisemitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanised Jews.	-	See 81	31 AS 1.6	I
<u>Zionism Sub-scale</u>					
104	I would strongly discourage my child from settling in Israel.	-	29 1.9	-	
105	In the international arena Israel should be governed solely by her own interests, even if this may cause difficulties or hardships for diaspora Jews.	-	44 1.5	See 113	
106	The Zionist ideal was fulfilled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and no longer has any meaning.	-	81 1.2	47 Z 0.9	E
107	I feel personally proud at Israel's achievements and sorrow at her setbacks.	-	12 1.1	22 Z 0.6	E
108	I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.	-	63 1.1	43 Z 1.3	I
109	The only reason for diaspora Jews to support Israel is in case they need a home.	-	80 1.1	-	
110	Our continued survival in the diaspora as Jews, is absolutely dependent upon Israel.	-	97 1.0	See 117	
111	The existence of Israel is a source of pride and promotes Jewish self-respect in the diaspora.	-	72 0.8	See 114	
112	The collection and contribution of funds for Israel is the most important function of a Zionist.	-	71 0.5	-	
<u>Zionism - Final Schedule only</u>					
113	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.	-	See 105	7 Z 0.8	E
114	If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.	-	See 111	13 Z 2.3	I

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final			
		ref. d.p.	no. d.p.	no. scale	sub- scale	d.p.	inc/exc
115	Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.	-	-	17 Z	2.1	I	
116	The future of Israel cannot be secured without large-scale settlement of Jews from Western countries.	-	-	27 Z	1.2	E	
117	Our continued survival as Jews is <u>mainly</u> dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.	-	See 110	35 Z	2.2	I	
<u>Social Relations Sub-scale</u>							
118	I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.	-	43	2.5	1 SR	1.8	I
119	I feel more at home amongst Jews than amongst non-Jews.	-	21	2.1	See 130		
120	It is important to participate in Jewish communal activities.	-	37	2.0	15 SR	1.1	I
121	Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones.	-	49	1.7	30 SR	1.1	I
122	A Jew should belong to a Jewish sports club rather than a non-Jewish one, because he should support Jewish organizations.	-	13	1.6	-		
123	It is essential to be a member of a synagogue.	-	91	1.5	29 SR	1.6	I
124	Jews should not maintain their own sports or social clubs.	-	36	1.2	-		
125	It is very narrow to mix only with Jews.	-	66	0.9	-		
126	Jews should not maintain their own communal and welfare organizations.	-	15	0.4	-		
127	Associating too much with non-Jews only leads to assimilation and intermarriage.	-	84	0.4	-		
128	A Jew should belong to a Jewish sports club because he might experience anti-semitism in mixed clubs.	-	39	0.3	-		
129	It is not consistent with good citizenship for South African Jews to have specific Jewish organizations.	-	22	0.2	-		
<u>Social Relations - Final Schedule only</u>							
130	I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.	-	See 119	14 SR	1.9	I	
131	In general, I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores.	-	-	45 SR	1.4	I	
132	I would rather a Jewish attorney or accountant handle my affairs than a non-Jew.	-	-	48 SR	1.9	I	

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final		
		ref. d.p. no.	no. d.p. no.	no. scale sub- scale	d.p. no.	inc/exc
	<u>South Africa Sub-scale</u>					
133	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.	-	35 3.0	4 SA 2.2	I	
134	The present government's policy of separate development is the only practical and equitable solution to the country's race problems.	-	3 2.8	See 148		
135	Because of their own struggle for equality in many countries, Jews should support the aspirations of non-white groups in South Africa.	-	26 2.3	-		
136	Because of their own persecution Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa.	-	27 2.3	19 SA 1.6	I	
137	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.	-	28 2.1	25 SA 1.7	I	
138	Discrimination against non-whites could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	-	75 2.1	3 INS 2.2	I	
139	Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.	-	8 1.9	33 SA 1.4	I	
140	The preservation of western civilization in South Africa makes it necessary to minimize contact between whites and non-whites.	-	25 1.9	37 SA 1.7	I	
141	Jews should never forget that many leaders of the National Party engaged in anti-semitic activities before coming to power.	-	6 1.8	-		
142	The National government has conclusively shown that it will never allow antisemitism to take root in the Republic.	-	61 1.8	11 INS 1.6	I	
143	South Africa should aim at a system of one man one vote.	-	53 1.7	-		
144	South Africa should aim at a system whereby all people irrespective of race would be given the vote if they attained a specified educational and economic standard.	-	69 1.6	See 149		
145	If 10,000 Jews tried to join the National Party tomorrow it would make no difference whatever to the Party's outlook, because it neither wants nor needs Jewish votes.	-	62 1.4	-		
146	The only reason why the National government is not openly antisemitic at present, is because of an urgent need for white unity.	-	76 0	-		

Notes and Key at end of Table.

No.	STATEMENT	Source	Pilot	Final		
		Ref. d.p.	no. d.p.	no. scale	d.p.	inc/exc
	<u>South Africa - Final Schedule only</u>					
147	Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	-	See 94	42 INS	1.2	I
148	The present government's policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem.	-	See 134	10 SA	2.2	I
149	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.	-	See 144	41 SA	1.4	I

Notes and Key to Table 3.1

- Items classified according to Pilot sub-scales.
- Source references are given when statement has been taken verbatim or only slightly modified, from another scale.
G=Geismar(1954); H=Herman(1945); A=Adelson(1958).
- d.p.= discriminative power of statement. Source d.p.'s are given as 'h' (high) or 'l' (low). Where no Pilot d.p. is given, this indicates an unpiloted statement.
NOTE: All Final Schedule d.p.'s are significant at the .01 level of confidence using Student's t-test of significance.⁷
- Pilot no. and Final no. refer to the position of the item on the pilot and final schedules respectively. Where no particulars appear in 'Final' columns, this indicates that the item was discarded.
- All amended items are cross-referenced thus: 'See (item no.)'.
- The two Religion sub-scales in the Pilot study were constructed by altering the scoring of the same items.
- Final Sub-scale refers to subscales on the final schedule:
SR=Social Relations; INS=feelings of insecurity in South Africa;
RB=Religious Beliefs; ETH=Ethnocentrism; SA=South African politics;
AS=Antisemitism; Z=Zionism; RC=Religious Conservatism.
- Inc/Exc - abbreviated to 'I' and 'E' - indicate whether or not the item was included in computing the Final schedule sub-scale totals for analysis.
- Items 114, 115, 116 were added in the final schedule because of the low d.p.'s obtained in the Pilot for Zionism sub-scale items.
Items 131 and 132 appeared as open-ended questions in the Pilot behaviour schedule and were rephrased so as to fit into the final attitude scale.

7. Calvin F.Schmid in Pauline V.Young (ed.): Scientific Social Surveys and Research, 1966 edition, p.361, cites the use of the critical ratio in determining significance of d.p.'s.

1. The Behavioural and Biographical Section

This section was designed to elicit information of a demographic nature as well as information on the behaviour of informants and their reasons for that behaviour. The section also includes several open-ended questions dealing with attitudes and values. Items provide coverage of all the dimensions of Jewishness already defined: religion; ethics and morality; Zionism; informal social relations; culture; structure (or associational relations); defensive or reactive responses to minority group status; negative reactions to minority group status. A precis of this section of the schedule follows. It should be noted that some items relate to two or more dimensions and that the numbers to the left of each item refer to the position of the item on the schedule.

(a) Demographic

-. Sex.

-. Age.

1 a. Address (i.e. suburb).

1 b. Length of residence in Johannesburg.

2 a. First member of family, in patriline only, to come to South Africa.

2 b. Date of arrival of 2.a. in South Africa.

2 c. Country of birth of 2.a. or Respondent.

2 d. First member of patriline born in South Africa.

3 . Standard of general education.

14 a. Marital status.

15 . Details of children - number, sex, age, occupation.

23 a. Occupation.

23 b. Father's occupation.

26 . Income.

30 b. Whether born of Jewish mother.

30 c. Whether spouse Jewish.

(b) Religious Identification - Ritual and Ceremonial⁸

4 . Observance of Kashruth (dietary laws).

8. Rituals, festivals, religious objects are explained in the Glossary (Appendix D) and in the Chapter on Religion.

- 7 a. Whether male respondents cover their heads at all times.
- 7 c. Whether male respondents regularly pray with Tefillin (phylacteries).
- 7 d. Recital of benedictions before eating, after washing, enjoying or experiencing something for the first time, etc.
- 7 e. Saying grace after meals.
- 8 a. Lighting candles on Friday evenings in honour of the Sabbath.
- 8 b. Reciting Kiddush (festive blessing over wine) on Sabbath evenings.
- 8 c. Observance of Sabbath prohibitions.
- 8 d. Holding or attending Passover seder (ceremonial evening meal).
- 8 e. Observance of Passover food taboos.
- 8 f. Observance of festivals of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles (Hebrew: Pesach, Shavuoth and Succoth).
- 8 g. Observance of High Festivals (Rosh Hashannah - New Year, Yom Kippur - Day of Atonement).
- 8 h. Lighting of Channuka candles (commemorating recapture of Temple by Judas Maccabeus).
- 9 a. Mourning rites.
- 9 b. Memorial rites.
- 14 b. Marriage rites.
- 16 a. Circumcision of sons.
- 16 b. Sons' Barmitzvah (confirmation at age of 13).
- 16 c. Daughters' Batmitzvah (confirmation at age of 12).
- 20 a. Synagogue affiliation.
- 20 f. Synagogue attendance.
- (c) Religious Identification - Changes in observance
 - 5 . Kashruth observance - Respondent compared with parents (self-evaluation).
 - 11 . General degree of observance - Respondent compared with parents (self-evaluation).
 - 10 . Changes in respondent's religious observance (self-evaluation).

(d) Religious Identification - Reasons, opinions, attitudes

- 6. Reasons for observing any rules of kashruth.
- 20 b. Reasons for affiliation or non-affiliation to a synagogue.

(e) Ethical and Moral Identification

- 19 d. 'What is a good Jew?'
- 19 e. 'What is a good person?'

(f) Zionist Identification

- 21. Whether respondent is a Zionist, and how this is expressed.
- 22. Specific Zionist activities.
- 28 a. Associational participation.
- 29 a. Actual philanthropies supported.
- 29 b. Distribution of R500 to philanthropies selected by respondent.
- 31. Intention to remain in South Africa for whole life.

(g) Informal Social Identification - Social Relations

- 1 a. Address (suburb).
- 1 c. Reason for coming to live in particular suburb.
- 1 d. Advantage/satisfaction with suburb.
- 1 e. Disadvantage/dissatisfaction with suburb.
- 19 c. Classes, groupings, etc. among Johannesburg Jews.
- 25. Employees - Jewish vs gentile.
- 27 a. Most frequent social relationships.
- 27 b. Best friends.
- 27 d. Remainder of social relationships.
- 27 e. Business associates/colleagues.
- 28 a. Associational participation.

(h) Cultural Identification

- 6. Reasons for observing any rules of kashruth.
- 12 a. Home language.
- 12 b. Parents' home language.
- 13 a. Whether reads any Jewish newspapers.

- 13 b. Whether reads any Jewish books.
- 13 c. Whether attends any lectures of Jewish interest.
- 19 a. Characteristics of Jews as compared with non-Jews.
- 19 b. Characteristics of respondent as compared with other Jews.
- 19 c. Classes, groupings, etc. among Johannesburg Jews.
- 19 d. 'What is a good Jew?'
- 19 e. 'What is a good person?'
- 20 g. Ability to follow synagogue service.
- 20 h. Ability to understand prayer-book (i.e. Hebrew prayers).
- 23 a. Standard of Jewish education.
- 23 b. Source of Jewish education.
- 28 a. Associational participation.
- (i) Jewish Survival - Perpetuation of Jewishness through Children
 - 16 b. Sons' Barmitzvah.
 - 16 c. Daughters' Batmitzvah.
 - 17 a. Children's Sabbath observance.
 - 17 b. Children's festival observance.
 - 17 c. Children's Jewish education.
 - 17 d. Children's Jewish education - day schools.
 - 17 e. Children's Jewish education - adequacy.
 - 17 f-h. Children's associational participation.
 - 18 a. Desire for children to observe kashruth in their own homes.
 - 18 b. Desire for children to observe religious customs in their own homes.
 - 18 c. Desire for children to bring up their children as Jews.
 - 18 d. Attitude to teenage children having non-Jewish friends.
 - 18 e. Attitude to possible intermarriage of own children.
- (j) Structural Identification
 - 20 a. Synagogue affiliation.
 - 20 b. Reasons for affiliation or non-affiliation to a synagogue.
 - 20 c. Membership of Chevrah Kadisha (burial and benevolent society).
 - 20 d. Position held in synagogue.

- 20 e. Time spent on voluntary work for synagogue.
- 20 f. Synagogue attendance.
- 21. Whether respondent is a Zionist and how this is expressed.
- 22. Specific Zionist activities.
- 28 a. Associational participation.
- 29 a. Actual philanthropies supported.
- 29 b. Distribution of R500 to philanthropies selected by respondent.
- 32. South African political party affiliation.
- (k) Ethnocentrism (includes Defensive or Reactive and Negative Identification)
- 18 c. Desire for children to bring up their children as Jews.
- 18 d. Attitude to teenage children having non-Jewish friends.
- 18 e. Attitude to possible intermarriage of own children.
- 19 a. Characteristics of Jews as compared with non-Jews.
- 19 b. Characteristics of respondent as compared with other Jews and non-Jews.
- 19 d. 'What is a good Jew?'
- (l) Jewish Survival - Intermarriage
- 18 d. Attitude to teenage children having non-Jewish friends.
- 18 e. Attitude to possible intermarriage of own children.
- 30 a. Attitude to intermarriage in general.
- 30 b. Whether born of Jewish mother.
- 30 c. Whether spouse Jewish.
- 30 d. Children's actual intermarriage.
- 30 e. Intermarriage within close family.
- (m) Defensive or Reactive and Negative Identification: see Informal Social Identification and Ethnocentrism
- (n) Miscellaneous Questions falling outside the defined dimensions
- 28 b. Awareness of existence and work of South African Jewish Board of Deputies.
(Included at request of Board).
- 28 c. Opinion of value of Board's work. (as above).

(o) Miscellaneous pertaining to South Africa

31. Intention to remain in South Africa for whole life.
32. South African political party affiliation.
33. Should Jews avoid becoming involved in politics?

2. The Herman Schedule

As already mentioned in the discussion of the pilot study, this schedule was included primarily to permit some degree of comparability with a series of studies recently undertaken by Dr. Simon Herman at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Herman 1962 a, 1962 b, 1970 a, 1970 b). These studies are concerned with 'identity' rather than 'identification', according to Herman, and items were designed to probe the nature, salience and valence of the Jewish component of the respondents' identity. Since, by and large, the conceptual problems involved in Herman's formulation lie outside the scope of the present study and, perhaps more important, beyond the expertise of this author, only a very few items have been used. For the rest, these were processed, cross-tabulated with a number of variables and despatched to Dr. Herman for his own use.

It should be noted that the items comprising this section were selected by Herman from his original, far longer questionnaire. However, self-rating scales 35 d (observant-non observant) and 35 e (religious-irreligious) were added, while in items (a), (c), (g), (h), (m), (n), (o), 'South Africa' was substituted for the original 'America'. Furthermore eight of the items selected by Herman were omitted either because they are dealt with more adequately in other sections, or because they were unsuccessful in the pilot study.

CHAPTER FOUR

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

A. Introduction

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 congregations¹; (b) to draw a sample of Johannesburg whites, and identify those who regarded themselves as Jews (an operational definition). The first alternative was rejected both on practical grounds and because it would have automatically 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? The procedure which was adopted and the representativeness of the sample is discussed in the rest of this chapter. In summary, what was done was that official census statistics were used to determine the proportion of Jews in each Johannesburg suburb. In those suburbs having either a large number or a large proportion of Jews, several streets were randomly selected, houses were systematically canvassed and people identified as Jews were interviewed. The number of interviews, as well as the sex and age distribution of respondents, was predetermined for each area.

B. Constructing the sample

(a) The Johannesburg Sample Tabulation of 1960 (B. of S., n.d.²) provides data on

1. 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, pp. 28 ff.) for specific instance.

2. 'B. of S.' refers to publications of the South African Bureau of Statistics, Pretoria.

age, sex, marital status, income, religion, etc. for each of 69 suburban areas into which Johannesburg is divided. From "Table 4" of that Tabulation it is possible to ascertain the Jewish population, by sex, of each suburban area, while "Table 1" gives the age structure, by sex, of the total population of each area.

(b) From "Table 2", Population Census, 6th September 1960, Vol. 3, Religion (B. of S. 1966 b), it can be shown that the age distribution of Jews in the urban areas of the Transvaal differs markedly from that of the total urban white population of the Province (Table 4.1 following). Since, however, there is no breakdown of age by religion for each Johannesburg suburban area, it was decided that, for the purposes of calculating the number of Jews aged 18 years and over in each suburb, any possible differences would be ignored. In any case had it been decided to correct each suburban age distribution by a constant factor based on overall Provincial differences, this would not have affected the sample itself in any way.

(c) Using the Johannesburg Sample Tabulation, "Table 4", the percentage of Jews in each suburban area, in relation to the total Jewish population of Johannesburg, was calculated separately for males and females (see Table 4.2 following). Sixteen areas in which no Jews were resident, as well as nineteen in which less than 0.5% Jewish males and less than 0.5% Jewish females resided, were eliminated.

(d) Table 4.3 following, shows the subsequent steps in constructing the sample:

(i) Columns (a), (b), (c) show the suburban Jewish population (male and female), the total suburban population, and the percentage of Jews in the area in relation to its total population.

(ii) Column (d) gives the number of Jewish males in the area, and Column (e) expresses these as a percentage of the total number of Jewish males in Johannesburg.

(iii) Column (f), based on the Johannesburg Sample Tabulation "Table 1", gives the percentage of all males in each area aged 17 years and less. In column (g), this percentage has been deducted from the number of Jewish males in the area, and an estimate of the number of Jewish males aged 18 years and over is obtained.

TABLE 4.1 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS IN THE TRANSVAAL URBAN AREAS BY SEX³

AGE	SEX	JEWS	%	WHITE POPULATION	%	JEWS:WHITES
0-14	M	9,781	27	208,785	33	1:1.2
	F	9,328	25	203,478	32	1:1.3
15-19	M	2,854	8	60,264	10	1:1.2
	F	2,749	7	59,777	10	1:1.4
20-24	M	2,073	6	53,931	9	1:1.5
	F	2,252	6	51,608	8	1:1.3
25-34	M	3,693	10	90,407	14	1:1.4
	F	4,231	12	86,453	14	1:1.2
35-64	M	14,240	40	183,573	29	1:0.72
	F	14,843	41	186,345	30	1:0.73
65+	M	2,978	8	26,202	4	1:0.5
	F	3,160	9	37,679	6	1:0.67
UNKNOWN	M	11	-	179	-	-
	F	16	-	171	-	-
TOTAL	M	35,630	99	623,341	99	-
	F	36,579	100	625,511	100	-

(iv) Column (h) expresses the estimates in Column (g) as percentages of the total of Column (g).

(v) Column (i) = Column (h) X 1.5, rounded off to the nearest whole number.

This gives the area distribution of a sample of 149 Jewish males in Johannesburg.

3. Information extracted from B of S (1966 b), "Table 2 - Religion by Age, Transvaal "(Whites), pp. 16-17.

JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA
POPULATION CENSUS 1960 SAMPLE TABULATION
GUIDE TO CODE NUMBERS FOR AREAS. 4

CODE NO.	SUBURB	CODE NO.	SUBURB
1	Craighall Park	38	Vrededorp, Jan Hofmeyr, Cottesloe + Braamfontein Werf
2	Linden, Blairgowrie, etc.	39	Ferreirstown, Marshallstown
3	Northcliff + Risidale + Montroux	40	Ferreirstown, Johannesburg Central
4	Waterval + East Town	41	Newtown + Burgersdorp, Fordsburg, Newtown + Fordsburg, Westgate
5	Franklin Roosevelt Park, Montgomery Park, Emmarentia Ext.	42	Mayfair
6	Emmarentia and Greenside Ext.	43	Homestead Park
7	Parkhurst	44	Mayfair West
8	Dunkeld and Dunkeld West	45	Rossmore, Brixton
9	Parktown North, Rosebank	46	Auckland Park, Rossmore
10	Parkwood, Saxonwold	47	Melville, Richmond
11	Riviera, Killarney	48	Westdene
12	Houghton Estate	49	Albertsville, Greymont, Newlands, Newlands Ext. (Montolore)
	Melrose, Melrose Estate, Birdhaven, Elton Hill + Ext., Kentview + Melrose Ext. + Winston Ridge, Fairway, Illovo Ext., Birnam, Melrose North, Abbotsford	50	Newclare, Western Native Township, Sophiatown, Coronationville
13	Bramley, Randmarais Park, Gresswold, Savoy Estate, Waverley	51	Industria
14	Highlands North, Orchards, Gardens, Oaklands	52	Langlaagte North, Crosby, Hurst Hill
15	Highlands North Ext., Fairmont, Sandringham, Sydenham	53	Langlaagte South, Pearlshoop
16	Orange Grove, Norwood, Mountain View	54	Robinson Deep + Stafford, New Robinson, Crown Mines, Mayfair G.M. Co., Micor, Crown and Penleigh Ext. 1, Langlaagte Ext. + Langdale, Croesus G.M. Co.
17	Linksfield North Ext., Sydenham, Huddle Park, Linksfield	55	Crown Gardens, Robertsham
18	Linksfield, Cyrildene, Dewetshof	56	Robertsham, West Turffontein
19	Observatory	57	Booysens, Ophirton, Lake View, Booysens Reserve
20	Bellevue	58	Selby, Gleneesk, Stafford, Village Deep, Village Main
21	Yecville	59	Turffontein
22	Berea	60	Haddon, Lindberg Park, Turf Club, Rosettenville Ext. No. 3, Towerby + Towerview Ext. No. 2, Forest Hill
23	New Doornfontein, Doornfontein	61	Kenilworth
24	Judiths Paarl, Lorentzville, Bertrams, Highlands, Bellevue, Randview	62	La Rochelle, Rosherville
25	Bezuidenhout Valley	63	The Hill Ext., The Hill, Rewlatch + Ext. 1 and Ext. 2, Klipriviersberg Small Holdings
26	Kensington Northern Portion	64	Regent Park, Heroldville + Taylorsham Ext. 2 and 3
27	Kensington Southern Portion	65	Klipriviersberg, Roseacre, Klipriviersberg Ext., Unigray, Elladoone, South Hills
28	Troyeville	66	South Hills, South Hills Rewlatch + Ext.1
29	Jeppestown	67	Steeldale, Electron, Tulisa Park
30	Malvern, Cleveland, Denver	68	Linden Ext., Windsor, Lalinda, Klipfontein 4, Darrenwood, Robindale + Exts. Fontainebleau, Blairgowrie, Bordeaux + Craighall Park, Ferndale, Meadowhurst, Raeburn, Portion Klipfontein 4
31	Heriotdale, Old Heriot Mine (Doshoff G.M. Co.)		Tonguani, Vandaia Grove, Bryanston
	Jupiter Cottages Station, Rosherville Halt, Rosherville Power Station, Jupiter Cottages, City Deep Nourse Mines (City Deep) Benrose, Robinson + Wolhuter, S.A.R. Goods Depot, Eastern Native Township	69	Ext. 8, Osumit, Randburg
32	Jeppestown (portion Western Area), Marshallstown, City + Suburban		Remainder of Metropolitan area (Urban)
33	Johannesburg Central		
34	Hospital Hill (South + Central), Joubert Park		
35	Hillbrow, Braamfontein + Hospital Hill North		
36	Forest Town, Westcliff, Parktown, Parktown + Westcliff		
37	Joubert Park, S.A. Railways, Wanderers View, Queen Victoria Hospital, Hillbrow, Braamfontein, Hospital Hill		

TABLE 4.2 JEWISH POPULATION OF JOHANNESBURG ACCORDING TO
AREA OF RESIDENCE AND SEX⁵

AREA	Total Jews.	Total Population	Jewish Males	%age Total Jew. Males	Jewish Females	%age total Jew. Females	AREA	Total Jews	Total Population	Jewish Males	%age Total Jew. Males	Jewish Females	%age total Jew. Females
01	10	3,980	10	.04	-	-	35	2,290	8,091	1,027	3.82	1,263	4.39
02	300	8,110	210	.78	90	.31	36	1,710	7,211	838	3.16	872	3.02
03	90	2,282	20	.07	70	.24	37	340	7,868	130	.48	210	.73
04	2,299	7,002	1,187	4.42	1,112	3.86	38	10	4,661	10	.04	-	-
05	2,670	4,711	1,327	4.95	1,343	4.66	39	20	1,039	20	.07	-	-
06	120	7,170	50	.19	70	.24	40	829	5,670	408	1.52	421	1.46
07	610	2,300	289	1.08	321	1.11	41	20	1,427	20	.07	-	-
08	370	6,101	170	.63	200	.69	42	310	11,870	150	.56	160	.55
09	2,181	7,581	1,018	3.80	1,163	4.05	43	-	880	-	-	-	-
10	1,361	1,931	559	2.08	802	2.78	44	-	3,979	-	-	-	-
11	2,550	4,619	1,337	4.99	1,213	4.21	45	10	4,611	10	.04	-	-
12	1,199	3,931	678	2.53	521	1.81	46	-	3,150	-	-	-	-
13	1,850	4,931	858	3.20	992	3.44	47	30	5,951	20	.07	10	.03
14	3,800	9,441	1,836	6.85	1,964	6.83	48	-	6,559	-	-	-	-
15	3,000	7,280	1,477	5.50	1,523	5.30	49	-	10,706	-	-	-	-
16	3,131	11,762	1,407	5.25	1,724	6.00	50	-	170	-	-	-	-
17	700	1,440	369	1.38	331	1.15	51	-	49	-	-	-	-
18	2,370	3,380	1,117	4.16	1,253	4.35	52	-	7,000	-	-	-	-
19	1,910	3,389	978	3.64	932	3.24	53	-	1,360	-	-	-	-
20	2,840	8,144	1,387	5.16	1,453	5.05	54	-	2,801	-	-	-	-
21	4,081	8,602	1,886	7.04	2,195	7.62	55	120	5,230	60	.22	60	.21
22	4,490	11,160	2,035	7.59	2,455	8.52	56	10	3,349	10	.04	-	-
23	1,070	4,771	549	2.04	521	1.81	57	70	2,270	30	.11	40	.14
24	840	6,540	439	1.64	401	1.39	58	-	1,029	-	-	-	-
25	620	8,256	279	1.04	341	1.18	59	50	8,389	20	.07	30	.10
26	1,020	8,291	509	1.90	511	1.77	60	50	5,801	30	.11	20	.07
27	520	6,051	229	.85	291	1.01	61	61	5,633	20	.07	41	.14
28	39	4,139	19	.07	20	.07	62	240	14,519	130	.48	110	.38
29	220	11,408	150	.56	70	.24	63	220	3,420	110	.41	110	.38
30	-	9,190	-	-	-	-	64	10	3,321	10	.04	-	-
31	-	1,850	-	-	-	-	65	-	2,201	-	-	-	-
32	-	140	-	-	-	-	66	10	6,817	10	.04	-	-
33	700	5,754	389	1.45	311	1.08	67	-	190	-	-	-	-
34	2,251	11,963	968	3.61	1,283	4.46	68	30	4,689	20	.07	10	.03
							69	1,999	28,951	1,037	-	962	-
Total								57,651	398,517	27,856		29,795	
Excluding Area 69										- 1,037		- 962	
Total 01-69										26,819		28,833	

5. B.of S. (n.d., Table 4 Whites - All Ages according to Religion)

TABLE 4.3 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWISH POPULATION ACCORDING TO AREA
OF RESIDENCE AND SEX⁶

AREA	All Jews	Total Popula- tion.	Jews as %age popu- lation.	MALES.					No. in sam- ple 150.	FEMALES.					No. in sample 150
				Total Males- Jews.	Each Area as %age of Total.	All Males: %age 0-17 years old in each area.	Jew. males 18 yrs. & over.	Jew. males 18 yrs. and over as %age of total in selected areas.		Total Jew. Females	Each area as %age of total Jew. females in select- ed areas.	All Females: %age 0-17 years old in each area.	Jew. fem- ales 18 yrs. old & over.	Jew. females 18 yrs. & over as %age of total in sel- ected areas.	
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
02	300	8,110	4	210	.79	42	122	.68	1	90	.32	39	55	.27	-
04	2,299	7,002	33	1,187	4.49	42	689	3.87	6	1,112	3.91	41	656	3.24	5
05	2,670	4,711	57	1,327	5.02	39	810	4.55	7	1,343	4.72	35	873	4.31	6
07	610	2,300	26	289	1.09	26	214	1.20	2	321	1.13	26	238	1.17	2
08	370	6,101	6	170	.64	36	109	.61	1	200	.70	26	148	.73	1
09	2,181	7,581	29	1,018	3.85	33	682	3.83	6	1,163	4.09	29	826	4.08	6
10	1,361	1,931	70	559	2.11	9	509	2.86	4	802	2.82	18	658	3.25	5
11	2,550	4,619	55	1,337	5.06	47	709	3.98	6	1,213	4.26	29	861	4.25	6
12	1,199	3,931	30	673	2.56	43	387	2.17	3	521	1.83	33	349	1.72	3
13	1,850	4,931	37	858	3.25	41	506	2.84	4	992	3.48	44	556	2.75	4
14	3,800	9,441	40	1,836	6.95	39	1,120	6.29	9	1,964	6.90	36	1,257	6.21	9
15	3,000	7,280	41	1,477	5.59	44	827	4.64	7	1,523	5.35	37	960	4.74	7
16	3,131	11,762	27	1,407	5.32	35	915	5.14	8	1,724	6.06	35	1,121	5.54	8
17	700	1,440	49	369	1.40	40	221	1.24	2	331	1.16	41	195	.96	1
18	2,370	3,380	70	1,117	4.23	37	704	3.95	6	1,253	4.40	42	727	3.59	5
19	1,910	3,389	56	978	3.70	49	499	2.80	4	932	3.27	36	597	2.95	4
20	2,840	8,144	35	1,387	5.25	30	971	5.45	8	1,453	5.10	26	1,075	5.31	8
21	4,081	8,602	47	1,886	7.13	29	1,339	7.52	11	2,195	7.71	23	1,690	8.35	13
22	4,490	11,160	40	2,035	7.70	19	1,648	9.26	14	2,455	8.62	21	1,940	9.58	14
23	1,070	4,771	22	549	2.08	33	368	2.07	3	521	1.83	31	360	1.78	3
24	840	6,590	13	439	1.66	37	277	1.55	2	401	1.41	31	277	1.37	2
25	620	8,256	7	279	1.05	38	173	.97	1	341	1.20	38	212	1.05	2
26	1,020	8,291	12	509	1.92	35	331	1.86	3	511	1.79	29	363	1.79	3
27	520	6,051	8	229	.87	27	167	.94	1	291	1.02	30	204	1.01	2
29	220	11,408	2	150	.57	43	86	.48	1	70	.25	36	-	-	-
33	700	5,759	12	389	1.47	7	362	2.03	3	311	1.09	9	283	1.40	2
34	2,251	11,963	19	968	3.66	12	852	4.78	7	1,283	4.51	8	1,180	5.83	9
35	2,290	8,091	28	1,027	3.88	13	894	5.02	8	1,263	4.44	10	1,137	5.62	8
36	1,710	7,211	24	838	3.17	33	562	3.16	5	872	3.06	28	628	3.10	5
37	340	7,868	4	130	.49	22	101	.57	1	210	.74	21	166	.82	1
40	829	5,670	15	408	1.54	4	392	2.20	3	421	1.48	6	396	1.96	3
42	310	11,870	3	150	.57	38	93	.52	1	160	.56	40	96	.47	1
62	240	14,519	2	130	.49	34	86	.93	1	110	.39	23	85	.79	1
63	220	3,420	6	110	.42	28	79			110	.39	31	76		
Selected areas- Total	54,892	237,553	23	26,430	99.97		17,804	99.96	149	28,462	99.99		20,245	99.99	149
Areas Omit- ted:Total	2,759	160,964	2	1,426						1,333					
All Areas Total	57,651	398,517	14	27,856						29,795					

6. Calculated from B.of S. (n.d., Table 4)

(vi) The procedure followed for Jewish females is the same as for males, so that columns (j) - (o) are analogous to columns (a) - (i).

(e) It was felt that this procedure was justifiable on the following grounds:-

(i) Insofar as there may be any relation between area of residence and socio-economic status, this would be reflected in the structure of the sample. It was not expected that any particular suburb would be accurately represented by the particular respondents chosen, but that the overall picture of Johannesburg Jews would emerge with reasonable accuracy.

(ii) The fact that the number of respondents required from each suburb was determined by the absolute Jewish population of that suburb facilitated the practical field problem of locating Jewish respondents. Thus, in areas of high Jewish concentration a large number of subjects were interviewed, while those in which less than 0.5% of Johannesburg Jews resided, were not canvassed.

(iii) By including all areas in which more than 0.5% of Jews were to be found, any differences resulting from easy availability or non-availability of the amenities of Jewish community life, or from residing in high or low density Jewish population areas, would emerge.

C. Locating the Sample

(a) Using Holmden's Register of Greater Johannesburg Townships, all streets in the selected suburbs were numbered consecutively from 1 - 1,441 in the 'Alphabetical List of Streets' at pp. 8 - 78. Using the table of random numbers, published as 'Table G' in Edwards, A.: Statistical Analysis, the required number of streets for each suburb was selected.

Since the main purpose of randomly selecting streets was to minimize arbitrary selection by interviewers in meeting suburban quotas, the number of streets selected was determined as follows:

(i) The minimum number of streets for various sizes of suburban quota was arbitrarily fixed at 2, 3 or 4 for quotas 2, 3 or 4 respondents, respectively; 5 streets for 5 to 10 respondents; 6 streets for 11+ respondents.

(ii) All streets selected in the first random draw were listed. Although for some areas the minima were filled or exceeded, additional streets were drawn for all areas. It was decided that in Killarney, Hillbrow, Johannesburg Central and Hospital Hill the minimum number of streets could be drawn, since these are predominantly flat-land areas with few streets. It was felt that even if there were streets in these areas with no Jewish residents the suburban quota could be met in a smaller number of streets without seriously biasing the sample because of the high population density. In all other areas, at least 1 over the minimum required number of streets was drawn, if the suburb had a high proportion of Jews and/or a small quota of respondents; 2 over if streets were very short with few flats and/or if the area included several suburbs each having many Jewish residents; more than 2 over (maximum 6 over) if there was a low proportion of Jewish residents in the area and difficulty in locating Jews might be encountered. The following surpluses for each area were drawn: 0 - Areas 10, 19, 33, 34, 35; 1 - Areas 04, 05, 07, 08, 12, 13, 24; 2 - Areas 09, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 36; 3 - Areas 15, 16, 18, 25/6/7, 62/3.

(iii) A total of 177 streets was drawn. Long streets running through two areas without changing their names were duplicated, so that 183 listings were actually made, 6 being duplications.

(iv) During the course of actual field-work, several additional streets were selected in most suburbs. This was necessary for a number of reasons: suburban quotas could not be filled in the streets originally listed and streets with no residences had to be replaced. Also in a few cases interviewers stopped working after a day or two, but informed the author only at the end of a week. By that time they had forgotten exactly which residences they had canvassed, since they had not kept records, and those streets were then abandoned.

The selection of additional streets followed, for the most part, the

procedure already described. However in Hillbrow, Hospital Hill, Johannesburg Central, Killarney and Parkwood, interviewers were simply instructed to canvass the remaining streets in any order, since the total number of streets in those areas is small. In Doornfontein and Judiths Paarl, which have deteriorated in recent years, interviewers were instructed to canvass specific streets which were known not to have deteriorated as badly as those originally selected, and in which Jews might still be found.

(b) Although areas 02, 25, 26, 27, 62, 63 were all large they had a small proportion of Jewish residents. It was therefore decided to amalgamate 02 with 04, 25 with 26 and 27, and 62 with 63. All these amalgamated areas were contiguous and socio-economically similar. In the selection of streets, each amalgamated area was treated as a unit. In the case of area 08, no Jewish respondents were found, and quota was added to that of area 10 which, though not contiguous, is nearby and probably similar socio-economically.

(c) Having selected the number of males and females required in each residential area and the streets in which respondents were to be sought, there remained the final criterion of stratification: age. Table 4.1 above shows that the age distribution of the Transvaal Urban Jewish population for both men and women is in the approximate proportion of 4 (18-34): 5 (35-64): 1 (65+). At first an attempt was made to stratify areas, or groups of areas, strictly according to these proportions. In practice this proved impossible since, as may be seen in "Table 1", Johannesburg Sample Tabulation the age structure varies considerably from area to area. It was therefore decided to assign age quotas, on the basis of interviewers' experience of an area, whilst that area was actually being canvassed. A progress chart was updated daily and this made it possible to maintain an overall picture of the age distribution of the sample.

(d) The final distribution of the sample by suburb, sex, and age is shown in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4

FINAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY SEX, AGE AND AREA OF RESIDENCE

CENSUS NUMBER	AREA	AGE							
		18 - 34		35 - 64		65 and over		Total	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
20	Bellevue/Bellevue East	4	3	3	3	-	1	7	7
22	Berea	5	5	6	8	2	1	13	14
24	Bertrams/Judiths Paarl	-	-	1	2	1	-	2	2
13	Bramley/Savoy/Waverley	2	1	2	3	-	-	4	4
23	Doornfontein/New Doornfontein	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	2
07	Dunkeld/Hyde Park	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
04	Emmarentia & Extensions	3	1	4	4	-	-	7	5
05	Greenside & Extensions	4	1	3	5	-	-	7	6
14	Highlands North-West	5	2	3	3	1	1	9	11
15	Highlands North Ext. - East	5	3	2	2	-	-	7	5
35	Hillbrow	6	5	3	5	1	-	10	10
34	Hospital Hill	5	4	3	5	-	-	8	9
11	Houghton	2	2	3	4	1	-	6	6
33	Johannesburg Central	-	1	2	2	-	2	2	5
25-7	Kensington/Bezuidenhout Valley	-	1	3	2	1	1	4	4
8,10	Killarney/Rosebank	2	3	3	2	-	1	5	6
17-18	linksfield/Cyrildene/de Wets Hof	2	4	6	2	-	-	8	6
12	Melrose/Birdhaven	1	-	1	2	-	1	2	3
16	Norwood/Orange Grove	3	5	4	2	1	1	8	8
19	Observatory & Extension	1	2	1	1	-	1	2	4
09	Saxonwold/Parkwood	1	1	5	4	-	1	6	6
62-63	Southern Suburbs	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
36	Westcliffe/Parktown/Foresttown	2	2	2	3	1	-	5	5
21	Yeoville	6	6	5	7	2	1	13	14
TOTAL		59	53	66	79	12	14	137	146

NOTE: AGE RATIOS - MALE 4.3(18 - 34): 4.8(35 - 64): 0.9(65+)

FEMALE 3.5(18 - 34): 5.5(35 - 64): 1.0(65+)

D. Interview Procedure

While the author conducted all the preliminary interviews himself, he was assisted in the pilot study by two graduate students in Social Anthropology. The final schedule, however, was administered entirely by paid interviewers (including the two already mentioned). These were, for the most part, graduate or final-year Sociology students, recommended by Mrs. E. Zucker, who was, at the time, responsible for students' practical work in the Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand. A few were Social Anthropology graduates, whom the author knew well, and the remainder had had experience as market research investigators. Of the 22 interviewers, 7 were men, and these returned a total of 56 completed schedules. The number of interviews by each interviewer is reflected in Table 4.5.

As interviewers were recruited, they were given an outline of the purpose of the study and were briefed regarding selection of respondents, mode of approach, how to conduct the interview, and the circumstances under which they should call back or substitute. Each interviewer was given a map of his or her area together with a list of streets and a quota of men and women in the various age-groups. Most of these instructions were embodied in a handout, given to interviewers, and reproduced in Appendix C. They were also given a signed letter of introduction and authority, also reproduced in Appendix C.

Table 4.6 shows the total number of calls made in order to yield the final sample of 283 Jews. It should be noted that 134 Jews were either not at home, were on the point of going out, or were 'busy'. Unless the interviewer was immediately able to arrange an appointment for a more suitable time, no call-backs were made if the quota was subsequently filled in the remaining homes selected by means of the sampling procedure. Where the quota was not filled, one call-back to people who had not been home was made.

The schedule reproduced in Appendix A, was designed for completion by the interviewer during the course of the interview, except for records of unsuccessful calls and comments on the interview. Instructions regarding the manner in which questions were to be asked have already been discussed in Chapter Three, section E, and are included in Appendix C.

The first few schedules returned by any interviewer (or all schedules where 10 or less were returned), were checked by the author together with the interviewer for discrepancies, inconsistencies and lack of clarity. No formal checking-up procedure was followed, since considerable formal feedback from respondents known to the author, was forthcoming. Furthermore, when the author was able to identify a respondent by his address or in any other way, he made enquiries about the interview and interviewer.

It should also be mentioned that all interviewers were English-speaking Jews, and that they were instructed to introduce themselves by name, as well as to wear a Star of David pendant or some other identifying mark, if possible. Their ages ranged from 19 to the early twenties, with one interviewer being in her late thirties. Both male and female interviewers worked in all types of suburbs and most worked at night and weekends as well as during the day. All were students or recent graduates.

In general, interviewers showed a good deal of interest in the project as a whole and in the interviews themselves, though six schedules had to be scrapped because of carelessness and lack of interest on the part of one or two interviewers. Payment was at the rate of R2.00 per completed interview. For the most part, interviews were completed in a single session of 45-60 minutes, though some were longer. Thirteen interviews required two or more sessions to complete.

TABLE 4.5 NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER INTERVIEWER X SEX OF INTERVIEWER

Sex of Interviewer	Number of Interviews					Total Interviewers	Total Interviews
	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 4.6 NUMBER OF CALLS MADE BY INTERVIEWERS WITH DETAILS OF THOSE WHICH WERE UNSUCCESSFUL

Details of Call	Frequency
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	1209
Total interviews	289
Total calls	1498
Final sample	283

E. Processing Procedure and Statistical Analysis

The schedules were coded according to the key in Appendix B, and punched on to 80-column IBM cards - 3 cards to each schedule (i.e. respondent). 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 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 in terms of the chi square tests and qualitatively, were then analysed further. Subsequent analysis included tests of significance (chi square, median tests), Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation⁷, Pearson correlations, partial correlations, scalogram analysis, and the various analyses of the attitude scale items and sub-scale totals described in Chapter Three.

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 (ibid., pp.104-116) and for k independent samples (ibid., pp.175-179). The rules followed were:

- (a) For 2 X 2 tables: chi squares were corrected for continuity in all cases (ibid., p.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., pp.96-104).
- (b) For k X k tables: not more than 20% of cells had an expected frequency of less than 5; and degrees of freedom = (k-1) (r-1). Where, in Chapter Five, the chi square test has been used as a test of 'goodness of fit', degrees of freedom = (k-1) (ibid., pp.43-44 and Edwards 1965, p.64).

7. No further details can be given on the Factor Analysis as this technique was suggested and used, on the author's behalf, by a colleague in the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. (then Mr.) Leslie Melamed.



(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)⁸.

(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 - i.e. "to accept the null hypothesis when in fact it is false" (Siegel 1956, p.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 Nine), but resulting in some useful insights, in comparing the degrees of observance of a number of religious laws.

8. Even where, as in Chapter Nine, 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, pp.249-251), while H.J. Eysenck ("The Concept of Statistical Significance and the Controversy about One-Tailed Tests", *Psychological Review*, 67, 4, 1960, pp.269-271) argues that one-tailed tests should not be used at all.

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 (Chapters Three and Six). 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 born 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.

F. Summary and Evaluation

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, however, 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 probably representative of Johannesburg Jews over the age of 17: it is drawn from most areas in which Jews are to be found, and has 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 Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS

A. Introduction

In this chapter it is proposed to describe briefly the demographic characteristics of the Jews of South Africa and, more specifically, of Johannesburg. Most of the data, like those upon which the sampling quotas were based, are contained in the Year Books and other publications of the South African Bureau of Statistics. Additional official information, not published but made available by the Bureau to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies¹, was also at the author's disposal. Finally, data are available from a small number of sample surveys of which Sonnabend's 1935 study of Johannesburg Jews is the most relevant. The contribution which the present study can make to our knowledge of the demographic structure of the local Jewish population is limited by the very nature of the sampling procedure. Nevertheless, some of the characteristics of the present sample may at least be suggestive of possible trends.

B. The Origins and Growth of the Jewish Population

Saron (1965, pp. 9 ff.) divides Jewish immigration to South Africa into six clearly defined periods: (a) From 1652 until about 1800 individuals of Jewish extraction settled in the country. It is probable, however, that most of these did not profess their original faith but were converted to Christianity.

(b) Between 1800 and 1880 a few thousand British and other western European Jews emigrated to South Africa. Although they laid the foundations of organised Jewish communal life, these early settlers must have assimilated fairly rapidly into the non-Jewish majority since few, if any, Jewish descendants of these families remain today.

1. 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.

(c) During the last two decades of the nineteenth century a large number of Jews, also mainly from the West, joined the diamond and gold rushes in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand, respectively.

(d) At about the same time; the largest and most important stream of immigration began, and continued until the passing of the Aliens Act in 1937. These Jews came from the intensely Jewish environment of the segregated villages and ghettos of Lithuania and other parts of Eastern Europe, in the hope of finding political freedom and economic security.²

(e) Increasing Nazi persecution and pressure accounted for the arrival of several thousand refugees, mainly from Germany, during the 1930's.

(f) Following World War II, there has been no Jewish immigration as such and only a small number of individuals has entered the country.

Although precise information about the size of the Jewish population dates only from the first official census of 1904, earlier records enabled Saron (*ibid.* p. 13) to estimate its growth since about 1880. The available information is summarized in Table 5.1.

With the sharp decrease in immigration since the beginning of World War II, and with the passage of time, the proportion of local-born Jews has increased. In a survey of Johannesburg Jews in 1935, Sonnabend (1948, p. 16) found that 78.57% of persons under the age of 30 were born in South Africa. As Table 5.2 shows, in the present survey, 60% aged 30 years and over fell into that category.

2. 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 survey of Johannesburg Jews, 70% were descendants of parents or grandparents born in Eastern Europe, or were themselves born there.

TABLE 5.1

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*	-	40,000***	1.2**
1890	10,000*	6,000		-
1900	25,000*	15,000		2.8**
1904	38,101	13,101		3.4
1911	46,919	8,818		3.7
1918	58,741	11,822	8,176***	4.1
1921	62,103	3,362		4.1
1926	71,816	9,713		4.3
1936	90,645	18,829	16,532 ^o	4.5
1946	104,156	13,511	3,157 ^o	4.4
1951	108,497	4,341	2,135 ^o	4.1
1960	114,762	6,265	-	3.7

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

TABLE 5.2

PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE: 1968 SAMPLE SURVEY

PLACE OF BIRTH	AGE IN YEARS				TOTAL	
	18-29	30-44	45-59	60+	No.	%
Eastern Europe	0	6	14	29	49	17
Germany/Austria	0	3	5	2	10	4
Other outside South Africa	3	5	5	7	20	7
South Africa	78	62	48	10	198	70
Unknown	3	1	1	1	6	2
TOTAL	84	77	73	49	283	100

It might also be mentioned that of the total 198 locally-born respondents:

- (a) 3 had paternal grandfathers (and fathers) who were born in South Africa;
- (b) 35 had fathers who were born in South Africa;
- (c) 21 had foreign-born fathers who had come to South Africa at an early age with their fathers.

In addition, 6 respondents, who were themselves born elsewhere, were the children of locally-born fathers.

If category (c) is included, then, approximately one quarter (23%) of the sample may be regarded as at least second generation South African. The adult Jewish population, though predominantly locally-born, is thus not far removed from its Eastern European origins either in time or in generation.

C. Home Language

One measure of acculturation is the change which has occurred in the home languages used by South African Jews. According to the 1936 Census, 76% spoke English, 1.6% Afrikaans, 1.3% German and 19% Yiddish. In the Transvaal the same proportion spoke English at home, but 21% spoke Yiddish. By 1951 the proportion of Yiddish-speakers had dwindled to 9% and 10%, respectively (B. of S., 1960, p. A26). In the present sample this change is reflected in the comparison between the home languages of respondents and their parents. Table 5.3 shows clearly the tremendous decrease in the use of Yiddish, and highlights the unmistakeable tendency to acculturate to the English-speaking rather than to the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population.

TABLE 5.3

HOME LANGUAGES OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS IN
1968 COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THEIR PARENTS.

LANGUAGE	Parents		Respondents	
	No.	%	No.	%
English	132	47	243	86
English and Yiddish	31	11	14	5
Yiddish	82	29	18	6
English and other	8	2	4	1
Other	21	7	4	1
Unknown	9	3	-	-
TOTAL	283	99	283	99

D. Geographical and Residential Distribution

Although a large proportion of the Jewish immigrants had come from rural villages in Eastern Europe, they had not been an agricultural community. In South Africa, some did in fact become farmers while others, also in the rural areas, pursued their previous occupations as petty traders, pedlars and artisans. Most, however, settled in the urban areas either initially or after some years, while children from the rural areas tended to drift into the towns. This overwhelming preference for urban life is reflected in Table 5.4 which shows that even in 1936, when almost one-third of the total white population lived in rural areas, 96.4% of Jews lived in towns. By 1960 the proportion of Jews in the rural areas had declined even further and was one-thirteenth that of the proportion of all whites. A further trend, which is apparent from Table 5.5, is the movement to the larger metropolitan areas. Whereas in 1936, 71% of Jews lived in the seven major cities this had increased to 83% in 1960. The vast majority, however, were concentrated in Johannesburg (50% of the total) and Cape Town (20%). It is also significant, though not unexpected, that the proportion of Jews living in the major cities is twice that of all whites.

TABLE 5.4

JEWISH POPULATION: PROVINCE X URBAN/RURAL, 1936 AND 1960³

PROVINCE	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL JEWS	TOTAL WHITES	JEWS/WHITES %
	No.	%	No.	%			
CAPE	31653	98.6	451	1.4	32104	1001434	3.2
TRANSVAAL	72209	98.8	842	1.2	73051	1462753	5.0
ORANGE FREE STATE	3037	96.2	120	3.8	3157	276311	1.1
NATAL	6086	98.3	103	1.7	6189	337012	1.8
SOUTH AFRICA - JEWS							
1960	112985	98.7	1516	1.3	114501	-	3.7
1936	-	96.4	-	3.6	-	-	4.5
SOUTH AFRICA - WHITES							
1960	2570053	83.5	507457	16.5	-	3077510	-
1936	-	68.1	-	31.9	-	-	-

TABLE 5.5

JEWISH POPULATION OF MAJOR CITIES: 1936 AND 1960⁴

MAJOR CITIES	1960 CENSUS				1936 CENSUS	
	JEWS	WHITES	JEWS/WHITES %	TOTAL S.A. JEWS	JEWS/WHITES %	TOTAL S.A. JEWS
JOHANNESBURG	57806	411658	14.04	50.37	13.5	42.9
CAPE TOWN	22716	304337	7.46	19.79	10.5	17.5
PRETORIA	3553	206875	1.72	3.10	2.6	2.9
DURBAN	5353	194745	2.75	4.66	3.1	3.1
PORT ELIZABETH	2972	94845	3.13	2.59	4.2	2.2
BLOEMFONTEIN	1219	62953	1.94	1.06	5.8	1.5
EAST LONDON	1023	49437	2.08	0.89	3.4	0.8
TOTAL CITIES	94642	1324850	7.15	82.5	9.8	71.0
TOTAL S.A.	114762	3080159	3.72	-	4.52	-

3. B. of S. (1966 b , pp. 4-5), Hotz (1965, p. 19), B. of S. (1964, p. A-12).

4. B. of S. (1966 a , p. A-52), Sonnabend (1941, p. 2).

In Johannesburg itself there has always been a tendency for Jews to concentrate in certain areas. Over the years these areas of Jewish residence have shifted towards the more desirable northern suburbs, but the tendency for "Jewish suburbs" to arise remains. Evidence of present-day residential patterns has already been presented in the previous Chapter in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 during the discussion of sampling procedure. The data recorded there are, however, re-presented graphically in Figures 5.I and 5.II

E. Income

It is almost impossible to compare the income of Johannesburg Jews with that of the white population generally, since this was the one question which respondents were extremely reluctant to answer. Furthermore, the income categories used in the present study differed from those used in the 1960 Johannesburg Sample Census. Nevertheless the sample data for men only are probably fairly reliable and would give some idea of Jewish incomes. Comparing Tables 5.6 and 5.7, then, we find that more Jewish males fall into the middle and higher income brackets than white Johannesburg males, both generally and in the selected areas. Thus in the sample, 19 out of 137 (14%) said that they earned over R7,800 p.a. as against 6% of Johannesburg white males (7% in the selected areas) who earned over R6,000. A further 28% Jewish males had an income of between R3,000 and R5,400 as compared with 17% Johannesburg males (21% for selected areas) who earned between R3,000 and R6,000. While there is no way of verifying the impression that the Jewish population belongs largely to the middle and upper middle income categories, the 1951 Census returns on Income and Religion do lend indirect support. Thus the median income for Jewish males in South Africa at that time was R1432, for Anglicans it was R882 and for members of the Dutch Reformed churches R668.⁵

5. Calculated from Table 6, B. of S. (1956, p. 38).





FIGURE 5.II

TABLE 5.6

1968 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS: INCOME OF MALES IN RANDS PER ANNUM

Income	No response	Less than				Over R10200	TOTAL
		R3000	R5400	R7800	R10200		
No.	61	16	23	18	8	11	137

TABLE 5.7

INCOME IN RANDS PER ANNUM: WHITE MALES IN SELECTED SUBURBS,
WHITE MALES IN WHOLE JOHANNESBURG - 1960 SAMPLE CENSUS⁶

INCOME IN RANDS	SELECTED SUBURBS		WHOLE JOHANNESBURG	
	No.	%	No.	%
Nil	4021	5	6106	5
up to 499	3938	5	7303	6
500-999	6526	9	12052	10
1000-1599	10857	14	19305	16
1600-1999	10946	14	20223	16
2000-2999	18148	24	30978	25
3000-3999	8599	11	11932	10
4000-5999	7281	10	9109	7
6000 plus	5566	7	7243	6
TOTAL	75882		124252	

6. B.of S. (n.d., Table 8)

F. Education

In Tables 5.8 and 5.9, the educational standards of Jewish males and females in the sample are compared with those of all Johannesburg whites, as well as with whites residing in the areas from which the sample was selected. In both cases educational standards of Jews are markedly higher. Comparing them with whites in the selected areas,⁷ we find that at the one end of the educational spectrum, approximately half as many Jews as whites had not completed a secondary school education. On the other hand, 10% Jewish women and 31% Jewish men had university degrees as compared with 4% white females and 9% white males.

Although there are no other available South African data on Jewish educational standards with which to compare the sample, American studies have shown fairly consistently that Jews are significantly better-educated than other population groups.⁸ There is also no reason to believe that the sample includes only the more educated section of the Johannesburg Jewish population.

With regard to educational differences within the sample itself, it was that sex, age and generation are probably all relevant. Thus men were better educated than women (Table 5.10), South African-born respondents than those born abroad (Table 5.11), and younger people had more education than their elders (Table 5.12).⁹

7. Following the procedure described in Edwards (1965,p.64), the proportions obtained for the Selected Suburbs in each educational category, were applied to the sample distribution of Johannesburg Jews, as a test of 'goodness of fit', in Tables 5.8 and 5.9. Chi square values were calculated and their significance for degrees of freedom = (no. of categories - 1) determined. The same procedure was followed for Table 5.14.

8. For example, see Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968,p.66) and Seligman (1960,pp.105-106).

9. A large proportion of the 18-24 age group had not completed their education. This has had the effect of under-rating the educational standard of local-born respondents.

TABLE 5.8

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD: WHITES IN SELECTED SUBURBS, WHITES IN WHOLE JOHANNESBURG, AND SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS - MALES.¹⁰

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD	SELECTED SUBURBS		WHOLE JOHANNESBURG		JOHANNESBURG JEWS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to Primary	12800		27187	23	11	8
Incomplete Secondary	29236		51431	43	25	18
Complete Secondary	12145		15785	13	28	20
Post-secondary - no degree	11606		16756	14	30	22
University degree	6668		8963	7	43	31
TOTAL	72455		120122		137	

Degrees of Freedom = 4

Chi Sq. = 96.64

$p < .001$

TABLE 5.9

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD: WHITES IN SELECTED SUBURBS, WHITES IN WHOLE JOHANNESBURG, AND SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS - FEMALES¹⁰

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD	SELECTED SUBURBS		WHOLE JOHANNESBURG		JOHANNESBURG JEWS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Up to Primary	17650	21	34396	26	13	9
Incomplete Secondary	38266	46	60673	47	39	27
Complete Secondary	15069	18	20484	16	56	39
Post-secondary - no degree	9063	11	10994	8	23	16
University degree	2927	4	3598	3	14	10
TOTAL	82975		130145		145	

Degrees of Freedom = 4

Chi Sq. = 66.61

$p < .001$

10. B.of S. (n.d., Table 5)

TABLE 5.10

1968 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS: SEX BY EDUCATION

SEX	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	POST SECONDARY	TOTAL
Male	11	53	73	137
Female	13	95	37	145
TOTAL	24	148	110	282

Degrees of Freedom = 2

Chi Sq. = 23.66

$p < .001$

TABLE 5.11

1968 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS: AGE BY EDUCATION

AGE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	POST SECONDARY	TOTAL
18 - 24	0	24	30	54
25 - 34	0	19	39	58
35 - 44	0	30	18	48
45 - 54	5	40	11	56
55 - 64	9	23	8	40
65 +	10	12	4	26
TOTAL	24	148	110	282

TABLE 5.12

1968 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS: GENERATION BY EDUCATION

GENERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	POST SECONDARY	TOTAL
Respondent born Eastern Europe	18	18	12	48
Respondent born other	2	20	8	30
Father born South Africa	0	17	21	38
Respondent born South Africa	2	93	64	159
TOTAL	22	148	105	275

G. Occupation

Tables 5.13 and 5.14 compare occupations of Jewish and white males in the Transvaal, and of Jewish and white males in Johannesburg. In both cases there are considerable differences. Jews are heavily over-represented in the professional and technical, and executive and managerial occupations, and under-represented in mining, transport, services and labour. Differences between the occupational distributions of Transvaal and Johannesburg Jews are probably due to the fact that the former includes rural and smaller urban areas, rather than to unrepresentativeness of the Johannesburg sample.

Table 5.15 compares the occupations of respondents with those of their fathers. Here we find a definite shift from those occupations involving manual work, or which do not require special qualifications, to those which depend upon university or other post-secondary school training.

TABLE 5.13

OCCUPATION: TRANSVAAL WHITE MALES, TRANSVAAL JEWISH MALES¹¹

OCCUPATION	TRANSVAAL MALES		TRANSVAAL JEW. MALES	
	No.	%	No.	%
Professional and Technical	44021	11	4639	21
Administrative Executive Managerial	33532	8	8120	37
Clerical Accountants	64398	16	2322	11
Sales Workers	20854	5	3786	17
Agriculture	38209	9	318	1
Mining, etc. Transport, etc. Services, etc.	70168	17	443	2
Craftsmen, semi- and unskilled labourers	134397		2018	9
Unemployed Unspecified		2	315	1
TOTAL	413480			

11. B.of S.(1966 b, Table 3)

TABLE 5.14

OCCUPATION: WHITES IN SELECTED SUBURBS, WHITES IN WHOLE JOHANNESBURG, AND SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS - MALES¹²

OCCUPATION	SELECTED SUBURBS		WHOLE JOHANNESBURG		JOHANNESBURG JEWS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional & Technical	10895	16	14697	13	48	37
Administrative Executive Managerial	9136	13	12172	11	41	31
Clerical Accountants	13728	20	21160	19	13	10
Sales Workers	10592	15	14218	13	15	11
Mining, etc. Transport, etc. Services, etc.	6237	9	14467	13	2	2
Craftsmen, semi- & unskilled labourers	17800	26	35707	32	12	9
TOTAL	68388		112421		131	

Degrees of Freedom = 5 Chi square = 94.41

$p < .001$

12. B.of S.(n.d., Table 7). For use of chi square as test of 'goodness of fit', see footnote 7 above.

TABLE 5. 15

1968 SAMPLE: JOHANNESBURG JEWISH MALES'
OCCUPATIONS X THEIR FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	RESPONDENTS	FATHERS
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

H. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter the main demographic characteristics of the present sample of Johannesburg Jews have been described and, where possible, have been compared with data from other sources. 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 70% locally-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, since their arrival, to prefer urban life and, in 1960, 98.7% lived in the towns - 82.5% in the seven 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 may be regarded, at least in part, as a function of income, education and occupation, it may be said that Johannesburg Jews are predominantly middle to upper middle class. Some few Jews also belong to the upper class elite, but here additional criteria, which were not researched become operable. More specifically, Jews are over-represented in the higher income brackets and in professional and executive occupations, while they are also better educated than the general population.

This picture of the Jewish population is not unique. It is probably not much different to other South African cities, while in at least Britain and the United States, the overall patterns also appear to be similar.¹³

13. See Gould and Esh (eds.) (1964, pp. 27-40, 144) on British Jews, Glazer and Moynihan (1963, pp. 137-166) and Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968, passim) on American Jews.

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 those problems, however, may be found in Dubb (in press).

One final comment must be made: insofar as available data could be used for verification, it appears that the present sample is probably fairly representative demographically of the Jewish population of Johannesburg.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ATTITUDINAL ASPECT OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

A. Introduction

It will be recalled from Chapter Three, that the Likert-type attitude schedule comprised 48 items, each scored on a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The items were, furthermore, grouped into eight sub-scales: Social Relations (SR), Religious Beliefs (RB), Ethnocentrism (ETH), Antisemitism (AS), Zionism (Z), Religious Conservatism (RC), Insecurity in South Africa (INS), and South African Politics (SA). Sub-scale totals for each respondent were calculated by summing scores obtained on constituent items. Seven items were, however, omitted from these calculations because of their low discriminative powers. The range of scores on sub-scales depended on the number of items: thus, seven-item scale scores ranged between 7 (i.e. 7 X the minimum score of 1) and 35 (i.e. 7 X the maximum score of 5), while those on the three-item INS scale ranged from 3 to 15. The distributions of scores for each item together with means, standard deviations and discriminative powers are presented in Table 6.1. Items are arranged according to the sub-scales to which they belong, while those items which were finally excluded from sub-scale totals are indicated by underlining. Table 6.2 and Figures 6.I (a) - (h) show the distributions of sub-scale totals, their means and standard deviations. The Table also shows standard errors and medians.

Before discussing these results, however, it should be noted that three Principal Components Factor Analyses with Varimax Rotations were carried out on the scale items: the first included all 48 items, the second excluded the seven low d.p. items, and the third was confined to the 31 items comprising the six Jewish identification sub-scales. The first two analyses yielded 15 and 13 factors, respectively, but no comprehensible pattern emerged. The reason for this became evident, as Table 6.3 shows, when the sub-scale totals were factor

TABLE 6.1 ATTITUDE SCALE ITEMS ARRANGED IN SUBSCALES, SHOWING FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS, MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, DISCRIMINATIVE POWERS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF D.P.'S

Item No.	SUBSCALE	Agree =	Ques- tion No.	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M ₁₁	M ₁	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p <
				1	2	3	4	5								
<u>Social Relations</u>																
1.	I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.	+	1	1	16	16	44	22	3.7	4.6	2.8	1.0	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	13.23	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	24	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	19	3	2.4	3.3	1.9	1.4	5	0.92	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%
<u>Religious Beliefs</u>																
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	1.0	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 mitzvot (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	17.39	1%
15.	<u>It is not necessary to observe all the mitzvot (religious laws). One should only observe those that are personally meaningful.</u>	-	44	13	62	7	16	1	2.3	2.8	2.1	0.7	8	0.93	4.09	1%
<u>Ethnocentrism</u>																
16.	A Jew is more sensitive to his fellowman'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 Christmas trees.	+	23	6	25	8	35	27	3.5	4.5	2.7	1.0	2.5	1.27	2.00	1%
20.	On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.	+	34	9	38	10	38	4	2.9	3.7	2.1	1.0	5	1.13	10.19	1%
21.	<u>If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing the name.</u>	-	39	2	24	6	46	19	3.6	4.0	3.2	2.8	6	1.10	4.52	1%

Notes and Key at end of Table.

Item No.	SUBSCALE	Agree =	ques- tion No.	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M ₁	DP	DP Rank (order)	SD	t	p <
				1	2	3	4	5								
<u>Anti-Semitism</u>																
22.	I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	-	16	22	45	4	24	5	2.5	3.5	1.6	1.9	1	1.24	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 Africanised 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.	<u>I believe that being born a Jew means that you are at a handicap in most occupations and professions.</u>	-	46	0	9	2	64	24	4.0	4.5	3.6	0.9	5	0.78	6.77	1%
<u>Zionism</u>																
27.	<u>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.</u>	+	7	3	22	10	50	15	3.5	3.9	3.1	0.8	7	1.09	4.49	1%
28.	If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.	+	13	9	28	6	38	19	3.3	4.3	2.0	2.3	1	1.31	15.13	1%
29.	Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.	+	17	14	41	8	29	7	2.7	3.8	1.7	2.1	3	1.22	14.79	1%
30.	<u>I feel personally proud of Israel's achievements and sorrow at her setbacks.</u>	+	22	0	2	1	49	48	4.4	4.8	4.2	0.6	8	0.62	6.18	1%
31.	<u>The future of Israel cannot be secured without large-scale settlement of Jews from Western countries.</u>	+	27	0	9	11	58	22	3.9	4.5	3.3	1.2	5	0.83	9.02	1%
32.	Our continued survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.	+	35	4	24	6	51	15	3.5	4.5	2.3	2.2	2	1.13	16.54	1%
33.	I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.	+	43	3	10	6	60	21	3.9	4.5	3.2	1.3	4	0.95	8.44	1%
34.	<u>The Zionist ideal was fulfilled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and no longer has any meaning.</u>	-	47	1	11	15	56	16	3.8	4.3	3.4	0.9	6	0.89	6.08	1%
<u>Religious Conservatism</u>																
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	1.03	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	13.8	1%

Notes and Key at end of Table.

Item No.	SUBSCALE	Agree =	Question No.	Scores: %age Frequency					M	M _u	M _l	DP	DP Rank Order	SD	t	p <
				1	2	3	4	5								
	<u>Insecurity in South Africa</u>															
39.	Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	-	3	13	45	13	25	4	2.6	3.9	1.7	2.2	1	1.11	17.74	1%
40.	The Nationalist Government has conclusively shown that it will never allow anti-Semitism to take root in the Republic.	+	11	11	38	21	27	3	2.7	3.5	1.9	1.6	2	1.07	10.60	1%
41.	Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	-	42	5	20	7	55	12	3.5	4.0	2.8	1.2	3	1.10	6.98	1%
	<u>S.A. Politics</u>															
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	4.0	1.8	2.2	1.5	1.26	14.67	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	4.2	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	4.2	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	24	37	10	3.2	4.0	2.3	1.7	3.5	1.10	11.03	1%
46.	Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.	+	33	20	53	14	13	-	2.2	2.9	1.5	1.4	6.5	0.90	9.72	1%
47.	The preservation of western civilisation in South Africa makes it necessary to minimise contact between whites and non-whites.	+	37	10	39	20	27	3	2.7	3.6	1.9	1.7	3.5	1.07	11.30	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	9.76	1%

Notes and Key

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

TABLE 6.2

DISTRIBUTION OF SUB-SCALE SCORES : FREQUENCIES,
PERCENTAGES, MEANS, MEDIAN AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS.¹

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
S.D.	4.3	5.8	3.6	2.7	3.3	3.6	2.0	5.0
S.E.	.27	.36	.22	.17	.20	.22	.12	.31
N	262	262	262	262	261	262	256	256

1. 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.

FIGURE 6.1 PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION CURVES OF ATTITUDE SUB-SCALES

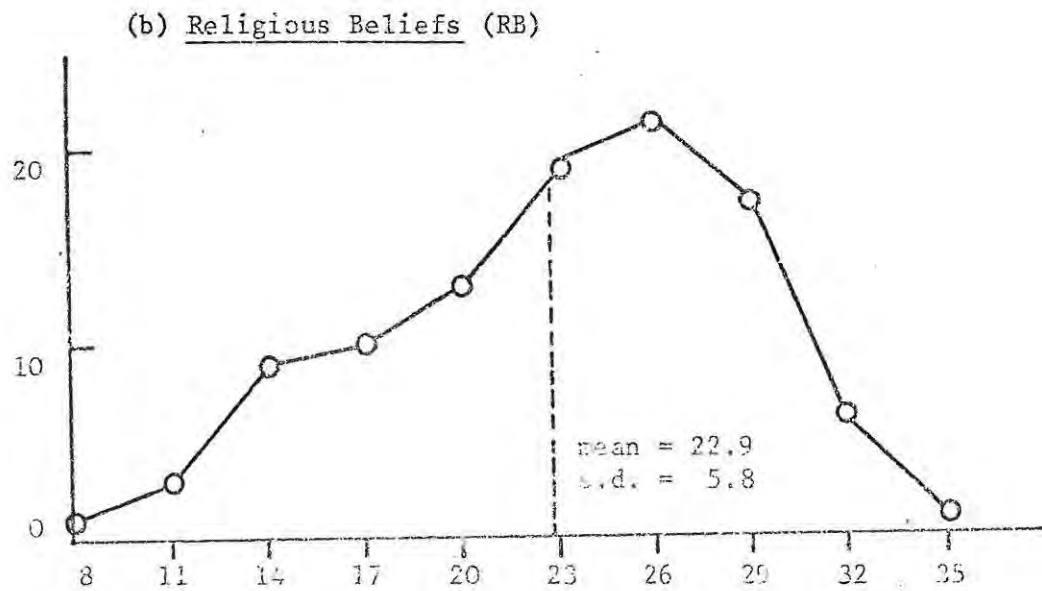
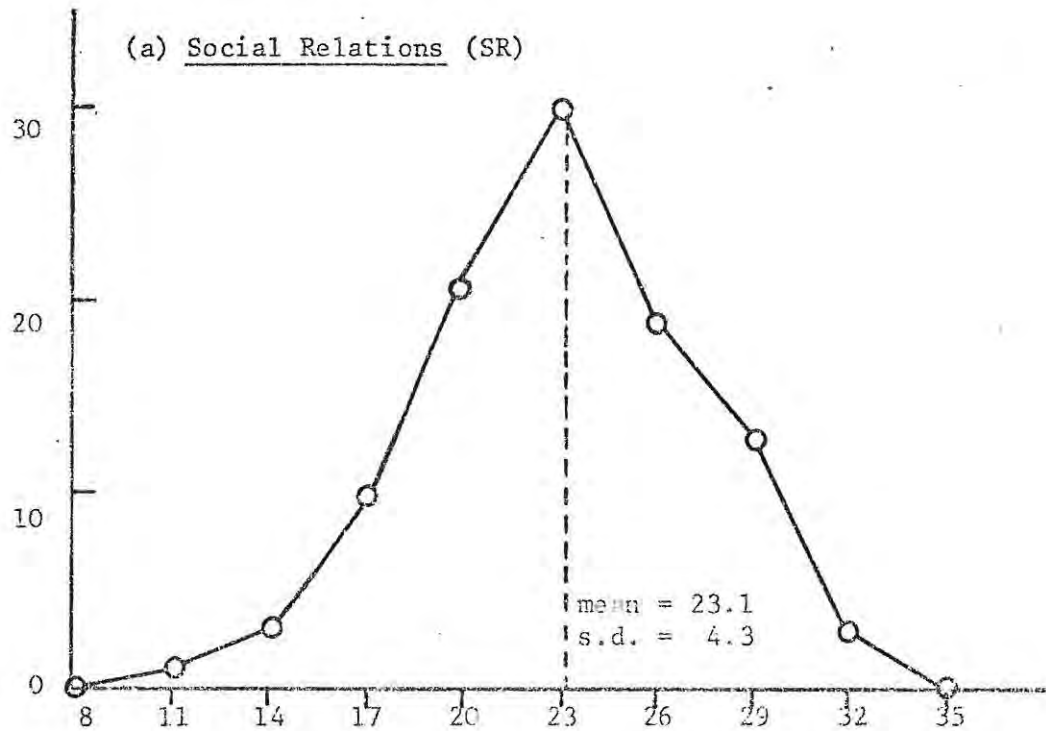
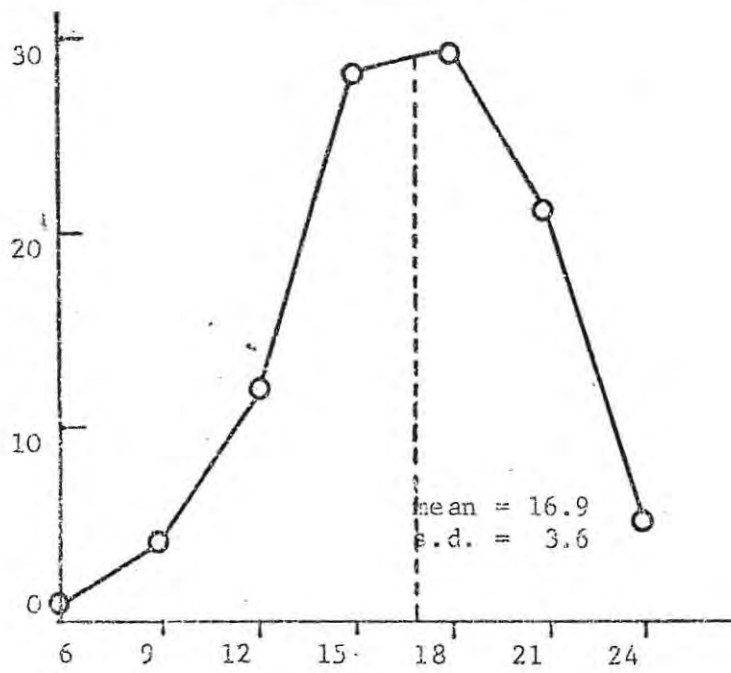


FIGURE 6.I (continued)

(c) Ethnocentrism (ETH)



(d) Antisemitism (AS)

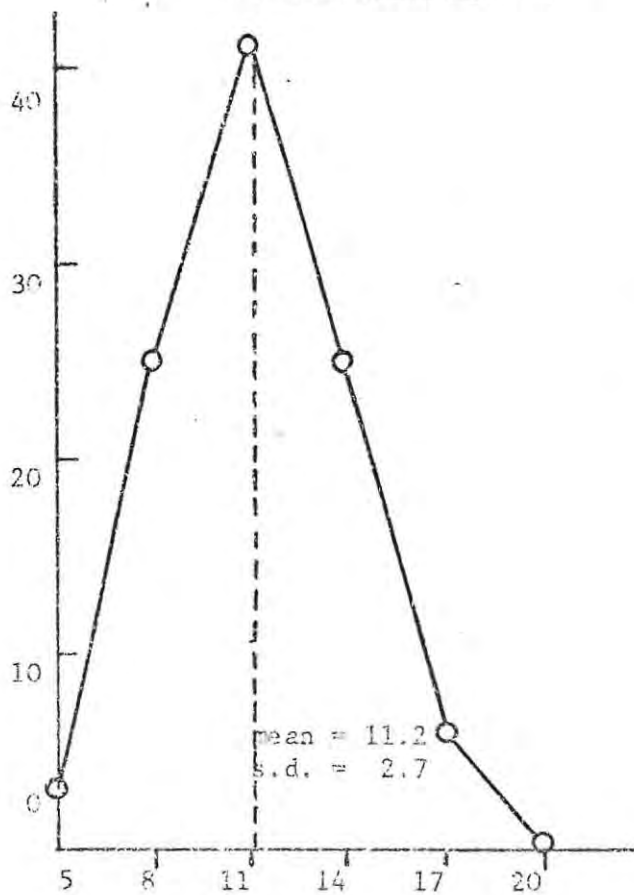


FIGURE 6.I (continued)

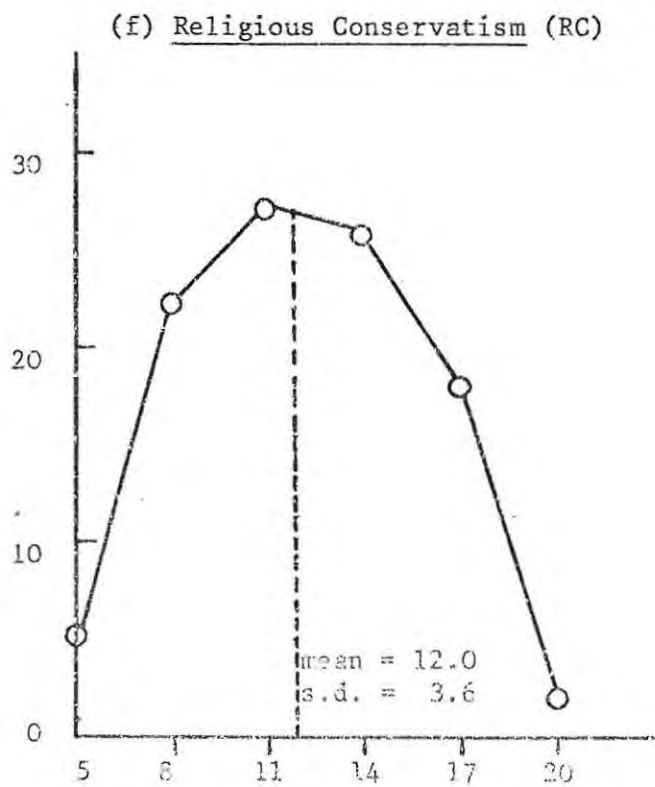
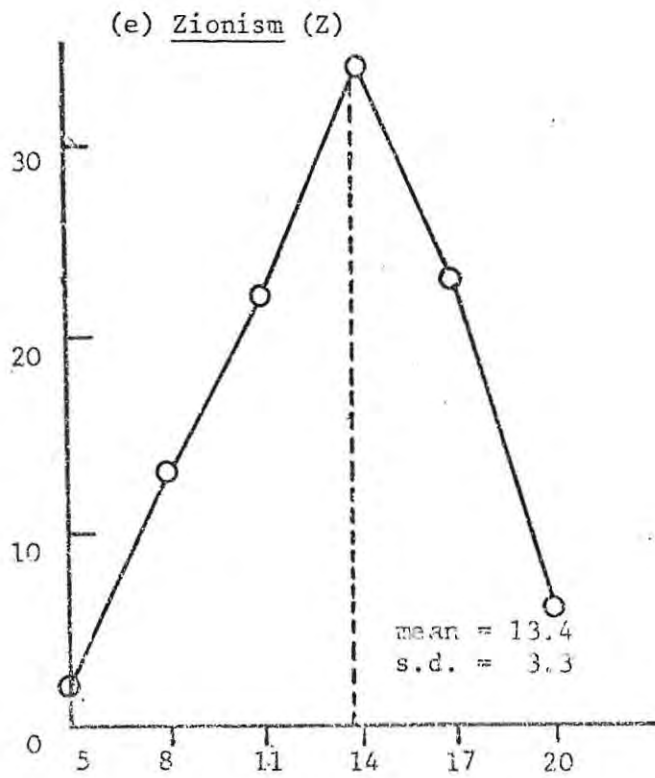
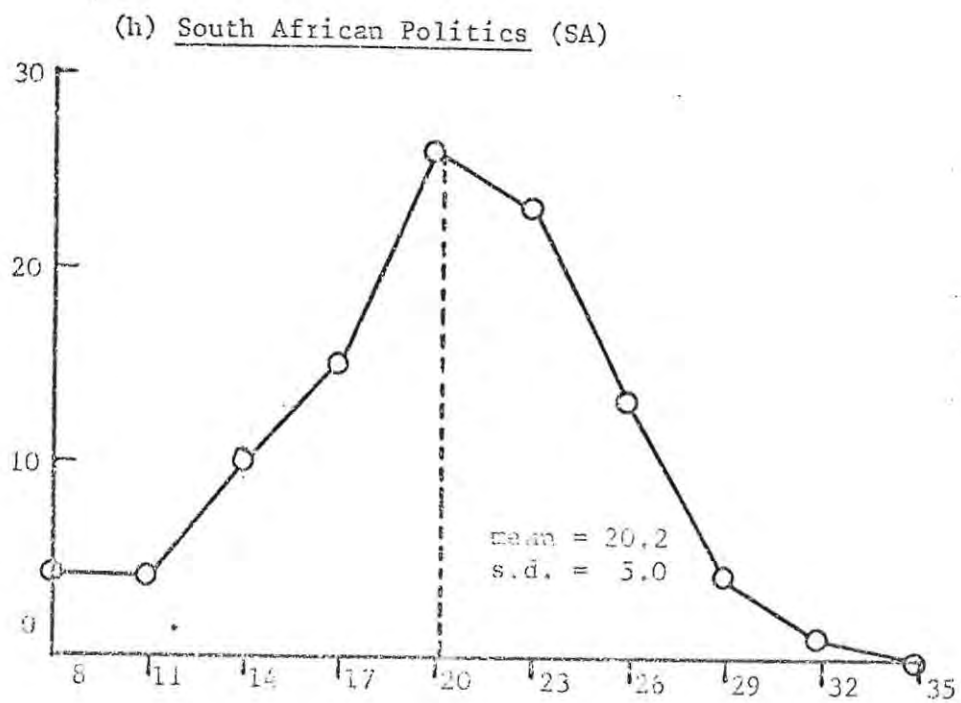
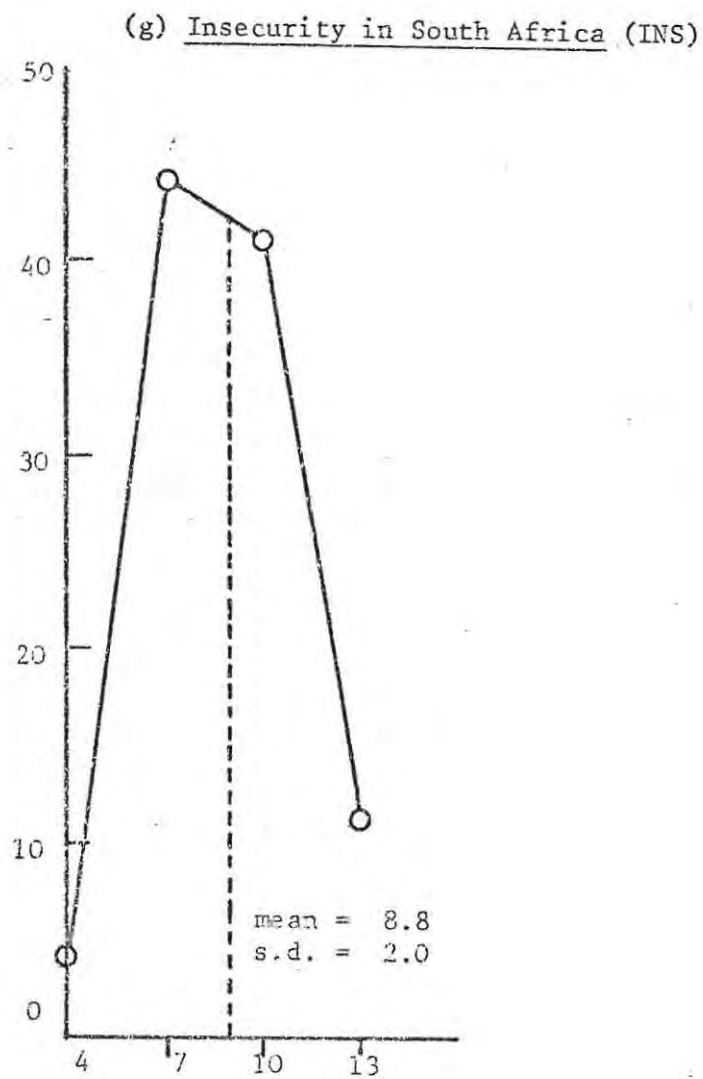


FIGURE 6.1 (continued)



analysed. This analysis yielded two factors on one of which the six Jewish identification scales loaded heavily, and on the other, the two South Africa scales. The third item analysis was, therefore, confined to the 31 items relating solely to Jewish identification and, as was expected, proved more fruitful than the first two analyses. This, as Table 6.4 shows, yielded 8 factors, of which five corresponded closely to the original sub-scales and were given identical labels - viz. Social Relations (SR), Religious Beliefs (RB), Antisemitism (AS), Zionism (Z) and Religious Conservatism (RC). The items comprising the Ethnocentrism sub-scale (ETH), however, loaded either on the factor labelled Jewish Survival (factor VI) or on Ethnocentric Pride (factor VIII). Factor VII, on which two items loaded, could not be identified satisfactorily.

TABLE 6.3

SUB-SCALE TOTALS: ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

SUB-SCALE	FACTOR I	FACTOR II
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 Africa	.27831	.78973

In view of the results of the factor analyses, as well as of correlations and partial correlations between sub-scale totals (Tables 6.5 and 6.6, respectively), only the Jewish identification sub-scales will be considered in this Chapter and,

TABLE 6.4 HIGH D.P. JEWISH IDENTIFICATION ATTITUDE SCALE
ITEMS: ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

STATEMENT	SUB-SCALE	STATEMENT NO.	RELIGIOUS BELIEFS I	SOCIAL RELATIONS II	ZIONISM III	RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM IV	ANTISEMITISM V	JEWISH SURVIVAL VI	VII	ETHNOCENTRIC PRIDE VIII
God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.	RB	5	8							
God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	RB	24	8							
God will reward the good and punish the wicked.	RB	32	7							
The Torah (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mount Sinai and may not be changed.	RB	9	7							
One should try to observe all the mitzvot (religious laws).	RB	38	7							
Kashruth is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.	RB	40	6							
The Orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	RC	2	6			4				
It is essential to be a member of a synagogue.	SR	29	6					-4		
God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	RB	20	5							
It is important to participate in Jewish communal activities.	SR	15	4		4			-4		
In general, I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores.	SR	45		7						
I would rather a Jewish attorney or accountant handle my affairs than a non-Jew.	SR	48		7						
I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.	SR	14		6						
I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.	SR	1		5						
If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.	Z	13			7					
Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.	Z	17			7					
Our continued survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.	Z	35			7					
I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.	Z	43			6					
The Reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	RC	28				8				
Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.	RC	16				7				
It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant rather than join a Reform congregation.	RC	18				6				
The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish.	AS	26					-7			
Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.	AS	36					-6			
I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	AS	18					-4	6		
Anti-Semitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanised Jews.	AS	31					-4		4	
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.	Z	3						-6		
I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as "Las Vegas".	Z	23						-5		
Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones.	SR	30							8	
Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.	E	21								-8
On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.	E	34								-7
A Jew is more sensitive to his fellowman's feelings than is a non-Jew.	E	6								-5

apart from brief references in the following section, shall leave the two relating to South Africa will be left for discussion in Chapter Ten.

B. Description of the Sub-Scales

Each of the seven items making up the Social Relations sub-scale defines a social situation as preferable or otherwise in terms of whether or not other participants are Jews (e.g. "I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood"). The specific situations referred to, vary in the degree of intimacy, formality and organization involved 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 (the 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, and those referring to the obligation, which Jews have, to observe God's Law. 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 atheistic position.

The five items of the Ethnocentrism sub-scale may be roughly divided into those in which Jews and non-Jews are compared in respect of some valued characteristic, and those which reflect the desire for Jewish survival. Although the items are treated as forming a single sub-scale on the basis of their d.p.'s,

the qualitative division along the lines mentioned is reflected in the factor analysis of the items (Table 6.4). 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 (as item frequency distributions show), 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. From over twenty items originally piloted (see Chapter Three), only five were included in the final interview schedule and of these one was ultimately discarded because of a low d.p. A high score on the Antisemitism scale, then, indicates disagreement with pejorative stereotypes of Jews as well as indifference to "bad" behaviour of individual Jews. A low score, on the other hand, indicates an acceptance of these stereotypes, probably in relation to Jews other than oneself, and embarrassment at bad behaviour of individual Jews. The scale has been labelled 'Antisemitism' rather than 'Self-hatred', and this is discussed in a subsequent Chapter.

The Zionism sub-scale was the most difficult to construct inasmuch as responses to the pilot items confirmed the popular belief that South African Jews are a Zionist community. In the final schedule some of the low d.p. pilot items were, nevertheless, included as well as several new, untested items. The final sub-scale comprises four high d.p. 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,² 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 is virtually impossible to interpret 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, while others refer to the way in which Jews should react to discrimination against non-whites. Those referring to government policy can be further divided into those which apply to overall political relations and those which are frequently referred to as 'petty apartheid'. A high score indicates agreement with government policy and general satisfaction with the racial situation, while a low score indicates opposition to government policy. As Table 6.1 shows, there is quite a sharp difference between distributions on items relating to appropriate Jewish reaction and those on other items. 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. As we have already indicated, however, discussion of these two last-mentioned scales will be deferred to a subsequent Chapter.

2. For a brief discussion of Orthodox and Reform Judaism see Chapter on Religion.

C. The Jewish Identification Sub-Scales

Dealing with the Jewish Identification sub-scales as such, rather than with their constituent items, Table 6.2 and Figures 6.1 (a) - (f) show that, apart from the Religious Beliefs scale, all are normally distributed about their means, and that means, modes and medians virtually co-incide. Furthermore, it should be noted that scores are distributed throughout most of the possible range. This would suggest 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, it should be pointed out that on the scales SR, ETH and Z, the means exceed the mid-points of the range and that these latter 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 distribution on the RB sub-scale towards the positive sector of the range.

What is particularly interesting, however, is that although factor analysis (Table 6.3) showed communality between the six scales - which we have 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, we find, as Table 6.5 shows, that $r \approx \pm .4$ in the following cases: SR:RB (+.47), SR:ETH (+.57), SR:Z (+.43), SR:RC (+.41), RB:ETH (+.46), RB:RC (+.53), ETH:RC (+.42). If, as Table 6.6 shows, partial correlations are calculated, the number of high correlations is reduced to two, possibly three: SR:ETH.RB.Z (+.42), RB:RC.SR.ETH (+.38) and SR:Z.ETH.RB (+.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. This independence of the aspects or dimensions of identification is indicated both by the patterns of correlation between the sub-scales and by the fact that all but six of the thirty-one items each, loaded on one

TABLE 6.5 PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENTS BETWEEN ATTITUDE SUB-SCALES

SUB-SCALE	Religious Beliefs	Ethnocentrism	Antisemitism	Zionism	Religious Conservatism	Insecurity in South Africa	South Africa
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

factor only in the factor analysis (Table 6.4). We must therefore 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 6.7, based on the detailed information presented in Table 6.1, 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. From this table we see that 15 items which had means above the scale mid-point, 3, were also markedly positively skewed (i.e. 1.5:1 or more). Although these items come from all the sub-scales except AS, they do appear to exhibit some common features. Thus items 17,3,9 (perhaps), 4,32,19 and 28 (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, then, that the overwhelming majority of respondents desires 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 clearly do not want 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 6.6

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ATTITUDE SUB-SCALES

SUB - SCALES (i, j, k, l)	r_{ij}	$r_{ij.k}$	$r_{ij.kl}$
Social Relations X Ethnocentrism	.57		
. Religious Beliefs. Zionism			.42
Social Relations X Religious Beliefs	.47		
. Ethnocentrism		.28	
. Ethnocentrism. Religious Conservatism			.21
Social Relations X Zionism	.43		
. Ethnocentrism		.32	
. Ethnocentrism. Religious Beliefs			.27
Social Relations X Religious Conservatism	.41		
. Ethnocentrism		.23	
. Ethnocentrism. Religious Beliefs			.13
Religious Beliefs X Religious Conservatism	.53		
. Social Relations. Ethnocentrism			.38
Religious Beliefs X Ethnocentrism	.46		
. Social Relations		.26	
. Social Relations. Religious Conservatism			.18
Religious Beliefs X Zionism	.33		
. Social Relations		.16	
Religious Beliefs X South Africa	.25		
. Religious Conservatism		.19	
. Insecurity in South Africa		.27	
Religious Beliefs X Insecurity in South Africa	-.15		
. South Africa		-.21	
Ethnocentrism X Religious Conservatism	.42		
. Social Relations		.25	
. Social Relations. Religious Beliefs			.16
Ethnocentrism X Zionism	.32		
. Social Relations		.10	
Ethnocentrism X Antisemitism	-.26		
. Religious Beliefs		-.16	
Ethnocentrism X Insecurity in South Africa	-.22		
. South Africa		-.24	

TABLE 6.6 (continued)

SUB - SCALES (i, j, k, l)	r_{ij}	$r_{ij.k}$	$r_{ij.kl}$
Zionism X Religious Conservatism	.31		
.Social Relations		.16	
Zionism X Insecurity in South Africa	-.20		
.South Africa		-.21	
Antisemitism X South Africa	-.23		
.Insecurity in South Africa		-.25	

NOTES: (a) Partial Correlations calculated according to formulae 19.3 and 19.4 in Blalock, Hubert M.: Social Statistics, pp. 334-335.

(b) In column headings, i refers to first variable,
j " " second "
k " " first variable partialled
out, l " " second " "
out, r indicates correlation.

(c) Remaining zero-order correlations minimally affected by partialling and, therefore, excluded from table.

TABLE 6.7

ITEMS COMPRISING SIX JEWISH IDENTIFICATION SUB-SCALES:
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO DIRECTION AND DEGREE OF SKEWING
OF DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES

No. in Table 6.1	Sub- scale	Proportion respondents identifying + : -	Mean	S.D.	ITEM (paraphrased)
33	Z	6 : 1	3.9	1.0	Would encourage child to settle in Israel if he wished
11	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	<u>Torah</u> 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 <u>mitzvoth</u>
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

TABLE 6.7 (continued)

No. in Table 6.1	Sub- scale	Proportion respondents identifying + : -	Mean	S.D.	ITEM (paraphrased)
14	RB	1.3 : 1	3.1	1.2	<u>Kashruth</u> 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 S.A. - 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.

D. The Relationship between Sub-scale scores and Demographic and other variables

Each sub-scale was split at the median³ 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, all tables yielding a chi-square value giving $p \geq .05$ have been presented in order not to exclude, inadvertently any possible significant relationships.

(a) Sex

Sex was not significantly related to any of the six sub-scales except, at the 5% confidence level, to Social Relations. Table 6.8 shows that women identify on this dimension somewhat more positively than men. The difference is, however, slight, and no explanation is offered, though attention is drawn to Table 7.8 in Chapter Seven. This indicates that women tend to join non-Jewish organizations less frequently than men.

TABLE 6.8

SEX X SOCIAL RELATIONS

SEX \ SR	Median and below	above median	Total
Male	77	51	128
(o-e) ² /e	1.22	1.38	
Female	62	72	134
(o-e) ² /e	1.16	1.32	
TOTAL	139	123	262

df = 1

Chi square⁴ = 4.53

$p < .05$

3. Sub-scales were divided either into the categories 'median and below' and 'above median', or into 'below median' and 'median and above'. This is indicated for each Table. Furthermore, the categories 'Don't know' and 'no response' were omitted from calculations so that totals are frequently less than 262. In cross-tabulations by Age, the age-group 65+ was omitted as already indicated in footnote 1 above.
4. Corrected for continuity on all 2 X 2 tables (see Siegel 1956, p.107).

(b) Age

Age was related to all sub-scales except Social Relations, and the cross-tabulations are presented in Tables 6.9.1 to 6.9.5. 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 were 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 parents most of whom would fall between 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 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.

TABLE 6.9.1

AGE X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

AGE \ RB	Median and below	above Median	Total
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 6.9.2

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 6.9.3

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 6.9.4

AGE X ZIONISM

AGE \ Z	Below Median	Median and above	Total
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 6.9.5

AGE X ANTISEMITISM

AGE	Median and below	Above median	Total
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

(c) General education

No relationship was found between standard of education and the Ethnocentrism and Zionism scales. The remaining scales, cross-tabulated by general education, are presented in Tables 6.10.1 to 6.10.4. 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 preferred, more than more educated Jews, 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.

TABLE 6.10.1

GENERAL EDUCATION X SOCIAL RELATIONS

EDUCATION \ SR	Median and below	Above median	Total
Primary	3	8	11
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.42	1.65	
Secondary	71	72	143
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.34	.38	
Post-secondary	65	42	107
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.12	1.28	
TOTAL	139	122	261

df = 2 chi square = 6.19 p < .05

TABLE 6.10.2

GENERAL EDUCATION X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Education \ RB	Median and below	above Median	Total
Primary	1	10	11
$(o - e)^2 / e$	4.26	5.31	
Secondary	67	76	143
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.94	2.42	
Post-secondary	77	30	107
$(o - e)^2 / e$	5.21	6.51	
TOTAL	145	116	261

df = 2 chi square = 25.65 p < .001

TABLE 6.10.3

GENERAL EDUCATION X RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM

Education \ RC	Median and below	above Median	Total
Primary	0	11	11
$(o - e)^2 / e$	5.90	5.90	
Secondary	76	67	143
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.02	.02	
Post-secondary	65	42	107
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.90	1.05	
TOTAL	141	120	261

df = 2 chi square = 13.79 p < .01

TABLE 6.10.4

GENERAL EDUCATION X ANTISEMITISM

EDUCATION \ AS	Median and below	Above median	Total
Primary	8	3	11
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.93	1.00	
Secondary	85	58	143
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.63	1.75	
Post-secondary	42	65	107
$(o - e)^2 / e$	3.20	3.42	
TOTAL	135	126	261

df = 2 chi square = 11.93 p < .01

(d) Generation

Apart from Ethnocentrism and Social Relations, Tables 6.11.1 to 6.11.4 indicate that there is a significant relationship between attitudes 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' - i.e., second or third generation locally-born. On these two scales, this group identified significantly less positively than other respondents.

TABLE 6.11.1

GENERATION X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

<div> <div>RB</div> <div>GENERATION</div> </div>	Median and below	Above median	Total
Born Eastern Europe	10	26	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	4.85	5.93	
Born South African/other	98	80	178
$(o - e)^2 / e$	0	0	
Father born South Africa	30	7	37
$(o - e)^2 / e$	4.63	5.63	
TOTAL	138	113	251

df = 2 chi square = 21.04 p < .001

TABLE 6.11.2

GENERATION X RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM

<div> <div>RC</div> <div>GENERATION</div> </div>	Median and below	Above median	Total
Born Eastern Europe	6	30	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	8.98	10.15	
Born South Africa/other	101	77	178
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.48	.54	
Father born South Africa	26	11	37
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2.09	2.35	
TOTAL	133	118	251

df = 2 chi square = 24.59 p < .001

TABLE 6.11.3

GENERATION X ZIONISM

GENERATION \ Z	Below median	Median and above	Total
Born Eastern Europe	9	27	36
$(o - e)^2/e$	2.93	2.29	
Born South Africa	84	93	177
$(o - e)^2/e$	.48	.37	
Father born South Africa	17	20	37
$(o - e)^2/e$	.03	.02	
TOTAL	110	140	250

df = 2

chi square = 6.12

p < .05

TABLE 6.11.4

GENERATION X ANTISEMITISM

GENERATION \ AS	Median and below	Above median	Total
Born Eastern Europe	25	11	36
$(o - e)^2/e$	2.28	2.41	
Born South African/other	89	89	178
$(o - e)^2/e$	.07	.07	
Father born South Africa	15	22	37
$(o - e)^2/e$	.84	.89	
TOTAL	129	122	251

df = 2

chi square = 6.56

p < .05

(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 (Tables 6.12.1 to 6.12.5).⁵ 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.

TABLE 6.12.1 . . .

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION X SOCIAL RELATIONS

SR SYNAGOGUE	Median and below	Above median	Total
Orthodox	89	108	197
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2.41	2.74	
Reform	20	8	28
$(o - e)^2 / e$	1.74	1.98	
Neither	30	6	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	6.07	6.94	
TOTAL	139	122	261

df = 2

chi square = 21.88

p < .001

5. Orthodox Judaism, as the term implies, is conservative in its approach to the synagogue service and to the traditional religious beliefs and practices. The Reform movement, which claims that in practice few Jews uphold the tenets of orthodoxy, has attempted to adapt Judaism to the modern world. This adaptation involves the synagogue service, rituals, beliefs, status of women, conversion, marriage rules, etc. The organization of the two branches are discussed in the Chapter on Social Relations, while differences in religious behaviour are taken up in the Chapter on Religion.

TABLE 6.12.2

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

RB SYNAGOGUE	Median and below	Above median	Total
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 6.12.3

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION X RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM

RC SYNAGOGUE	Median and Below	Above median	Total
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

TABLE 6.12.4

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION X ETHNOCENTICISM

ETH SYNAGOGUE	Median and below	Above median	Total
Orthodox	97	100	197
$(o - e)^2/e$	.83	.97	
Reform	18	10	28
$(o - e)^2/e$	.56	.65	
Neither	26	10	36
$(o - e)^2/e$	2.17	2.56	
TOTAL	141	120	261

df = 2 chi square = 7.74 p < .05

TABLE 6.12.5

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION X ZIONISM

Z SYNAGOGUE	Below median	Median and above	Total
Orthodox	82	114	196
$(o - e)^2/e$	.33	.27	
Reform	11	17	28
$(o - e)^2/e$	.18	.14	
Neither	23	13	36
$(o - e)^2/e$	2.96	2.39	
TOTAL	116	144	260

df = 2 chi square = 6.27 p < .05

(f) Jewish Education Standard and Source⁶

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 6.13 and 6.14, there appears to be no significant relationship between attitude and Jewish education. The first exception is that on the Religious Conservatism scale, Table 6.13, we find that those with a minimal Jewish education - that is, between 0 - 2 years as a young child, or barmitzvah lessons only - were significantly less traditionalist than those who had any Jewish education at all. The second exception, Table 6.14, is that Religious Beliefs are related to the source of Jewish education. It was found that those who had attended a day school were significantly more religious than those who had received only part-time tuition. However, since those with no Jewish education were 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.

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.

TABLE 6.13

JEWISH EDUCATION STANDARD X RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM

JEWISH EDUCATION STANDARD \ RC	Median and below	above median	Total
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 6.14

JEWISH EDUCATION SOURCE X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

JEWISH EDUCATION SOURCE \ RB	Median and below	Above median	Total
Day School	11	21	32
$(o - e)^2 / e$	2.47	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

E. 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, as was shown in Chapter Three, 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 (see Chapter Three and Table 3.1) - and, therefore, made it possible to distinguish between high and low identifiers.

The implications 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 items⁷ included in the pilot and final schedules, only 4 had sufficiently high discriminative powers to form the Zionism Sub-scale (Tables 3.1 and 6.1), while even these items, together with five of the seven rejected items⁸, were markedly positively skewed (Tables 6.1 and 6.7). It must, therefore, be noted, that because the method of scale construction has relegated Zionism to a secondary position in the preceding discussing, 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

7. There were actually 14 items involved. However, three items were simply slightly altered versions of the originals (Table 3.1, items 105 and 113, 110 and 117, 111 and 114).

8. Distributions for the pilot study are not reproduced in the present study. The two rejected items not positively skewed (Table 3.1, 109 and 112) were ambiguously worded.

African Jews as a whole⁹ - 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 (see Chapter Three), 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 6.7). 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.

9. 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., p.271). Herman (1945) and Dubb (1971 and forthcoming) 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).

(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 6.7).

(c) Correlations and partial correlations between sub-scale distributions indicate their relative discreteness (Tables 6.5 and 6.6). Thus respondents identifying very positively on one dimension might identify negatively on another.

(d) Cross-tabulations against several variables (Tables 6.8-6.14) 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.

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.11, 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.13, 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.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL RELATIONS

A. Introduction

In this Chapter, patterns of social relations - both formal and informal - are examined. Broadly speaking, it is concerned with 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 situation 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.

B. 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 forms¹. Of the six Reform congregations, 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 U.H.C., 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

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.

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 locally, 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

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.

publications; organized 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 on³.

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.

C. Synagogue Affiliation

The importance attached to synagogue affiliation is expressed in responses to the attitude item: "It is essential to be a member of a synagogue". As Table 7.1 shows, 65% of respondents agreed with the statement and 29% disagreed.

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.

Reflecting this attitude is the fact, as Table 7.2 indicates, that 74% were actually members of some congregation⁴. While it is to be expected that religious needs would be a motivating factor, there is considerable evidence that they are by no means the only one. There is firstly, the discrepancy between synagogue affiliation and attendance at services. Table 7.3 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.

TABLE 7.1

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	24	6	48	17

Mean = 3.5

S.D. = 1.16

TABLE 7.2

SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION

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

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.

TABLE 7.3

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

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 d.p. of 1.6 and ranks fourth in magnitude on the seven-item Social Relations (SR) scale (Table 6.1).
- (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 activities" - loads .4 each on the same two factors as well as on Zionism (Table 6.4).
- (c) As Table 7.4 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 9.11).

One last point might be made in connection with synagogue affiliation: of the 207 respondents who belonged to a congregation, 120 - at most - 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.

D. Associational Affiliation and Participation

Like the Red Cross and S.P.C.A., 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 -, i.e. excluding subscriptions, street collections, door-to-door canvasses and membership dues - and that of these, 202 had contributed mainly or only to Jewish causes (Table 7.5). It is clear, then, that a large proportion of Johannesburg Jews identify with the community, to a greater or lesser extent, at this level.

TABLE 7.4

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.

TABLE 7.5

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILANTHROPIES

Philanthropy	No.	%
Three major Jewish, <u>only</u> *	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

NOTE: *Three country-wide campaigns are conducted regularly by the Israeli United Appeal (for Israel), the United Communal Fund (for local amenities), and the South African Board of Jewish Education (for the local educational system). The majority of respondents who had contributed to other Jewish philanthropies, had also contributed to one or more of these campaigns.

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 involved⁶. 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 (e.g. Zionist societies, groups studying aspects of Jewish culture) or of a more general nature (e.g. an adult education programme in music appreciation, sponsoring an African school);
- (b) whether the association was founded by Jews qua Jews (e.g. country 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 (e.g. many Johannesburg cultural societies have a predominantly Jewish membership, while some occupational and service associations have relatively few Jewish members).

6. As an indication of degrees of involvement, the pattern of participation in the Zionist movement, Table 7.6, 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 7.6

AFFILIATION TO AND PARTICIPATION IN ZIONIST ASSOCIATIONS

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

NOTE: All data except "Active members of Zionist Society" based on responses to Question 22, Appendix A. Data for last category from responses to Question 28.

Table 7.7 shows 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. Tables 7.8 and 7.9 show 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, from Table 7.7 it is apparent that those organizations which did not have a predominantly Jewish membership, were mostly sports, social, cultural and professional societies.

It might also be noted, from Tables 7.8 and 7.9 that the patterns of associational participation differ for men and women. Thus:

(a) 32 women, as against 13 men, belonged only to Jewish associations (Table 7.8).

(b) 28 men, as against 17 women, belonged only to associations with a predominantly non-Jewish membership (Table 7.8). Of these, 13 men and 3 women belonged only to sports clubs. The majority of women (12) belonged to various

TABLE 7.7 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 No. of Associations	No. of Respondents	Not Predominantly Jewish No. of Associations	No. of Respondents		
Cultural	8	9	4	4	7 [*]	12	26	-
Service & Welfare	17	44	4	3	17	17	53	-
Zionist	12	32	-	-	-	-	32	-
Sports & Social	8	19 ^o	12 [*]	35	33 [*]	34	79	-
Professional	-	-	4	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 (e.g. 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.

service, professional, welfare and other non-sport organizations (Table 7.9).

(c) 52 men, as against 25 women, belonged to associations with a predominantly non-Jewish membership (Table 7.9).

(d) 49 men and 28 women belonged to sports clubs (Table 9.10).

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

TABLE 7.8

ASSOCIATIONAL PARTICIPATION: MEMBERSHIP X SEX

SEX	MEMBERSHIP						No Associational Participation	TOTAL
	J	J/PJ	J/PJ and J/NPJ	PJ	PJ/NPJ	NPJ		
Male No.	13	13	22	1	2	28	55	134
%	10	10	16	1	1	21	41	100
Female No.	32	16	5	5	3	17	66	144
%	22	11	3	3	2	12	46	99
Total No.	45	29	27	6	5	45	121	278
%	16	10	10	2	2	16	44	100

Notes: (a) J= Jewish organization

PJ= Not Jewish organization, but Predominantly Jewish membership

NPJ= Not Jewish organization, and membership Not Predominantly Jewish

(b) 5 respondents did not answer Question 28.

TABLE 7.9

ASSOCIATIONAL PARTICIPATION: SPORT AND NON-SPORT
ASSOCIATIONS X MEMBERSHIP X SEX

Type	Membership	Males	Females	Total
<u>No Sport</u>	J	10	28	38
	J/PJ	1]	2]	3]
	J/NPJ	1 5	1 4	2 9
	J/PJ/NPJ	3]	1]	4]
	PJ	1]	5]	6]
	PJ/NPJ	1 15	1 18	2 33
	NPJ	13]	12]	25]
	Total	30	50	80
<u>Sport and No Sport</u>	J	3	4	7
	J/PJ	0]	5]	5]
	J/NPJ	10 14	2 3	12 22
	J/PJ/NPJ	4]	1]	5]
	PJ/NPJ	1] 3	2] 4	3] 7
	NPJ	2]	2]	4]
	Total	20	16	36
<u>Sport only</u>	J or PJ	12] 16	9] 9	21] 25
	J/PJ/NPJ	4]	0]	4]
	NPJ	13	3	16
	Total	29	12	41
Total		79	73	157

Considering the evidence presented in both this and the previous discussion (i.e. 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 (i.e. those active in non-sport, Jewish associations - Table 7.7) 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 (see, in particular, Table 7.10 below).

E. Informal Social Relations

It has already been shown (Table 4.2 and 4.3; Figures 5.I and 5.II) 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" (Table 7.10), as well as in responses to questions about close friends and acquaintances (Table 7.11). These Tables show that 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.

TABLE 7.10

RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS: "I FEEL MORE AT HOME LIVING IN A JEWISH NEIGHBOURHOOD", AND "I FEEL MORE AT HOME AMONG JEWS THAN AMONG NON-JEWS". PERCENTAGES.

Response	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Score	1	2	3	4	5
Jewish neighbourhood	1	16	16	44	22
At home with Jews	2	17	8	50	22

Mean (Jewish neighbourhood) = 3.7

S.D. = 1.03

Mean (At home with Jews) = 3.7

S.D. = 1.06

TABLE 7.11

CLOSE FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES

Proportion of Jews to non-Jews	Close Friends		Acquaintances	
	No.	%	No.	%
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.

In the economic sphere, the bond between Jews is also evident. Of those respondents who were gainfully employed, Table 7.12 shows that for 57% their most important business associates (including employers, partners, clients and customers) were Jewish, while a further 13% said that at least half were Jews. Furthermore, as Table 7.13 shows, of the 47 respondents who employed white

labour, 9 employed mostly Jews, 15 employed Jews in 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.

TABLE 7.12 BUSINESS ASSOCIATES

TYPE OF ASSOCIATE	No.	%
Partners relatives	1	1
Partners all Jews	6	5
Employers all Jews	9	7
Clients all Jews	4	3
Other all Jews*	16	13
Various all Jews**	21	16
Total all Jews	57	45
Clients mostly Jews	1	1
Other mostly Jews*	4	3
Various mostly Jews**	11	9
Total mostly Jews	16	13
Partners equally Jews and non-Jews	1	(1)
Employers equal	7	6
Clients equal	2	1
Other equal*	1	(1)
Various equal**	6	5
Total equally Jews and non-Jews	17	13
Employers mostly non-Jews	7	6
Other mostly non-Jews*	13	10
Various mostly non-Jews**	10	8
Total mostly non-Jews	30	24
Partners all non-Jews	1	1
Clients all non-Jews	6	5
Total all non-Jews	7	6
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	127	101

NOTE: (a) * 'Other' includes fellow-employees, supervisors, etc.
 (b) **'Various' indicates that more than one category of business associate was mentioned by the respondent - for example, partners and clients.
 (c) This Table should be treated with reservation, as responses were of uneven quality. It should not be regarded as an exhaustive list of of respondents' business associates, but rather as a classification of those whom respondents regarded as most important or significant.

TABLE 7.13 EMPLOYMENT OF JEWISH EMPLOYEES

Proportion of Jews employed	No. of Employers
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 number of employers	46

With regard to patronage of Jewish merchants and professions, Table 7.14 shows that 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 handles by Jewish professionals.

TABLE 7.14 RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS: "IN GENERAL, I PREFER TO SHOP AT JEWISH-OWNED STORES", AND "I WOULD RATHER A JEWISH ATTORNEY OR ACCOUNTANT HANDLE MY AFFAIRS THAN A NON-JEW". PERCENTAGES.

RESPONSE	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
SCORE	1	2	3	4	5
Prefer Jewish shops	9	60	9	18	3
Prefer Jewish Professionals	6	32	10	41	11

Mean (Jewish shops) = 2.4

S.D = 0.99

Mean (Jewish professionals) = 3.2

S.D.= 1.18

F. 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?

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."

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. Lets 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 (e.g. relating to family and children)⁹, different behaviour (e.g. "they are a drinking crowd"), different interests (implied, rather than stated) and, in any case, do not especially care for Jews (e.g. "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

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.

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 relationships¹¹. "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.

10. Various aspects of Jewish survival are discussed in Chapter Ten.

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.

(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.

Table 7.15 shows that 56% of respondents felt that Jews would get along better if they were not so clannish. It appears then that although (a) Jews prefer to associate both formally and informally with other Jews, and (b) 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, Table 6.4, both, and only, these items loaded significantly on Factor VII, which might possibly be labelled 'socio-cultural integration'. Thus, the responses shown in Table 7.16 indicate that at least 40% of respondents favour some degree of integration with non-Jewish South Africans.

TABLE 7.15

RESPONSES TO STATEMENT: "THE JEWISH GROUP WOULD GET ALONG A LOT BETTER IF MANY JEWS WERE NOT SO CLANNISH". PERCENTAGES.

Response	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Score	1	2	3	4	5
Jews too clannish	11	45	13	27	4

Mean = 2.7

S.D. = 1.11

TABLE 7.16

RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS: "JEWS SHOULD JOIN MIXED CLUBS IN PREFERENCE TO JEWISH ONES", AND "ANTISEMITISM IS DIRECTED MORE AGAINST JEWS WITH OBVIOUS JEWISH WAYS AND MANNERISMS THAN AGAINST THE MORE SOUTH AFRICANIZED JEWS". PERCENTAGES.

Response	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Score	1	2	3	4	5
Join mixed clubs	5	34	19	37	4
Anti-semitism directed at foreign Jews	2	38	12	38	9

Mean (mixed clubs) = 3.0

S.D. = 1.04

Mean (foreign Jews) = 3.1

S.D. = 1.09

It is apparent that there are contradictions between attitudes to preferred social relationships, identification with Jewish institutions and the problems 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 - acquaintances, the people one meets at the homes of friends, and so on - also tend to reflect the feeling of being 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. That action tendencies and attitudes correspond to a large extent, is demonstrated in Table 7.17 in which are presented the results of applying the median test to cross-tabulations of the Social Relations scale by the variables: close friends, acquaintances, philanthropy, hypothetical distribution to charity of R500 and associational participation. It was found that, in all cases, those respondents who were least involved with Jews in practice, tended, significantly, to identify less positively on this attitude scale.

TABLE 7.17

SOCIAL RELATIONS ATTITUDE SCALE SCORES

X BEHAVIOURAL VARIABLES: MEDIAN TEST

VARIABLES	df	χ^2	p <	COMMENTS
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.

G. 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 summarised in the words of the hypothesis (p.13, above) which they confirm: "given that Jews cluster residentially [see Chapters Four and Five], 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, behaviour,... [and that there would be] a far greater range of variation in behaviour than in attitudes " (p.13, 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 Ten), 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 townsfolk 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 town¹². Thus Mayer (1961, pp.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 for a more general rule enunciated by Gordon (1964). Writing of assimilation in the United States, he remarks (pp.80-81): "...entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level [*i.e.* 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.11), "which dimension of identification appears to be the most important?" would, at one level, be: "social relations".

12. Among other things, joining a church or marrying a town woman generally led to this (Mayer 1961, pp.180-181 and 186-188).

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION¹

A. 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...

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.

"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 shochet, 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 fish³ 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 Shabbath. 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 risque Broadway comedies...

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.

" 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., pp. 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 had

existed for little more than a decade, Bernard Sachs (n.d., pp. 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. pp. 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., pp. 39-40). Novelist Arthur Markowitz (1959, pp. 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 Marshallstown 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

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 notice

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 they 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 8.1. 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 mezuzah⁶ 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.

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 desert.

6. The mezuzah is a small metal, wooden or plastic phial about 2½ - 3 inches long and about 1/4 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.

Old Russian ornaments were noticed, a menorah⁸ 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 kosher⁹ 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)".

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.

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 8.2). 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?

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".

TABLE 8.1

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)

RESPONSE	EVALUATION	FREQUENCY
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

TABLE 8.1 (cont.)

RESPONSE	EVALUATION	FREQUENCY
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 (e.g. ... apart from appearance; ... but are more charitable).

TABLE 8.2

FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
"IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU
RESEMBLE OTHER JEWS AND DIFFER FROM NON-JEWS?"

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY
<u>Resemble other Jews:</u>	
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
<u>Differ from other Jews:</u>	
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 <u>bad</u> characteristics of other Jews	14
Don't know in what ways I resemble other Jews	15
TOTAL NO. RESPONSES	459
TOTAL NO. RESPONDENTS	283

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 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

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 dialectical 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.

the material culture of middle-class Jewish homes is often reminiscent, in its clutter and bric-a-brac, of a stereotype of lower middleclass lack of taste; and there are various other traits which have already been referred to. 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 wordly. 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, pp. 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, pp. 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 recognise, 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 gefilte 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, pp. 38-39)

B. 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 found 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

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).

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.

C. The transmission of Jewish traditional culture: Jewish education and Jewish identification

Rappaport (n.d., p. 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 (n.d.) 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 (p. 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". (p. 124-5)

13. Minyan - a quorum of ten men (i.e. 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.

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, p. 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 (n.d., p. 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 p.m. and cheder went on till 7 p.m. every day except Friday, and Sunday morning". Also describing those early days in Fordsburg, Freed (n.d., p. 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 Yiddish vernacular¹⁸". 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 barmitzvah 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 8.3 and 8.4).

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.

There was, however a continuous concern with the quality of Jewish education and Adar, in a report remarks (1965, p. 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 expressed 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 children¹⁹. There is good reason, as well as the opportunity,

19. According to the 1960 census (B. of S. 1966b, p. 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 S.A. 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.

TABLE 8.3

STANDARD OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN 1968 SAMPLE OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS

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

NOTE :

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. Hebrew (or, more correctly, Jewish studies) may be taken as a subject for matric as well as at University.
4. 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 8.4

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
<u>Cheder</u> (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.

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 Six) or in terms of self assessments (Tables 8.5 and 8.6), 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 are supported by another study by the author, in 1969, involving 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, p. 39). It was suggested that Jewish identification was probably more closely related to parents' attitudes and to the general 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., pp. 31-32)²⁰.

Rabbi S. Rappaport²¹ has suggested another possible explanation.

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 Ph.D 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. Head of Department of Hebrew, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg - personal communication.

TABLE 8.5

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

NOTES:

1. Minimal = no Jewish education at all/one or two years as a small child/ Barmitzvah lessons only.
2. Adult classes - these respondents may or may not have had some Jewish education as children.

TABLE 8.6

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	19	13	32
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.69	.67	
Part-time	59	75	134
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.68	.66	
Tutor/Parents	20	16	36
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.33	.31	
None	27	26	53
$(o - e)^2 / e$	.04	.04	
TOTAL	125	130	255

df = 3

chi square = 3.42

p < .50

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 Six and Nine), 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.

D. Jews as a moral community

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

"As the hasidim 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".

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, pp. 136-137).

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 8.7). 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, its 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. Its 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-attable, 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".

TABLE 8.7

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT IS A GOOD JEW?"

CHARACTERISTIC	No. of Responses
<u>Jews and Jewish traditions</u>	
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
<u>Religion</u>	
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
<u>Moral, ethical and personal attributes</u>	
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
<u>Family</u>	
Family conscious, puts children first, treats wife well	15

TABLE 8.7 (cont.)

CHARACTERISTIC	No. of Responses
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	
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	283

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

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 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, nothing to

which the person is not normally entitled is being paid for. 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 bear²³.

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

23. Jacobson (ibid., p. 632) points out that "trackability is produced by a knowledge of a person's network of family or friends. 'Who do you know', (i.e. 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.

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.

E. 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, pp.44ff.) distinguishes between 'historical' (or 'processive') and 'situational' change, and (*ibid.*, pp.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.*, p.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., pp.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' change²⁷. 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., p.58) that the principle of 'situational selection' is relevant. By examining the pressures exerted on the individual, specific

²⁶. Quoted by Mitchell (op.cit., p.44) from A. Southall, 'Introductory Summary', in A. Southall (ed.), Social Change in Modern Africa, O.U.P., London, p.19.

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.

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.

CHAPTER NINE

RELIGION

A. 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 forebears 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, p. 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.

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.

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 (lit.: 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;

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.

- (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.

In order to measure religious observance, however, selection and classification are essential: It would be impossible and unnecessary to investigate all 613:⁴ This is not as difficult a task as it may seem: in the first place many mitzvoth are involved in what may be summarised as 'Sabbath observance', 'Festival observance', observance of dietary laws, etc.; secondly, there are many mitzvoth which apply either only to men, or only to women, while there are others which are situational and may seldom or never arise;⁵ thirdly, there are mitzvoth of which the average Jew is probably quite unaware and others, concerning ethics or morals or personal habits, which he does not realise are mitzvoth. This leaves a relatively small number of specific rules and groups of rules concerning which it is not too difficult to obtain an accurate picture.⁶ Those which have been investigated in this study have already been listed and explained in Chapter Three, together with items relating to religious belief and attitudes. It would, however, be useful at this stage to examine the various items - behavioural and attitudinal - and to indicate their meaning and significance.

B. The Measurement of Religious Beliefs and Action Tendencies

It is possible and, in the interests of greater clarity, useful, to classify

4. The traditional count of mitzvoth.

5. There are, for example, mitzvoth referring specifically to the Temple and its service (including sacrifices), to agricultural practices (including tithes, the jubilee year in which land is not ploughed), to residents of the Holy Land only, and so on.

6. This assumption has been made in all the studies of the religious dimension of Jewish identification, which have been cited.

the mitzvoth into a number of categories, although these are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The categories are: private, public, ritual, ceremonial, and domestic.

(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 kanfoth⁷ and, frequently, the morning prayer at which men put on the tefillin.⁸ Ritual bathing by women before the wedding, on 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

7. A fringed undergarment worn by men. See Glossary.

8. 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: minyan.



PLATE I Tzitzith or fringed
under-garment (see p.191)



PLATE II Tefillin or Phylacteries (see p.191)



PLATE III Boy (over Barmitzvah) 'laying' tefillin (see p.191)

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) Ritual: Some mitzvoth may be regarded as being single acts, routine and undramatic in nature, performed as necessary in terms of a fixed formula. This type of mitzvah is defined here as a ritual. In the present study rituals on 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.

(d) Ceremonial: Ceremonial (or ceremony) is distinguished from ritual as being a single mitzvah or set of mitzvoth, 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 mitzvoth but also mitzvoth 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 the blessing over wine, recited prior to the meal, usually by the 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 of Chanuka candles (the "festival of light" commemorating the defeat of the Syracuse King by Judas Maccabeus).

(e) 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 (all leaven is forbidden, and a Jew must thoroughly clean his home and, literally, get rid of every crumb of leaven), lighting candles and saying kiddush on holy days, grace after meals, Channuka candles, and mourning rites.

It is hypothesized that private mitzvoth are likely to be observed primarily, if not only, by people holding strong positive religious beliefs, who also observe other categories of mitzvoth - that is, their observance 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 mitzvoth 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 mitzvoth. In these cases the mitzvoth 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.⁹

With regard to religious beliefs and attitudes, as distinct from action tendencies, a number of statements were included in the attitude scale. These were arranged into two subscales which measured the degree of acceptance of certain Jewish beliefs, as well as the degree to which it was felt that orthodox Jewish tradition should be retained without modification. Two

9. 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.



PLATE IV Table set for
Sabbath (or festival)
evening meal.
Note candles, wine and
goblet for kiddush,
and covered bread.
(See p.192)

PLATE V Reciting the kiddush
for Sabbath (or a
festival)(see p.192)





PLATE VI Mezuzah phial and parchment (see p.153)

PLATE VII Lighting the
Channuka
candles (see p.192)



self-rating scales, Religious-Irreligious and Observant-Non-observant, were also used. A number of questions dealt with reasons for specific behaviour, changes in respondents' own religious behaviour, differences between respondents and their parents, attitudes to intermarriage, and open-ended questions designed to elicit the salience of Judaism in respondents' definitions of what is a Jew.

C. Religious Behaviour: the observance of mitzvot

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 9.1 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, as Table 9.2 shows, less than a quarter of the 203 respondents who observed any rules did so for religious reasons, and that a third were primarily motivated by the desire to identify as Jews (the second and third categories in Table 9.2).¹⁰ The overall relationship between observance and reasons for observance is given in Table 9.3. Here we find that while those who observe kashruth for religious reasons tend, significantly, to observe it fully, almost a quarter of them observe only partially. For the rest, an inspection of the Table suggests that there is no significant relationship between the degree of observance and the

10. Although some respondents gave more than one reason, only one was recorded. Classification was in terms of the reason placed 'highest' in Table 9.2. 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.

reason for doing so. This finding is confirmed by an analysis of the relationship between observance and the two attitude sub-scales, Religious Belief and Religious Conservatism. As Table 9.8 indicates, 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.

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 private¹¹, we find that fewest respondents (13%) fall into this category. By contrast, one third observe kashruth fully at home only, while most of those who observe partially, are also observing rituals which are domestic in nature (e.g. keep separate sets of utensils, use only shochet-slaughtered meat, etc.). 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 this pattern has more to do with identification than with religious conviction seems to have been adequately demonstrated above.

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 9.4 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 9.9 indicates, those who do observe these mitzvoth also tend to observe most other

11. 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.

TABLE 9.1

KASHRUTH (DIETARY LAWS) OBSERVANCE.

Degree of observance	No.	%
Observe fully at home and outside	37	13
Observe fully at home only	53	19
Observe some dietary laws	111	39
Do not observe at all	80	28
No response	2	1
TOTAL	283	100

TABLE 9.2

REASONS FOR KASHRUTH OBSERVANCE.
PERCENTAGES.

Response	%
Observe kashruth for religious reasons	23
In order to identify/tradition	22
For sake of children	12
Habit/upbringing/happier	23
For sake of parents, relatives, spouse	10
Healthy/tasty/rationalization	6
Don't know/no response	3
Total observe kashruth: No.	203
Do not observe kashruth: No.	80
Total respondents: No.	283

TABLE 9.3 OBSERVANCE OF KASHRUTH X REASONS FOR OBSERVANCE

DEGREE OF OBSERVANCE	REASONS FOR OBSERVANCE			Total
	Religious Reasons	In order to identify; For sake of children	Habit, upbringing or feel happier; For sake of parents, relatives or spouse; Healthier, tastier or other rationalization	
Observe fully at home and outside	15	7	13	35
$(o-e)^2/e$	5.18	2.35	.10	
Observe fully at home only	20	15	18	53
$(o-e)^2/e$	4.05	.73	.57	
Observe some dietary laws	12	47	48	107
$(o-e)^2/e$	7.38	2.18	.51	
Total	47	69	79	195

Degrees of Freedom = 4 Chi square = 23.05 $p < .001$

mitzvoth. Strict observance of these mitzvoth, then, is a reliable indicator of a generally high level of observance, although the converse does not hold. (i.e. 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 9.8 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) Returning to Table 9.4, read in conjunction with Tables 9.5 and 9.7, it can be seen that all other private mitzvoth mentioned, 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 benedictions, the remainder - avoidance of leaven on Passover, mortuary rites and memorial rites - are totally neglected by only a very small proportion of respondents. It is interesting that in the case of avoidance of leaven, Table 9.8 indicates that degree of observance corresponds on the whole, with scores on the two religious attitude scales.

(c) The public mitzvoth of a ceremonial nature are, as Table 9.5 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.¹²

12. 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).

(d) Table 9.5 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 9.8 shows that there is an overall correspondence between observance of New Year and Atonement and degree of religious conviction, while Table 9.6 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 9.5, 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 who attend weekly, attend evening services only and, very often, primarily because they like 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 9.8 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 of 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 9.8 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 9.7 shows, it is the mitzvoth involving home and family that are most frequently and completely observed. Sabbath (as well as festivals) is observed primarily by the lighting of candles, the reciting of

TABLE 9.4

PRIVATE MITZVOH 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 Not Applicable	137
		%	3	4	93		100
Do not use bladed razor (men only)	R	No	6	0	131	146 Not Applicable	137
		%	4	0	96		100
Do put on tefillin (men only)	R	No	8	7	122	146 Not Applicable	137
		%	6	5	89		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 Not Applicable	36
		%	-	-	-		-
Observe memorial rites	R/C	No	90	53	19	121 Not Applicable	162
		%	56	33	12		101

TABLE 9.5

PUBLIC MITZVOTH OBSERVANCE

MITZVAH	Ritual (R) or 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	242	-	283
		%	11	4	85	-	100
Observe Pesach, Sahvuoth and Succoth	R	No	34	176	73	-	283
		%	12	62	26	-	100
Observe New Year and Atonement*	R	No	211	34	38	-	283
		%	75	12	13	-	100
Observe mortuary and mourning rites	R/C	No	16	18	2	247 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
Barmitzvah of sons - actual - intend Total	C	No	85	-	4	128 not applicable	155
		No	63	-	3		
		No	148	-	7		
		%	95	-	5		100
Batmitzvah of daughters*** - actual - intend Total	C	No	14	2	66	134 not applicable	149
		No	27	1	39		
		No	41	3	105		
		%	28	2	70		100
Attend synagogue	R	No	66	137	78	2	283
		%	23	48	28	1	100
Own marriage ceremony****	C	No	215	16	-	1	232
		%	93	7	-	51 not applicable	100

NOTE

- * 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.
- ** "Partial" refers to non-ritual circumcision by doctor.
- *** An innovation not regarded as necessary or binding.
- **** "Regularly/completely" refers to Jewish religious ceremony; "Occasionally/Partially" refers to civil marriage ceremony. No respondents were married by Christian rites.

TABLE 9.6

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.

RELIGIOUS NEW YEAR, ATONEMENT OBSERVANCE	Above median	Median and below	Total
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

Degrees of Freedom = 2 Chi square = 9.59 $p < .01$

a special benediction over wine (kiddush), and a festive meal.¹³ 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 mitzvoth 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.¹⁴

The relationship of all these mitzvoth 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 9.8 shows, exhibit an overall correspondence with the degree of religious belief and

13. 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.

14. 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 not effort to conform to all the food taboos.

conservatism. Lighting of candles exhibit 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 mitzvoth which are least frequently observed - grace after meals and the lighting of Channuka candles - must now be explained. Although the first of these may be regarded as being something of a family ceremony on sabbath and holy days, it is apparently closely related to religious conviction, as Table 9.8 shows, inasmuch as regular observance corresponds with high scores. On the other hand, those respondents who observe the mitzvah partially (that is, recite grace only on Sabbath and holy days), may be either high- or low-scorers. With regard to the lighting of Channuka candles, although this is not irksome, it is also not accompanied by synagogue services, kiddush, festive meals, rules or prohibitions, while the candles must be lit every night for eight nights. In addition, 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 mitzvoth tended to go together. In the first place an attempt was made to construct a Guttman scale.¹⁵ This did not succeed, as Table 9.9 illustrates, since the more frequently mitzvoth are observed the more random are their relationships to other mitzvoth observed. Thus while it may be predicted that a man who does not use a razor, for example, will tend to observe most other mitzvoth, 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,

15. "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, p.25). Guttman's technique is also referred to as scale analysis or the scalogram technique.

it is extremely difficult to specify what it will be. This is further reflected in Table 9.10 in which correlations between observance of the mitzvoth have been calculated. Although several co-efficients exceed .40 none exceeds .59, so that nowhere is perfect correlation approached.

(i) The results of factor analyzing ten mitzvoth, Table 9.11, is the emergence of two factors which, on examination, may perhaps be labelled 'Jewish Identification' and 'Religious Commitment'. This, to some extent, summarizes the discussion of the meaning of observance of mitzvoth and lends some support to the argument.

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

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

(b) Non-religious Jews may use mitzvoth 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 mitzvoth.

(c) The most durable mitzvoth 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 9.8 shows that in three instances - New Year and the Day of Atonement, seder, and the avoidance of leaven - the proposition is not supported, and that there is a consistent relationship between observance and belief¹⁶. Proposition (b) depends, to a large extent, on (d), and is an attempt

16. 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.

TABLE 9.7

HOME AND FAMILY 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 at home	R	No	90	111	80	2	283
		%	32	39	28	1	100
to say Grace after meals	R/C	No	15	19	249	-	283
		%	5	7	88	-	100
to light Sabbath candles	R/C	No	220	20	41	2	283
		%	78	7	14	1	100
to 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
to not eat leaven on Passover	R	No	175	63	45	-	283
		%	62	22	16	-	100
to light Hanukkah candles	C	No	84	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 9.8

OBSERVANCE OF MITZVOTH X RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND RELIGIOUS
CONSERVATISM ATTITUDE SUB-SCALES:
MEDIAN TEST.

MITZVAH	RELIGIOUS BELIEFS			RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM		COMMENTS
	df	χ^2	p<	χ^2	p<	
Grace	2	15.41	.001	17.07	.001	Most who observe <u>mitzvah</u> 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 <u>mitzvah</u> 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 <u>mitzvah</u> 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 <u>mitzvah</u> 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 <u>mitzvah</u> 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 - i.e. obtained probabilities were doubled (Siegel 1956, pp.96-104).

TABLE 9.9

PATTERNS OF OBSERVANCE: PROPORTION
OF RESPONDENTS OBSERVING EIGHT SELECTED
MITZVOH WHO ALSO OBSERVE OTHER MITZVOH

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)	4	146	-	-	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
Tefillin (men only)	8	146	1	.6	.7	-	.7	.7	.8	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brachoth	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	.9	.8	.8	1	1	1	.9	1
Grace	15	-	-	-	-	-	.8	-	.7	.9	1	.9	1	.9	1
Sabbath	30	-	-	-	-	-	.3	.4	-	1	.8	.9	1	1	1
Kashruth	90	-	-	-	-	-	.1	.2	.3	.9	-	.8	.9	.9	1
New Year and Atonement	211	-	-	-	-	-	.06	.07	.1	.2	.4	.6	.9	.8	.7

TABLE 9.10

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR TEN MITZVOTH

Mitzvah	Kashruth	Candles	Kiddush	Sabbath	Seder	Leaven	Pesach, Shavuoth, Succoth	New Year and Atonement	Synagogue Affiliation
Candles	.31								
Kiddush	.33	.53							
Sabbath	.36	.17	.21						
Seder	.30	.41	.40	.18					
Leaven	.48	.52	.40	.23	.46				
Pesach, Shavuoth, Succoth	.43	.42	.42	.43	.42	.48			
New Year and Atonement	.25	.47	.40	.18	.44	.59	.48		
Synagogue Affiliation	.26	.45	.46	.16	.39	.38	.33	.51	
Synagogue Attendance	.20	.36	.44	.28	.31	.32	.42	.53	.47

NOTE: Since these data do not form interval scales, the Pearson r is not really appropriate and should be treated with reservation.

TABLE 9.11

OBSERVANCE OF TEN MITZVOTH: ROTATED
FACTOR MATRIX.

Mitzvah	Identification I	Religious Commitment II
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.

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 mitzvoth partially.¹⁷

D. Religious Beliefs

Scores on the two attitude scales, Religious Beliefs and Religious Conservatism, are, as Table 6.2 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 subscale 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. In the first sense, there are the questions of God's attributes and of His revelation to man. In the second sense, there are the elements of unchangeability of God's revealed word, Israel's chosenness, and the centrality of observance. Attitudes to each of these items are shown in Table 9.12.

In the first place it may be noted that there is a high degree of agreement on three items: 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

17. 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.

may not be changed. The item most frequently rejected was that dealing with Israel's chosenness - 57% disagreed and only 26% agreed. The second observation to be made from Table 9.12 is that only 42% believed that God rewarded the good and punished the wicked - a possible partial explanation of the idiosyncratic and piecemeal pattern of observance. Be this as it may, it is interesting, given patterns of observance, that more than half agreed that one should try to observe all the mitzvoth, 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. As Table 9.13 shows, 55%, as against 35%, found the Orthodox service inspiring; 51%, as against 40%, felt that it was better to remain even nominally Orthodox than to join a Reform congregation; although 62% agreed that Reform Judaism was a serious attempt to apply the basic principle of Judaism to modern life.

The overall picture, then, is of a tendency towards fundamentalism in those elements which are common to both Judaism and Christianity. What is interesting, bearing in mind patterns of actual observance, is that there is also a tendency towards conservatism in attitudes relating to the mitzvoth. 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 mitzvoth 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

TABLE 9.12

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS ATTITUDE SUB-SCALE: PERCENTAGE FREQUENCIES,
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS.

Item	Percentages					Mean	S.D.
	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree		
God is the creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.	8	10	12	47	24	3.7	1.17
The Torah (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mount Sinai and may not be changed.	4	21	10	44	20	3.5	1.15
God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	15	42	17	24	2	2.5	1.06
God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	4	11	16	48	21	3.7	1.05
God will reward the good and punish the wicked.	9	22	26	34	8	3.1	1.14
One should try to observe all the <u>mitzvoth</u> (religious laws).	6	25	11	50	8	3.3	1.11
Kashruth is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.	9	31	10	41	9	3.1	1.20

TABLE 9.13

RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM ATTITUDE SUB-SCALE: PERCENTAGE
FREQUENCIES, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS.

Item	Percentages					Mean	S.D.
	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree		
The Orthodox synagogue service. is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	9	26	11	35	20	3.3	1.29
It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant rather than join a Reform congregation.	11	29	8	35	16	3.2	1.32
Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.	5	20	13	56	6	2.6	1.02
The Reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	9	27	34	18	12	3.0	1.14

distinction in their own minds between being religious and being observant. Thus, as can be seen in Table 9.14, 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.

TABLE 9.14

SELF-RATING SCALES ON THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION: "A VERY OBSERVANT/COMPLETELY NON-OBSERVANT JEW" X "A VERY RELIGIOUS/A COMPLETELY IRRELIGIOUS PERSON": MEDIAN TEST.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANT	Median and above	below Median	Total
Median and above	161	25	186
$(o-e)^2/e$	9.91	20.66	
Below Median	14	59	73
$(o-e)^2/e$	25.27	52.58	
Total	175	84	259

Degrees of Freedom = 1 Chi square = 105.57 $p < .001$

E. Differences between Jews affiliated to Orthodox and Reform Congregations

In the discussion of the relation between synagogue affiliation and the attitude sub-scales in Chapter Six, it was found that there was no difference between Orthodox and Reform Jews, but that together they differed significantly from the non-affiliated. The one exception was that Reform Jews expressed greater willingness to mix with non-Jews - an attitude which may be related to the fact that significantly fewer Reform Jews were born in Eastern Europe (Table 9.15).

Response patterns on the self-rating scales "I am a religious/irreligious person" and "I am an observant/non-observant Jew" are similar to those on the

Religious Beliefs and Religious Conservatism sub-scales: there are no significant differences between Reform and Orthodox adherents, although the former did rate themselves as being somewhat less religious (Table 9.15).

Cross-tabulations of Orthodox/Reform affiliation against several behavioural (i.e. action tendencies) and biographical variables were subjected to the chi square test of significance. The results are presented in Table 9.15. Turning first to religious behaviour, it can be seen that for the one example selected, kashruth, Reform Jews are significantly less observant than Orthodox Jews. This is in line with the attitude of the Reform movement that the mitzvot are neither obligatory, nor even necessary, and that their observance is a matter of personal choice. Clearly, in rating themselves as religious and as observant as do Orthodox Jews, Reform adherents mean something different by the terms. It is interesting, too, that proportionately more Reform than Orthodox Jews regard themselves as being more observant now (i.e. 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 (forthcoming) 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.

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. It should be noted that no relationship between age and synagogue affiliation was found.

TABLE 9.15

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 <u>kashruth</u> significantly less than expected; orthodox adherents disregard <u>kashruth</u> 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, p.107).

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 Six and Seven 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 mitzvoth, and in patterns of social relations.

F. Conclusions

It was hypothesized 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.14, 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 mitzvoth. 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 mitzvoth. It was argued, therefore, that observance of mitzvoth 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 mitzvoth as compared with privately-performed rituals.

As a means of signalling Jewish identity, then, observance of mitzvoth, 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 Seven), the emphasis placed upon providing children with a Jewish education (noted in Chapters Eight and Ten), and the pattern of synagogue attendance and observance of mitzvoth (Chapter Seven and the present Chapter), correspond with Herberg's (1955, pp.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., p.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' - 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., pp.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 identity¹⁸. Furthermore, religion was not the only legitimate expression of ethnic identity: Alexander¹⁹ 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 in many smaller centres, Jewish community, synagogue congregation, and Zionist society were co-extensive. It appears that Zionism, despite its

18. For a brief, but more detailed discussion of pluralistic ideology in South Africa, see Chapter Ten, Section F.

19. Alexander, Jack: 'South African Zionism', Chapter Four in Saron and Hotz (1955).

nationalist and political nature, was not perceived to be in conflict with an overarching loyalty to South Africa, and, in fact, received the sympathetic support of early 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 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.

CHAPTER TEN

OTHER FINDINGS

A. Introduction

In the preceding Chapters, 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, as well as the findings pertaining to the relationship of Jews to South Africa, which must still be discussed.

B. Zionism

Zionism has been referred to during the course of discussions of attitudes, of associational participation, and of charitable contributions. Of most interest, however, was the difficulty which was experienced in finding items with sufficiently high discriminative powers for the construction of an attitude scale (Table 3.1 and Chapter Six), because of the overwhelmingly positive attitudes on this dimension. This, together with other findings on this dimension, tends to confirm the popular belief, both locally and elsewhere, that the South African Jewish community is a Zionist community. This is manifested in strong pro-Israel sentiments, the desire of many to emigrate (or for their children to emigrate) to Israel, and in considerable support of financial drives for Israel. However, whereas prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Zionism involved a degree of ideological commitment, the impression gained from responses to questions about Zionist activities (Appendix A, questions 21 and 22 - untabulated) was that this aspect has now virtually disappeared. With regard to the possible conflict between a strong pro-Israel orientation and loyalty to South Africa, it will be

shown later in the Chapter that there is little, if any, connection.

Zionism or, more precisely, a pro-Israel orientation, is a virtually universal aspect of Jewish identification in Johannesburg and, for many, the only one.

C. 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 (Tables 10.1 and 10.15). Thus, Table 10.1 shows that 44% 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 has conclusively shown that it will never allow antisemitism to take root in the Republic. These beliefs are partly rooted in the realities of South African life - if not so much at present as in the recent past. Thus many Jews, now in their sixties or more, claim that they were unable to obtain employment in the civil service or with certain private firms during the twenties and thirties; Jews were in the past, certainly, not always welcome as members of sports and social clubs or as pupils in private schools; Jews were not always permitted to join any political party; 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, publishes a weekly news digest, derived from the English and Afrikaans press, which includes a special section of Jewish interest. While most of the items in this section deal with Israel, which is newsworthy in its own right, and with Jewish personalities who are not necessarily identified as such in the reports, there are others in which ethnicity is irrelevant but nevertheless mentioned.² Antisemitism, both as a threat and a reality, then, provides at least a partial explanation of the Jewish exclusiveness observed in the Chapter on Social Relations, as well as of Jewish attitudes to South Africa.

Whether antisemitism has led to what Kurt Lewin (1948, pp.186-200) has termed "selfhatred" 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 selfhatred - i.e. strong negative feelings towards the group, its characteristics and the individual's own identification with it. One of the manifestations of this

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 appear in the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, News Digest, "Items of Jewish Interest" are cited below:

S.A. 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.

TABLE 10.1

ANTISEMITISM SUB-SCALE: PERCENTAGE FREQUENCIES, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

ITEM	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	S.D.
I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	5	24	4	45	22	2.5	1.21
The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish.	4	27	13	45	11	2.7	1.11
Anti-Semitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanised Jews.	9	38	12	38	2	3.1	1.09
Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.	3	35	17	33	11	2.9	1.10

TABLE 10.2

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?"

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY
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

TABLE 10.3

CROSS-TABULATION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS:

"IN WHAT WAYS, WOULD YOU SAY, DO JOHANNESBURG

JEWS RESEMBLE ONE ANOTHER AND DIFFER FROM NON-JEWS?"X

"IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU RESEMBLE

OTHER JEWS AND DIFFER FROM NON-JEWS?"

<div>Do you resemble other Jews?</div> <div>Do Jews resemble each other?</div>	Resemble other Jews.	Resemble other Jews except for bad characteristics.	Don't differ from non-Jews but do resemble other Jews.	Don't resemble other Jews/ don't differ from non-Jews at all.	Don't know/no response	TOTAL RESPONDENTS
Jews don't resemble each other	7	1	3	3	6	20
Jews have negative characteristics.	9	2	1	4	-	16
Jews have negative, neutral and positive characteristics.	6	2	1	19	4	32
Jews have positive and neutral characteristics.	184	7	19	-	5	215
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	206	12	24	26	15	283

selfhatred, is that the majority-group's pejorative evaluation is accepted by the minority group member. As Lewin puts it (1948 p.194): "...members of the lower social strata tend to accept the fashions, values, and ideals of the higher strata. In the case of the 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,pp.70ff.) and Lever (1968,pp.83-84), it is suggested that there is little evidence of selfhatred among Johannesburg Jews. In the present study, however, Tables 10.1, 10.2, 8.1 and 8.2 reflect critical appraisals of Jews by some respondents. Furthermore, Table 10.3 shows that of 48 respondents who listed negative traits as being characteristics of Jews, 27 said that they themselves did not share those traits. The data are, nevertheless, not conclusive since they provide no evidence relating to either rejection of the group or to self-rejection.

D. 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 responses to the attitude scale (Chapter Six), patterns of social relations (Chapter Seven), and Jewish education (Chapters Six and Eight). This desire is also reflected in the aspirations of parents for their children. Table 10.4 shows that 80% of parents of unmarried children in the sample strongly desired, and a further 15% preferred, that these children should bring up their children as Jews. That many parents see this continuity of Jewish identity as being expressed through Jewish tradition, is shown in Table 10.5, where 41% and 67% respectively would prefer their children to observe kashruth and/or other customs when they have their own homes.

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, at least some of which were extensively observed by respondents in general (Chapter Nine), 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 10.6, 10.7 and 10.8. From these Tables it would appear that most parents do make some attempt to ensure that their children are exposed to those 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.

Another extremely important aspect of Jewish survival is the attitude towards endogamy. It has already been noted, in Chapter Six, that there was an overwhelmingly negative reaction to the statement that a Jewish boy should give up his Jewishness if this impeded his marriage to a gentile girl. In the next section we discuss, in greater detail, the question of intermarriage.

E. Intermarriage and Jewish survival

Like 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 in press) 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, 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 10.9 that 42% of respondents have one or more close relatives who have married out, while Table 10.10 indicates that 5 of the respondents were themselves not born Jews, that 11/230 had married non-Jews and that 9/81 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 10.10 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

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 in press).

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, but who are technically not Jews, who are included among both the converts and the non-converted.

From Tables 10.9 and 10.10, 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, 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, cannot be ascertained.

(c) It is probable that some Jews, and certainly 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 10.11 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 10.12 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 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,p.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 10.13 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, observed in Chapter Seven, for Jews to cluster in certain residential areas and to limit social relationships within the group, 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 is taken up in the author's earlier study (1970,pp.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 this 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

4. Gordon 1964 (pp.80-81,181)

mention this, he replied:⁷ 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,p.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 (e.g. the Huguenots), and others who still preserve something of their own identity (e.g. 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' 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

TABLE 10.4

DESIRE OF PARENTS THAT UNMARRIED CHILDREN BRING
UP THEIR CHILDREN AS JEWS

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	
	NO.	%
Desire strongly	114	80
Prefer	22	15
Indifferent	7	5
Would prefer them not to	0	0
TOTAL	143	100

TABLE 10.5

DESIRE OF PARENTS THAT UNMARRIED CHILDREN
OBSERVE JEWISH CUSTOMS IN THEIR OWN HOMES

RESPONSE	KASHRUTH		GENERALLY OBSERVANT	
	No.	%	No.	%
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 10.6

JEWISH EDUCATION OF SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN

TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
None	19	(22)
Some children none; some <u>cheder</u> or private tutor	15	(17)
Some children <u>cheder</u> and/or private tutor	8	(9)
All children <u>cheder</u>	21	(24)
Some children <u>cheder</u> ; some day school	2	(2)
All children day school	23	(26)
No response	1	(1)
TOTAL	89	101

TABLE 10.7

SABBATH OBSERVANCE BY SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN

DEGREE OF OBSERVANCE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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 10.8

HOLY DAY OBSERVANCE BY SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN

DEGREE OF OBSERVANCE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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

TABLE 10.9

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	32	11
One unspecified	8	3
Sibling(s) and other(s), or only more than one sibling	13	5
Two or more non-siblings	37	13
Not applicable/no response	8	3
TOTAL	283	100

TABLE 10.10

INTERMARRIAGE AND CONVERSION: RESPONDENTS AND MARRIED CHILDREN

	Born Jewish		Converted Judaism		Not Converted		Jewish spouse converted Christianity		Not Applicable	No Response	Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F			M	F	
Respondent	136	142	-	1	1*	2	-	1**	Not Applicable	-	--	137	146
Spouse	123	96	1	1	-	-	4	5	Not Applicable	53 Never married	2	128	102
Married Children's Spouses	48	24	-	-	-	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 10 .11

ATTITUDES TO INTERMARRIAGE

ATTITUDE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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 10 .12

ATTITUDES OF PARENTS OF TEENAGE CHILDREN
TO THEIR POSSIBLE INTERMARRIAGE

ATTITUDE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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 10.13

ATTITUDES OF PARENTS OF TEENAGE CHILDREN
TO THEIR HAVING GENTILE FRIENDS

ATTITUDE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
A good thing	7	(8)
Approve/indifferent	27	(31)
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)

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."

F. Attitude to South Africa

The factor analyses of sub-scale totals (Table 6.3) and of attitude scale items (Table 6.4) showed that there was no discernible relation between any of the measures of Jewish identification and attitudes to South Africa. In particular, as Table 6.5 shows, 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, or whether 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, Table 10.14 indicates 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 fairly 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 10.16) as compared with the number approving of 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 the 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 any form of protest, and Sunday observance laws, to quote some 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

5. The Liberal Party has dissolved itself since fieldwork was begun.

serious unofficial antisemitism, is shown by responses to items on the Insecurity in South Africa sub-scale (Table 10.15).

In interpreting Tables 10.16, 10.17 and 10.18, 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 ascertained⁶ (Table 10.16): that almost one-third felt that Jews should avoid politics altogether or, at least, anti-government politics (Table 10.17); and that only 53% stated unconditionally, that they intended to remain in South Africa all their lives (Table 10.18). 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.

6. It should be noted that not all of these refused to answer. Some, undoubtedly, were genuinely undecided or indifferent.

TABLE 10.14

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS SUB-SCALE: PERCENTAGE FREQUENCIES, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

ITEM	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	S.D.
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.	13	29	8	39	9	3.0	1.26
The present government's policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem.	11	20	17	39	13	3.2	1.23
Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa.	17	48	10	18	7	3.5	1.16
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.	10	37	24	23	6	3.2	1.10
Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.	20	53	14	13	-	2.2	0.90
The preservation of western civilisation in South Africa makes it necessary to minimise contact between whites and non-whites	10	39	20	27	3	2.7	1.07
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.	1	13	14	56	16	2.3	0.94

TABLE 10.15

INSECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA SUB-SCALE: PERCENTAGE FREQUENCIES, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

ITEM	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	S.D.
Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	4	25	13	45	13	2.6	1.11
The Nationalist Government has conclusively shown that it will never allow anti-Semitism to take root in the Republic.	11	38	21	27	3	2.7	1.07
Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	12	55	7	20	5	3.5	1.10

TABLE 10.16

POLITICAL PARTY ALLEGIANCE

PARTY	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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 has voted itself out of existence since fieldwork was begun.

TABLE 10.17

SHOULD JEWS AVOID PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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 10.18

INTENTION TO REMAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA

RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
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

G. 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 (e.g. a detailed study of majority group attitudes); because they fell outside the professional competence of the investigator (e.g. problems relating to personality); or because the data relating to them proved inadequate or suggested their irrelevance in the South African or Johannesburg context (e.g. selfhatred).

The second category of omissions relates 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 E.

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.

H. Conclusions

In this Chapter some aspects of Jewish identification, which were not dealt with in previous Chapters, 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 anti-semitism 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 Nine, above).

All the findings mentioned, together with the patterns of social relations, discussed in Chapter Seven, 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.14, above). 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.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

A. 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.

B. Testing the first four hypotheses

The first hypothesis (pp.12-13, above) 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 it would be expected 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" (p.13, above).

There is no question that sentiment does play an extremely important role in Jewish identification. Thus, it was found, in Chapter Six, 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 in Chapters Three and Six, 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 Seven, 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, in Chapter Nine, 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 - i.e. 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 Eight, 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 [official census data - Chapters Four and Five], 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" (p.13, above).

This hypothesis was also derived from the results of American studies (cited in Chapter Two and elsewhere) and is confirmed for the present sample of Johannesburg Jews without modification. One of the questions which arises, however, is whether the same pattern of clustering occurs in cities with a small absolute number of Jews and where Jews make up a very much smaller proportion of the middle and upper-middle classes. In other words, it could be argued that residential clustering in Johannesburg is at least partly a function of the disproportionately high Jewish representation in certain segments of the English-speaking class structure¹, rather than being primarily a function of ethnicity. Thus, continuing the argument, although clustering may be the result of other factors, it reinforces existing Jewish attitudes to social relations with non-Jews and further clustering then occurs. It is suggested, however, that even if this is the case, and residential clustering is either absent or less-marked in centres other than Johannesburg, the general pattern of actual social relations, and of attitudes to social relations, will be similar to that stated in the hypothesis and found in Johannesburg. The reason, it is suggested, is that the close-knittedness of a Jewish community depends on the extent to which its individual members perceive it as a moral community. It is this which reinforces, and is reinforced by, the pattern of social relationships observed and of which residential clustering is but one aspect. Certainly a study of the relationship of these two variables, not only in Jewish communities, would be extremely rewarding.

The third hypothesis, as was remarked in Chapter Two, is generally taken as a datum in many studies. It states 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

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.

this lack of congruence is, as has been suggested [in the preamble to the hypothesis], because religious practices are modes of Jewish identification rather than expressions of religious feeling, and it is this relationship which will be tested" (p.14, above).

The hypothesis must be accepted on the basis of the evidence presented in Chapter Nine. While there are those who observe the mitzvoth out of a deep religious conviction - in terms of our data, they have high scores on both religious behaviour and religious attitude scales - there are certain laws and customs which are widely, or even universally, practised (such as the High Holy Days, circumcision, barmitzvah, lighting candles on Sabbath and festival evenings) irrespective either of the extent of religious belief, or of observance in general. It was also found that the mitzvoth most 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 Table 9.12, most respondents believed? This would, it is felt, merit closer attention and is, in fact, the subject of an intended research project by the present author.

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.14, above).

The findings in Chapters Six, Seven and Ten 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 (see Chapter Ten) that this is the most reasonable inference from what is known. The hypothesis is, therefore, confirmed.

C. 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."

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

According to Barth, "The term ethnic group is generally understood in

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).

anthropological literature ... to designate a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuatory;
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" (pp.10-11).

He suggests that considerable emphasis is 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-acculturated (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.

D. 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 in that of social relations - particularly in 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 (mitzvoth). Mitzvoth 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.

E. 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.

(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., pp.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., p.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., p.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, p.38). Gordon's formulation, however, permits the deduction of more specific hypotheses for testing. Thus, taking into account that for some individuals (p.29), the intellectual subsociety (pp.224-232) and most white Protestants (pp.220-224) in America, ethnic identity may be of little importance, 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., p.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 Scots 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., p.71) as follows:

TABLE 5 The Assimilation Variables

Subprocess or Condition	Type or stage of Assimilation	Special Term
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., p.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., p.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 Seven and Eight, 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 (1938)³, in his classic paper on the urban way of life, describes urban social relationships as follows:

"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" (op.cit., p.54).

Wirth has been criticized by Morris (1968)⁴ on the basis of Wirth's own study of the Chicago ghetto (1928), as well as of other studies of urban communities (e.g. Gans 1966)⁵:

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3. Wirth, Louis 1938: "Urbanism as a way of life", American Journal of Sociology, 44, July 1938 reprinted in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss Jr. 1957: Cities and Society, pp.46-63, Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. (rev.ed.)
 4. Morris, R.N. 1968: Urban Sociology, George Allen and Unwin, London
 5. Gans, H. 1966: "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A re-evaluation of definitions", in P.I. Rose (ed.) 1966: The Study of Society, Random House (cited by Morris 1968, p.170)

"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" (op.cit., p.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 forthcoming)⁸ and Johannesburg (Schutte 1972)⁹ may be compared with characteristics

6. Little, K. 1965: West African Urbanization, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

7. Wilson, M. and Mafeje, A. 1963: Langa, O.U.P., Cape Town.

8. Dubb, A.A. 1961: The Role of the Church in an Urban African Society, unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University.

Dubb, A.A. forthcoming: Community of the Saved (revised version of Dubb 1961)

9. Schutte, A.G. 1972: "Thapelo ya sephiri: A Study of Secret Prayer Meetings in Soweto", African Studies, 31, 4, 1972, pp.245-260

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 Seven and Eight.

(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 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" (op.cit., p.52), 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., p.53). On the contrary, says Goldberg, the theory can be qualified as follows: if a person has been socialized since birth into a marginal

10. Park, R.E. 1928: "Human Migration and the Marginal Man", American Journal of Sociology, May 1928, pp.881-893

Stonequist, Everett V. 1935: "The problem of the Marginal Man", American Journal of Sociology, July 1935, pp.1-12

Stonequist, Everett V. 1937: The Marginal Man, New York
(All cited by Goldberg 1941, p.52)

11. Goldberg, Milton M. 1941: "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Theory", American Sociological Review, 6, 1941, pp.52-58

12. Antonovsky, A. 1956: "Toward a refinement of the 'Marginal Man' Concept", Social Forces, 35, 1956, pp.57-62

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., p.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., p. 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., p.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 Ten), 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 (i.e. group survival) and social relations (i.e. 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.

(d) Other theoretical implications

Apart from the three major theoretical areas discussed above, various aspects of the study are relevant to more specific theoretical and conceptual problems. In some cases, these implications have been suggested in the course of discussion, although frequently this has not been done. It might therefore be useful to mention some of these at this juncture.

In the first place, there are those questions that relate to the study of Jews as a minority group. Lewin's concept of selfhatred (1948) has already been discussed in Chapter Ten, but Jewish ethnocentrism and attitudes to non-Jews and non-whites have been dealt with only in passing (Chapters Six and Ten). The latter is of particular relevance to Lever's (1968) study of ethnic attitudes in Johannesburg, in which he shows that, in general, Jews tend to have far more favourable attitudes towards other groups than English- or

Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The discussion of moral ideas in Chapter Eight may suggest a possible explanation of Lever's findings or, at least, a direction for future research on the subject.

Another problem, on which some data are available in the present study, is that of Jewish reaction to prejudice and discrimination. This has not, however, been dealt with specifically as such but a good deal of relevant information and comment is to be found in Chapters Seven, Eight and Ten, in particular.

The second main category of problems relates specifically to the South African situation. The Jewish community can be seen as an example of the many distinct groups making up the South African population. On the one hand, it is unique in some ways but on the other, it shares its desire for survival as a separate entity, its social structure, distinguishing cultural features, and so on, with such groups as the Greeks, Lebanese and Indians. Clearly, however, a good deal of comparative material is necessary if the present study is to be fully exploited in this context. It may, however, be mentioned that a study of the Afrikaans community in one South African city, using parts of the schedule constructed for the present study, has been proposed by a colleague of the author.

In this, and the preceding discussions, the relevance of the hypotheses, in particular, and the study, in general, in relation to wider problems in sociology and social anthropology has been demonstrated.

F. Some Inadequacies of the Present Study, Suggestions for Further Research, and a Note on Practical Implications

On the whole, the present study has been successful: it has provided answers, more or less adequately, to most of the questions posed in Chapter Two,

and has provided the data for testing the five hypotheses. At the same time, however, during the course of the study - both at the interviewing stage and during processing, analysis and writing up - certain inadequacies became apparent. Some of these were the consequence of the limits placed on the enquiry (e.g. the exclusion of psychological factors), the method of enquiry (that is, reliance on interviews rather than on direct observation), and the necessity of keeping interview sessions reasonably short (e.g. eliminating, as far as possible, open-ended questions requiring lengthy answers). Others, however, reflected shortcomings in the method or research design, and were the result of poorly-conceived or badly-worded questions (e.g. those seeking information on class and on values). Since these inadequacies resulted in insufficient or unsatisfactory data having been collected, a more detailed listing would be of value for future research - both as a caution against possible pitfalls and as a pointer towards fruitful enquiry.

In the first place, it became evident during the course of writing up, that apart from the questions on religious behaviour and the cursory observations of interviewers, the questionnaire had provided inadequate coverage of the cultural dimension. It became necessary for the author to construct a picture of Jewish culture in Johannesburg on the basis of his own experience as a participating member of the community, the experience and observations of a few Jewish and non-Jewish friends and colleagues, and the insights of South African Jewish novelists about their own community. Clearly, the view presented must be limited, since there are sub-groups within the community of whom the author and his informal informants have little knowledge and experience. Future research would have to take into account the importance of non-traditional cultural traits in the total configuration of Jewish culture in South Africa, and would have to rely more heavily on direct observation of the various lifestyles of local Jews.

The question of life-style leads to the second important area on which more precise information would have considerably enhanced the present study: class. As Gordon (1964, pp.47-48) points out, ethnic identity is not with a whole ethnic group, but with, what he calls, the "ethclass". This is a group which is defined both by ethnicity and by social class. It is with this group that the individual identifies: the ethnic component defines ancestry or 'belonging', the class stratum defines shared interests and life-styles. In the present study, an attempt was made to obtain information on whether Jews perceived any kind of class stratification within the community. It was decided, however, not to ask this directly, but to enquire, rather, whether Respondents felt that there were any "divisions" within the Jewish community and, if so, to identify them. This yielded a variety of answers ranging from "none" or "don't know" to "religious and irreligious", "rich and poor" and "foreign Jews and others". Future studies would do well to define a set of objective (or external) criteria of class as well as to ascertain self-perceptions relating to possible class stratification.

Another aspect of the present study which would have been enhanced by fuller data was religiosity. This was measured by an attitude sub-scale, Religious Beliefs, and by a self-rating scale, "I am a religious/completely irreligious person". A fuller measure of religiosity, for example the questions used by Lenski (1961) in his study of religion in America, might have given a more reliable measure than the two which were used. Furthermore, a more sensitive measure might have permitted more adequate testing of Herberg's (1955) hypothesis that third generation Jews were more religious than their parents.

Three dimensions of identification - Zionism, Antisemitism and Ethnocentrism - were, perhaps given less attention than they merited. This was because, as has been pointed out in the Conclusion to Chapter Six, the attitude schedule was constructed only of items with high discriminative powers. Thus

these three dimensions, on which most items tested in the pilot study exhibited a high degree of agreement (see Table 3.1), were not adequately covered in the final schedule and, hence, in the analysis. It would, therefore, be desirable in any future study to include such items since they reflect areas of more or less universal positive identification. With regard to Antisemitism, it might have been useful to include an open-ended question through which both personal experiences and general assessments could have been ascertained.

The discussion, in Chapter Eight, of moral values was based on inferences from several open-ended questions. While this was a valuable source, it might have been useful, in addition, to have included a number of multiple choice questions or one requiring ranking of certain attributes. The question of how best to obtain information on values is, however, an extremely difficult one and would bear careful consideration.

The final comment, arising out of the inadequacies of the present study, relates to selfhatred and marginality. The assessment of selfhatred (Chapter Ten) was based on the four-item Antisemitism attitude sub-scale, on responses to two open-ended questions on typically Jewish characteristics, and on whether, and in what ways, Jews contributed to antisemitism. It is felt, however, that the measures used were not sufficiently sensitive and that they yielded no firm conclusions. Thus, for example, was agreement with the statement that Jews were too clannish, a manifestation of selfhatred or simply a statement of fact? It is, perhaps, because of this ambiguity, that no qualitatively significant relationships emerged between the Antisemitism sub-scale and other variables. With regard to psychological marginality - which is closely related to selfhatred - a suitable personality test might have provided valuable insights.

More generally, further research should be directed at obtaining comparative

material. This should be undertaken on two fronts: Jewish communities outside Johannesburg (and, particularly, in the smaller towns), and other, non-Jewish communities in Johannesburg. Furthermore, it might now be interesting to study in greater detail particular segments of the Johannesburg Jewish community such as university students, Jewish day school pupils, converts to Judaism, and so on¹³.

Although the value of academic research should not be judged on its usefulness in solving practical problems, its value is clearly enhanced if it has such possibilities. Most of the results of the present study are not directly applicable to problems facing the Jewish community, although they do provide more accurate information than was previously available on certain problematic areas, and also suggest - as has already been shown - directions for further research. Thus, for example, the present study places the issue of 'dual loyalty' - the accusation levelled at the Jews, from time to time, of being less loyal to South Africa than to Israel - in a somewhat different light. Begging the question of what is loyalty and whether, psychologically, multiple loyalties are necessarily 'inferior' to single ones, the present findings have indicated that feelings about Israel and about South Africa are independent of one another. Thus a supporter of the National Party (and its policies) may also be a staunch and devoted Zionist, while an anti-government Progressive may have very luke-warm sentiments in relation to Israel. Similarly, it may be of interest both to the leadership of the Jewish community and to the Government, that despite the absence of serious overt or official antisemitism, Jews feel somewhat insecure in South Africa.

Of more direct practical concern, however, are the findings relating to

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13. It may be mentioned that the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies established a Research Unit in 1969, on behalf of which the author has undertaken two studies - one of pupils' evaluations of various aspects of the Jewish Day Schools and of Jewish identification among these pupils (see Dubb 1971), and one of Jewish identification among Jewish students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Dubb forthcoming).

Jewish identification and, by implication, Jewish survival. It would seem, for example, to be highly significant that the most important factor in ensuring Jewish survival in Johannesburg is that primary relationships tend to remain within the community. From the point of view of leaders of the community, then, intermarriage will be contained primarily by preserving existing patterns of Jewish social relations and by, somehow, discouraging structural assimilation among young Jews. Needless to say, the question of strategies and techniques, are a matter of policy and cannot be derived from the present study.

Another related area, and one that has already been the subject of one further study (Dubb 1971) is the Jewish day school. What is necessary, following the conclusion reached in the present study that the source or amount of Jewish education bears little relationship to Jewish identification (Chapter Ten), is a serious evaluation of the community's policy with regard to Jewish educational facilities, in general, and the Day School, in particular. Educational goals, as well as questions of allocation of resources, must be thoroughly investigated.

Jewish religious leaders will, no doubt, take note of the findings relating to religiosity and observance. Notwithstanding the limitations of the assessment of religiosity already discussed above, there is clear evidence that for many, neither observance of mitzvoth nor attendance at synagogue services satisfies religious needs. Yet, it is clear, some religious needs do exist. It would seem that the re-examination of the religious situation by rabbis and lay leaders is indicated.

There are, doubtless, many more pointers to future research and to practical application that could be gleaned from the present study, but it is hoped that the major areas have been delineated in the present Chapter.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

" B - CODING KEY

" C - INTERVIEWERS' INSTRUCTIONS

" D - GLOSSARY

" E - ADDITIONAL TABLES

APPENDIX A

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SURVEY OF THE JOHANNESBURG JEWISH COMMUNITY

JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1968

RESPONDENT'S CODE NO.:

01

02

03

RESPONDENT'S SEX:

Male = 1

Female = 2

04

RESPONDENT'S AGE: _____ years old

AGE CATEGORY (NOTE: To be Coded in Col. 75, Card I):

18-24	= 1
25-29	= 2
30-34	= 3
35-39	= 4
40-44	= 5
45-49	= 6
50-54	= 7
55-59	= 8
60-64	= 9
65 and over	= 0
Unknown	= A

75

INTERVIEWER: _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

NO. OF CALLS: Not Jewish _____

Jewish, but outside quota _____

Jewish refusals (details) _____

Language problems _____

NO. INTERVIEW SESSIONS WITH RESPONDENT: _____

TOTAL LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: _____

INTERVIEW NOT COMPLETED: (details) _____

COMMENTS ON INTERVIEW: _____

XXX 1.a. ADDRESS _____

C5

☐

XXX b. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN JOHANNESBURG?
 (NOTE: S to select closest category. If S cannot, then record response verbatim.
 By brief absences is meant an absence, or a series of absences totalling, about one third or less of S's total living in Johannesburg.)

All my life	= 1
Since beginning high school/age 13	= 2
Since my arrival in South Africa	= 3
For the past 20 years or more	= 4
For the past 15 - 19 years	= 5
For the past 10 - 14 years	= 6
(Disregard brief absences in above 6 categories)	
<u>Continuously</u> for the past 5 - 9 years	= 7
<u>Continuously</u> for the past 2 - 4 years	= 8
For less than 2 years	= 9
Unknown/no response	= 0

C6

☐

Unclassifiable response _____

XXX c. HOW AND WHY DID YOU COME TO LIVE IN THIS SUBURB?
 (PROBE)

C7

☐

XXX d. WHAT DO YOU LIKE MOST ABOUT THIS AREA?
 (PROBE)

XXX e. WHAT DO YOU LIKE LEAST - OR DISLIKE MOST - ABOUT THIS AREA?
 (PROBE)

C8

☐

2.a. WHO WAS THE FIRST MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY TO COME TO SOUTH AFRICA?

Yourself	= 1
Your Father	= 2
Your Father's Father	= 3
Other (specify) _____	= 4

NO CODE

b. WHEN DID HE/YOU FIRST COME TO SOUTH AFRICA?

Before 1900	= 1
1900-1909	= 2
1910-1919	= 3
1920-1929	= 4
1930-1939	= 5
1940-1949	= 6
1950-1959	= 7
1960 on	= 8
Don't know/no response	= 9

09

c. IN WHICH COUNTRY WAS HE/WERE YOU BORN?

South Africa	= 1
Britain or other English-speaking country	= 2
Germany/Austria	= 3
Other non-English-speaking Western Europe	= 4
Lithuania/Latvia/Russia	= 5
Poland	= 6
Other European (specify) _____	= 7
Other (specify) _____	= 8
Don't know/no response	= 9

NO CODE

d. WHO WAS THE FIRST MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY TO BE BORN IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Yourself	= 1
Your Father	= 2
Your Father's Father	= 3
Other (specify) _____	= 4

NO CODE

(CODING INSTRUCTIONS:

S born Eastern Europe	= 1
S born Germany/Austria	= 2
S born Other outside South Africa	= 3
Fa Fa born South Africa	= 4
Fa Fa came to S.A. (Fa born E.E)	= 5
Fa Fa came to S.A. (Fa born G/A)	= 6
Fa Fa came to S.A. (Fa born SA)	= 7
Fa came to S.A. (S born E.E)	= 8
Fa came to S.A. (S born G/A)	= 9
Fa came to S.A. (S born SA)	= 0
Fa born S.A.	= A

10

XXX 3. WHAT FORMAL EDUCATION HAVE YOU RECEIVED?

- Full time Jewish education overseas = 1
 with little or no secular studies
 Primary School/up to 7 years/up to 13 = 2
 years old
 Secondary, incomplete/8 years and over/ = 3
 14 years and older
 Matriculation or equivalent = 4
 Post-matric Technical diploma = 5
 University, incomplete = 6
 University complete (specify degrees) = 7
-
- Other post-matric (specify)_____ = 8

11

4. DO YOU KEEP KOSHER AT HOME? WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DO YOU DO?

(NOTE: Circle all appropriate responses then code later according to instructions below)

- Buy kosher meat exclusively = 1
 Soak, salt or otherwise kosher your meat = 2
 Keep separate utensils for meat and milk = 3
 Not cook or eat meat and milk together = 4
 Not use pork products or shellfish = 5
 AWAY FROM HOME do you eat non-kosher = 6
 food? (Circle if 'YES')
 Do not observe at all = 7

NO CODE

(CODING INSTRUCTIONS: 1-6 inclusive = 1;
 1-5 inclusive = 2; 1+2/3/4/5/6 = 3; 2/3/4/5/6 = 4; 7 = 5; no response = 6)

12

5. COMPARED WITH YOURSELF, TO WHAT EXTENT DID YOUR PARENTS OBSERVE KASHRUTH WHILST YOU WERE STILL LIVING WITH THEM?

- Parents more kosher = 1
 Parents same = 2
 Parents less kosher = 3
 Don't know = 4
 Not applicable (orphan, convert) = 5

13

6. IF S HAS RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO 1,2,3,4,5 OR 6 ABOVE, ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

XXX

WHY DO YOU KEEP KOSHER AS FAR AS YOU DO?

(NOTE: Circle all appropriate responses. If new response, record in space provided and do not code.)

I believe in it/It is Jewish law/It is God's commandment/other religious reason = 1
 Children must have Jewish home/an example to children = 2
 Symbolises my Jewish identity/Any Jew can eat in my home/It is custom or tradition/It is the 'done' thing = 3
 For the sake of parents or relatives = 4
 Kosher food healthier, cleaner, tastier/Killing more humane/Other rationalization = 5
 Spouse wants it = 6
 Children want it = 7
 Out of habit/Feel happier doing it/Have always kept kosher/Saw it in parents' home = 8
 Other (specify) _____ = 9

NO CODE

Don't know/No response = 0
 Not applicable (does not keep kosher at all) = A

(CODING INSTRUCTIONS: 1+any=1; 3+any=2; 2 or 7+any=3; 3+any=4; 4 or 6+any=5; 5+any=6; 0=9; A=0)

14

- 7.a. APART FROM RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND CEREMONIES, DO YOU KEEP YOUR HEAD COVERED FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS?

Most or all of the time = 1
 Whenever possible (i.e. except in business or at work, in cinemas, etc.) = 2
 At meals only = 3
 No = 4

15

- b. IF S IS MALE: DO YOU AVOID USING A RAZOR WITH BLADE - SUCH AS A 'CUT-THROAT' OR A SAFETY RAZOR - FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS?

Most or all of the time = 1
 Whenever possible = 2
 No = 3
 Not applicable (S is female) = 4

16

- c. IF S IS MALE: DO YOU PUT ON TEFILLIN?

Regularly = 1
 Occasionally = 2
 Very seldom/not at all = 3
 Not applicable (S is female) = 4

17

d. DO YOU SAY A BRACHAH (BROCHE, BLESSING) BEFORE EATING, AFTER WASHING AND ON OTHER APPROPRIATE OCCASIONS?

Regularly = 1
Occasionally = 2
Very seldom/not at all = 3

18

e. DO YOU SAY GRACE AFTER MEALS (BENSCH)?

Regularly = 1
Occasionally/Sabbath and festivals only = 2
Very seldom/not at all = 3

19

8.a. ARE CANDLES USUALLY LIT IN YOUR HOME ON FRIDAY EVENINGS?

Yes, always/usually = 1
Yes occasionally = 2
Seldom/Never = 3
Not applicable (S does not have own home) = 4

20

b. IS KIDDUSH OVER WINE USUALLY SAID IN YOUR HOME ON FRIDAY EVENINGS?

Yes, always/usually = 1
Yes occasionally = 2
Seldom/Never = 3
Not applicable (S does not have own home) = 4

21

c. ON SHABBS (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?

Yes I always/usually avoid all/most = 1
Yes, apart from what is absolutely necessary in making a living = 2
To some extent = 3
Little/Not at all = 4

22

d. ON PESACH (PEISACH, PASSOVER) DO YOU GENERALLY PARTICIPATE IN A SEDER?

Yes, an orthodox seder = 1
Yes, a reform or shortened seder or modified seder = 2
Only a family meal (with or without kiddush only) = 3
No = 4

23

e. ON PESACH DO YOU AVOID EATING BREAD AND OTHER CHOMETZDIKKE (NON-PEISACH) FOODS?

Yes, strictly (only use Beth Din certified foods) = 1
Yes, but not strictly/only at home = 2
Only avoid bread and cakes = 3
Eat matzah mostly, but don't take special care = 4
No = 5

24

XXX

f. HOW DO YOU CELEBRATE PESACH, SHAVUOTH AND SUCCOTH?

Go to synagogue, close business/don't work,
observe all customs and prohibitions = 1
Possibly go to some services and/or observe
some customs, DO HAVE candles, kiddush, festive
meal = 2
As above, but not all three festivals = 3
Observe little or nothing of any = 4

25

XXX

g. HOW DO YOU OBSERVE ROSH HASHANNAH (JEWISH NEW YEAR) AND YOM KIPPUR (DAY OF ATONEMENT)?

Go to synagogue, close business/do not work,
observe associated customs and prohibitions,
all three (or, if reform, two) days = 1
Go to synagogue, close business/don't work,
all three (or, if reform, two) days, and fast
Yom Kippur = 2
Go to synagogue for all/some services and
work part of the time, usually fast Yom
Kippur = 3
Observe only Yom Kippur by going to at least
some services and by usually fasting = 4
Observe little or nothing myself, but close
business/don't work out of respect = 5
Observe little or nothing at all = 6

26

h. DO YOU USUALLY LIGHT CHANNUKAH CANDLES?

Yes, always/usually = 1
Yes, Occasionally = 2
Seldom/never = 3
No, because I do not have own home = 4

27

XXX

9.a. ARE BOTH YOUR PARENTS STILL LIVING? IF YES, MARK 9a AND b 'Not applicable' AND CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 10. IF NO, ASK:

XXX

HAVE YOU LOST HIM/HER/EITHER DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS? IF NO, MARK 9a 'Not applicable' AND CONTINUE WITH 9b. IF YES, ASK:

XXX

WHAT MOURNING CUSTOMS DID YOU OBSERVE FOR HIM/HER/WHICHEVER PASSED AWAY MORE RECENTLY?

Sat shivah for seven days, prayers at home all nights, no entertainments for year, and if S is male, said kaddish daily for year = 1
Sat shivah and had prayers for whole week, and either no entertainment for year or if S male said kaddish daily for year = 2
Sat shivah and had prayers for part/whole week, no entertainments for one month and if S male, said kaddish weekly for year OR daily for a period = 3
Sat shivah/no entertainment for limited period/kaddish weekly or for a period = 4
Observed no mourning rites = 5
Not applicable (parents both living/died more than five years ago) = 6
No response = 7

28

b. WHAT MEMORIAL CUSTOMS DO YOU OBSERVE FOR YOUR LATE PARENT/S?

Observe yortseit(jahrzeit) AND say yizkor (hazkorre, hazkarrah)	= 1
Observe yortseit only	= 2
Say yizkor only	= 3
Do not observe any memorial rites	= 4
Not applicable (both parents living/parent died less than year ago)	= 5
No response	= 6

29

XXX 10. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN MORE OR LESS OBSERVANT THAN YOU ARE TODAY? (Obtain full details and record verbatim.)

30

XXX 11. COMPARED WITH YOURSELF, TO WHAT EXTENT DID YOUR PARENTS OBSERVE JEWISH CUSTOM AND RITUALS?

Both parents more observant than S	= 1
Both parents the same as S	= 2
Both parents less observant than S	= 3
One parent more and one the same as S	= 4
One parent more and one less than S	= 5
One parent the same and one less than S	= 6
Don't know	= 7

31

XXX 12.a. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE MOST FREQUENTLY AT HOME? (If more than one, tick but DO NOT CODE)

English	= 1
Afrikaans	= 2
Yiddish	= 3
Ladino	= 4
Hebrew=	= 5
German	= 6
other	

32

XXX b. WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOUR PARENTS USE MOST FREQUENTLY AT HOME? (If more than one, tick but DO NOT code)

English	= 1
Afrikaans	= 2
Yiddish	= 3
Ladino	= 4
Hebrew	= 5
German	= 6
Other	

33

13.a. DURING THE PAST YEAR DID YOU READ ANY NEWS-PAPERS OR PERIODICALS OF JEWISH INTEREST?

At least weekly	= 1
Irregularly	= 2
Subscribe regularly but read irregularly	= 3
Seldom/not at all	= 4

34

b. DURING THE PAST YEAR DID YOU READ ANY BOOKS? WHAT PROPORTION WERE OF JEWISH INTEREST?

Only Jewish-interest books	= 1
Mainly Jewish-interest books	= 2
About as many as others	= 3
Mainly other books	= 4
No books of Jewish interest	= 5
Do not read books at all/rarely	= 6
Not sure/read whatever comes to hand/best sellers	= 7

35

c. DURING THE PAST YEAR DID YOU ATTEND ANY COURSES OR LECTURES OF JEWISH INTEREST?

About weekly	= 1
About monthly	= 2
About six during the whole period	= 3
Few/not at all	= 4

36

14.a. WHAT IS YOUR PRESENT MARITAL STATUS?

Never been married	= 1
Married	= 2
Separated	= 3
Divorced	= 4
Widowed	= 5

NO CODE

IF S MARRIED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED OR WIDOWED

b. DID YOU HAVE A RELIGIOUS WEDDING CEREMONY?

Yes, Jewish	= 1
Yes, Christian	= 2
No - civil, magistrate's court	= 3
No response	= 4

NO CODE

(CODING INSTRUCTIONS:

Never been married	= no punch
Married Jew.rites, now separated	= 1
Married Jew.rites, now divorced	= 2
Married Jew.rites, now widowed	= 3
Married Jew.rites, still married	= 4
Married Civil rites, now separated	= 5
Married Civil rites, now divorced	= 6
Married Civil rites, now widowed	= 7
Married Civil rites, still married	= 8
Married Kian rites, now separated	= 9
Married Kian rites, now divorced	= 0
Married Kian rites, now widowed	= A
Married Kian rites, still married	= B

37

15. DO YOU HAVE ANY CHILDREN? WOULD YOU TELL ME
A FEW THINGS ABOUT THEM? (Do not code)

Initials						
Age						
Sex						
Marital Status						
Where Living (1)						
At School or not (2)						
Occupation(3)						

38

- (NOTE: (1) With parents(p); boarding school(B);
Away from parents(A)
(2) This excludes nursery school.
At school(S); Pre/post school(NS).
(3) At school(S); Student(St); Doctor(Dr);
Dentist(De); Engineer(E);
Pharmacist(P); Architect(Ar);
Accountant(Ac); Advocate(Ad);
Attorney(At); Teacher(T);
Minister(M); Jewish Communal Service
(JCS); Other Professional(OP);
Employee(Em); Executive(Ex); Owns small
business(OB); Owns small industry(I);
Other (specify).

IF S HAS NO CHILDREN, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION
19 AT PAGE 15.

IF S HAS CHILDREN

XXX 16.a. IF S HAS SON/S: DID YOU HAVE YOUR SON/S BRISSED/
CIRCUMCISED? IF YES, BY WHOM - A DOCTOR OR
A MOHEL ('A REVEREND', MINISTER, RABBI)?

(NOTE: Some medical doctors are also certified
mohels. If S is certain that doctor is also
a mohel, record that operation was performed
by a mohel. If S is uncertain of ritual
status of doctor, record doctor)

All sons (or only son) circumcised by mohel	= 1
Some sons by mohel, some by doctor	= 2
All sons (or only son) by doctor	= 3
Some sons by mohel, some uncircumcised	= 4
Some sons by doctor, some uncircumcised	= 5
All sons (or only son) uncircumcised	= 6
Not applicable (no children/no sons)	= 7

39

XXX b. IF S HAS SON/S: WAS THERE, OR WILL THERE BE,
ANY CELEBRATION OR CEREMONY ON YOUR SON/S
BARMITZVAH?

(NOTE: If any son/s not yet barmitzvah, consider
only those and disregard post-barmitzvah son/s)

Yes, there was service and party	= 1
Yes, there was service but no party	= 2
Yes, there was party, but no service	= 3
No, there was no service or party	= 4
Yes, there will be service and party	= 5
Yes, there will be service only	= 6
Yes, there will be party only	= 7
No, there will be neither party nor service	= 8
I do not know what will be/child to decide/indifferent	= 9
Not applicable (no children/no son's)	= 0

40

XXX c. IF S HAS DAUGHTER/S: WAS THERE, OR WILL THERE
BE, ANY CELEBRATION OR SERVICE ON YOUR DAUGHTER/S
BATMITZVAH?

(NOTE: As (b) above)

Yes, there was service and party	= 1
Yes, there was service but no party	= 2
Yes, there was party but no service	= 3
No, there was no service or party	= 4
Yes, there will be service and party	= 5
Yes, there will be service but no party	= 6
Yes, there will be party but no service	= 7
No there will be no party or service	= 8
Don't know what will be/child to decide/ indifferent	= 9
Not applicable (no children/no daughters)	= 0

41

17. IF S HAS SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN

(NOTE: If S has more than one child in this category, ascertain whether S's response holds true, on the whole, for all these children. If S indicates that there are gross differences, this should be reflected)

42

a. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOUR CHILDREN OBSERVE THE SABBATH?

All attend services regularly or fairly regularly, and completely refrain from riding (except, possibly to synagogue), writing, attending cinema or parties, playing sport, etc. = 1

All attend services regularly or fairly regularly, but observe few or none of the prohibitions = 2

All attend services very irregularly/Do not observe Sabbath at all = 3

Some children as (1) and some as (2) = 4

Some children as (1) and some as (3) = 5

Some children as (2) and some as (3) = 6

Not applicable (no school-going children) = 7

Don't know = 8

b. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOUR CHILDREN OBSERVE THE JEWISH FESTIVALS?

All attend all or most services, do not attend school on any festival, and completely refrain from riding (except possibly to synagogue), writing, attending cinemas or parties, playing sport, etc. = 1

All attend all or most services, do not attend school on any festival, but observe few or none of the prohibitions = 2

All attend High Holyday services and, possibly, an occasional service on other festivals, do not attend school on any festival, and observe few or none of the prohibitions. = 3

All do not attend school on any festival = 4

All do not attend school on some festivals and/or attend High Holyday services = 5

All observe no Jewish festivals = 6

Some observe as (1) and some as (2) or (3) = 7

Some observe as (1) and some as (4) or (5) = 8

Some observe as (1) and some as (6) = 9

Some observe as (2) or (3) some as (4), (5) or (6) = 0

Not applicable = A

Don't know = B

43

XXX

- c. WHAT FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DO, OR DID, YOUR CHILDREN - WHO ARE STILL AT SCHOOL- RECEIVE? (NOTE: If S has more than one school-going child, record separately for each child. Do not code)

None

Morning/afternoon classes 2-3 times per week anywhere (Cheder, school, etc)

Morning/afternoon classes 4-5 times per week anywhere (cheder, school, etc)

Jewish day school, primary

Jewish day school, secondary

Bar/batmitzvah classes only

Private tutor

Not applicable (no school-going children/no children)

	1	2	3	4

44

- d. IF NO CHILDREN ATTEND/ED JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

XXX

WOULD YOU LIKE, OR HAVE LIKED, ANY OF YOUR CHILDREN, WHO ARE STILL AT SCHOOL, TO GO TO A JEWISH DAY SCHOOL (e.g. King David, Yeshiva College)? IF YES, WHY? IF NO, WHY NOT?

Yes, I would like/intend to send my child/ren to a Jewish Day School because...

Yes, I would have liked to send my child/ren to a Jewish Day school, but have not because...

No, I would not like to send my children to a Jewish Day School, nor would I have liked to because...

XXX

- e. ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR CHILDREN'S JEWISH EDUCATION? COULD YOU PLEASE ELABORATE.

XXX

- f. DO YOUR CHILDREN BELONG TO ANY JEWISH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS? WHICH?
(NOTE: Include Zionist, non-Zionist, synagogue groups, etc.)

XXX

- g. IF THEY DO BELONG TO JEWISH YOUTH GROUPS, ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THESE GROUPS? WHY/WHY NOT?

XXX

- h. IF THEY DO NOT BELONG TO JEWISH YOUTH GROUPS, WOULD YOU LIKE THEM TO? WHY/WHY NOT?

IF S HAS UNMARRIED CHILDREN (INCLUDING SCHOOL-
GOING)

- 18.a. TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR CHILDREN TO KEEP KOSHER IN THEIR OWN HOMES?

I would desire it strongly	= 1
I would prefer it	= 2
Indifferent/children's choice/unknown	= 3
Would prefer them not to keep kosher	= 4
Not applicable (no unmarried children)	= 5

45

- b. TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR CHILDREN GENERALLY TO KEEP JEWISH RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS WHEN THEY HAVE THEIR OWN HOMES?

Desire it strongly	= 1
Would prefer it	= 2
Indifferent/children's choice/unknown	= 3
I would prefer them not to keep kosher	= 4
Not applicable	= 5

46

- c. WOULD YOU LIKE YOUR CHILDREN TO BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN AS JEWS?

Desire it strongly	= 1
Would prefer it	= 2
Indifferent/children's choice/unknown	= 3
Prefer them not to bring up their children as Jews	= 4
Not applicable	= 5

47

XXX

IT'S HIS MOTHER, OR FATHER, UNMARRIED CHILDREN:

a. How do you feel about your mother or father
unmarried children having gentle friends?

(NOTE: Do not read alternatives, but record
response: same sex, opposite sex, dating.
Check alternative closest to response, but
if difficult to classify, record variation)

Strongly disapprove of any such
friendships

Alright if of same sex only

Alright with both sexes, provided no
dating at all with boys (or girls)

Alright with both sexes, provided only
occasional dating/dating in crowd

I have no objections whatsoever

I am indifferent/child's decision

I think it is a good thing

I would prefer my children to have

gentle rather than Jewish friends

Not applicable (no teenage or older
unmarried children/no children)

Unclassifiable response

= 1
= 2
= 3
= 4
= 5
= 6
= 7
= 8
= 9

48



XXX

e. Within the next few years, your teenage or
older unmarried child/children, if they are
not already doing so, begin to think seriously
about marriage. What would your reaction be if
your child indicated not that he/she intended
to marry a gentile?

(PROBE)

49



XXX 19.a. IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SAY DO JEWISH-ETHNIC
Jews, IN GENERAL, RESSEMBLE ONE ANOTHER AND
DIFFER FROM NON-JEWS? (PROBE)

50

XXX b. IN WHAT WAYS WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU DISCRIMINATE
OTHER JEWS AND DIFFER FROM NON-JEWS? (PROBE)

51

XXX c. ARE THERE ANY DIVISIONS AMONG JEWISH-ETHNIC
JEWS? (PROBE)

52

XXX d. WHAT IS A GOOD JEW? (List as many characteristics
as you like)

53

XXX e. WHAT IS A GOOD PERSON?

54

20.a. DO YOU BELONG TO A SYNAGOGUE (ORTH., REFORM, OTHER)?

- I am a paying member of an orthodox synagogue (specify) _____ = 1
- I am a paying member of a reform synagogue (specify) _____ = 2
- Although I am not a paying member, I regard myself as belonging to an orthodox synagogue (specify) _____ = 3
- Although I am not a paying member, I regard myself as belonging to a reform synagogue (specify) _____ = 4
- I belong to no synagogue, but favour the orthodox synagogue _____ = 5
- I belong to no synagogue, but favour the reform synagogue _____ = 6
- I belong to no synagogue, but attend both orthodox and reform synagogues _____ = 7
- I belong to no synagogue, and attend neither orthodox nor reform _____ = 8
- Unclassifiable response _____

55

☐

b. IF S RESPONDED 1, 2, 3 OR 4 ASK:

XXX

WHY DO YOU BELONG TO THIS CONGREGATION?

(PROBE)

OR

IF S RESPONDED 5, 6, 7 OR 8 ASK:

XXX

WHY DON'T YOU BELONG TO ANY CONGREGATION?

(PROBE)

NO CODE

c. DO YOU BELONG TO THE CHEVRAM KADISHA?

- Yes _____ = 1
- No _____ = 2
- Don't know what it is _____ = 3
- No response _____ = 4

56

☐

d. DO YOU HOLD ANY POSITION IN YOUR SYNAGOGUE?

- Committee member _____ = 1
- Executive member _____ = 2
- Sub-committee member only _____ = 3
- Other (specify) _____ = 4
- None _____ = 5
- Not applicable (not a member) _____ = 6

57

☐

- e. APART FROM ATTENDANCE AT SERVICES, HOW MUCH TIME DOES THE SYNAGOGUE TAKE IN MEETINGS, VOLUNTARY WORK, DUTIES, ETC?

(NOTE: Do not include synagogue guilds, study groups, etc.)

6 or more hours per week	= 1
weekly meeting or task	= 2
fortnightly/monthly meeting or task	= 3
bimonthly meeting or task	= 4
less than bimonthly	= 5
none	= 6
not applicable	= 7

58

- f. DURING THE PAST YEAR, HOW OFTEN DID YOU ATTEND SYNAGOGUE SERVICES? (Exclude bar/bat mitzvahs, weddings, and similar occasions)

Daily, sabbath and festivals	= 1
Sabbath and festivals mornings plus or minus evenings	= 2
about weekly	= 3
about monthly	= 4
Rosh Hashannah and Yom Kippur only	= 5
Yom Kippur/Rosh Hashannah only	= 6
not at all	= 7

59

- g. HOW WELL CAN YOU FOLLOW THE SERVICE IN THE SYNAGOGUE WHICH YOU USUALLY ATTEND?

(NOTE: Different code numbers to be used for orthodox and reform S's. Mark only one.) O/R

I can follow all/most services without difficulty	= 1/4
I find it difficult to follow some/parts of some services	= 2/5
I find it difficult to follow all/most services	= 3/6
I do not attend services at all	= 7

60

- h. HOW WELL CAN YOU READ AND UNDERSTAND THE SIDDUR (PRAYER BOOK)?

(NOTE: Different code numbers to be used for orthodox and reform S's. Mark only one.)

O/R

I read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew and understand most	= 1/5
I read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew but understand little/nothing	= 2/6
I can read Hebrew, but read all/most prayers in English	= 3/7
I am unable to read Hebrew and read all prayers in English	= 4/8
I do not attend services at all	= 9

61

XXX

21. DO YOU REGARD YOURSELF AS BEING A ZIONIST? IF
NOT, WHY NOT?
IF YES, IN WHAT WAY DO YOU EXPRESS YOUR ZIONISM?
 (NOTE: Do not code)
 I am a Zionist = 1
 I am not a Zionist = 2

Elaboration:

62

☐

22. IF S REGARDS HIMSELF AS A SUPPORTER OF THE ZIONIST
CAUSE, ASK THE QUESTIONS BELOW; IF NOT, MARK 'Not
a Zionist' AND CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 23.

- Not a Zionist = 1
 I am a Zionist and
 read a Zionist newspaper/periodical = 2
 belong to a Zionist party _____ = 3
 support a Zionist party _____ = 4
 attend Zionist gatherings about
 monthly = 5
 six times annually = 6
 have/intend visit Israel = 7
 settled for a period in Israel = 8
 intend to settle in Israel = 9
 have/intend study in Israel = 0
 have child/ren in Israel = A
 have served as volunteer/in army in
 Israel = B

NO CODE

FOR SUBSEQUENT CODING

63

☐

XXX 23.a. WHAT FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION HAVE YOU RECEIVED?

- None/a few years as a small child = 1
- Only for bar/batmitzvah = 2
- Throughout primary school/until bar- or batmitzvah/until 12 - 13 years of age = 3
- 2 or more years post-batmitzvah/batmitzvah - but not as matric subject = 4
- Matriculated in Hebrew, or higher = 5
- 1 or 2 above plus adult classes anywhere = 6
- 3 or 4 above plus adult classes anywhere = 7
- Adult classes only = 8
- Conversion classes = 9

64

XXX b. WHERE DID YOU OBTAIN YOUR JEWISH EDUCATION AS A CHILD?

- Jewish day school (including any full-time Jewish educational institution in South Africa or elsewhere - e.g. King David, cheder, in Eastern Europe, yeshiva ketanah, yeshiva, etc.) - Primary/age 12 - 13 = 1
- Jewish day school - secondary/age 15 - 16 = 2
- Part-time classes in morning or afternoons (e.g. cheder, talmud torah) = 3
- Private tutor = 4
- Taught by parents = 5
- No Jewish education as child = 6

65

XXX 24.a. WHAT IS YOUR NORMAL OCCUPATION?

(NOTE: Exact definition is required. Thus 'industrialist', 'in commerce', 'director of companies', etc. is not sufficient. S must indicate type of business - e.g. clothing manufacturer - and whether, if he is a director, the company is private or public - e.g. director of department store chain (public).)

Retired or Unemployed S should indicate previous normal occupation.

Housewife should indicate any additional occupation if presently or usually so employed)

Occupation _____

Housewife only

Housewife, but additional occupation is _____

Retired, but previous occupation _____

Unemployed, but usual/previous occupation _____

66

XXX b. WHAT IS, OR WAS, YOUR FATHER'S NORMAL OCCUPATION?

67

25.a. ARE YOU AN EMPLOYER? IF YES, DO YOU EMPLOY ANY EUROPEANS? IF YES, WHAT PROPORTION OF YOUR EUROPEAN STAFF IS JEWISH?

Mostly/all Jewish	= 1
About equally Jewish and non-Jewish	= 2
Mostly/all non-Jewish	= 3
Don't know (for any reason)	= 4

NO CODE

XXX

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?

XXX

c. IF YOU DO NOT EMPLOY ANY JEWISH STAFF, IS THERE ANY REASON FOR THIS?

68

26. WOULD YOU MIND INDICATING INTO WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BROAD CATEGORIES YOUR MONTHLY INCOME FALLS?

(NOTE: Check the category selected, then - if the information has not already been volunteered - ask the subsequent questions. Do not code)

Less than R150 (£75) per month	= 1
R150 (£75) - R 249 (£124) per month	= 2
R250 (£125) - R 349 (£174) per month	= 3
R350 (£175) - R 449 (£224) per month	= 4
R450 (£225) - R 549 (£274) per month	= 5
R550 (£275) - R 649 (£324) per month	= 6
R650 (£325) - R 749 (£374) per month	= 7
R750 (£375) - R 849 (£424) per month	= 8
R850 (£425) and over per month	= 9

69

Don't know

Refuse to respond

Dependant - no income

Own income only - unmarried S/living alone

Own income only - working wife

Own income + estimate of husband's income

Own income only - head of household

Own income + wife's income

Estimate of husband's income

Other remarks

- XXX 27.a. 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'). (NOTE: List maximum of six. S may include whom-ever he/she wishes - relatives, friends, etc.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Initials						

NO CODE

- XXX b. WHAT ARE THE INITIALS OF YOUR BEST FRIEND OR FRIENDS?

(NOTE: List maximum of three. Do not define 'best friend'. Leave for S to decide.)

	1	2	3
Initials			

NO CODE

- XXX c. WOULD YOU TELL ME WHICH OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE INITIALS YOU HAVE GIVEN ARE JEWS, NON-JEWS AND RELATIVES?

(NOTE: Read each initial in turn and fill in information in blank table below. Do not code)

	a1	a2	a3	a4	a5	a6	b1	b2	b3
Jew/Gentile (J/G)									
Relative/ non-Relative (R/N)									

70

- d. TO WHAT EXTENT DO THE REMAINDER OF YOUR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVE JEWS AND NON-JEWS?

Only Jews = 1
 Mostly Jews = 2
 About equal number of Jews and non-Jews = 3
 Mostly non-Jews = 4
 Only non-Jews = 5

71

- XXX e. WHO ARE YOUR MOST IMPORTANT BUSINESS ASSOCIATES OR PROFESSIONAL COLLEAGUES? WHAT ARE THEIR INITIALS?

(NOTE: First enter initials, then ask S whether they are Jews/non-Jews, what is the nature of their association - e.g. employer, co-director, immediate superior, co-worker, etc. - and whether they are related by kinship. List maximum of six. Do not code.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Initials						
Nature of association						
Jew/Gentile						
Relative/ non-relative						

72

XXX

28.a. DURING THE PAST YEAR, DID YOU BELONG TO ANY ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, SOCIETIES, CLUBS, ETC.?

(IF NO, RECORD, AND CONTINUE WITH b.)

IF YES, CONSIDERING THE TIME SPENT, EFFORT DEVOTED, AND SATISFACTION DERIVED, 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 SYMBOGUE)

(NOTE: First list the organisations. 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 CULTURAL, WELFARE OR SERVICE; JEWISH CULTURAL; ZIONIST; GENERAL 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?

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	
	JEWISH ORGANIZATION
	NOT JEWISH ORGANIZATION
	MOST MEMBERS JEWS
	EQUAL JEWISH/GENTILE
	MOST MEMBERS GENTILE
	JEWISH COMMUNAL
	JEWISH CULTURAL
	ZIONIST
	OTHER JEWISH
	SPORT
	SOCIAL
	GENERAL COMMUNITY
	GENERAL CULTURAL
	OTHER
	MEMBER ONLY
	COMMITTEE MEMBER
	EXECUTIVE MEMBER

29.a. 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:

U.C.F. (United Communal Fund)	= 1
I.U.A. (Israeli United Appeal, including Emergency Fund)	= 2
S.A. Jewish Board of Education Appeal	= 3

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 Kadisha', 'Red Cross', etc.)

IF YES, WHAT PROPORTION OF THESE CONTRIBUTIONS WERE TO JEWISH CAUSES AND WHAT TO NON-JEWISH?

Almost totally/overwhelmingly Jewish	= 1
Mostly Jewish	= 2
About equally Jewish and non-Jewish	= 3
Mostly non-Jewish	= 4
Almost totally/overwhelmingly non-Jewish	= 5
Don't know	= 6
Made no regular contributions at all	= 7
Made no regular contributions apart from three major funds	= 8

74

XXX

b. IF YOU HAD, SAY, \$500 FOR DISTRIBUTION TO ANY CAUSES YOU MIGHT CHOOSE, HOW WOULD YOU ALLOCATE THE MONEY?

XXX

30.a. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT INTERMARRIAGE, IN GENERAL?

05

XXX

b. WERE YOU BORN OF A JEWISH MOTHER, OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN CONVERTED?

Born of Jewish mother	= 1
Converted with mother, orthodox	= 2
Converted with mother, reform	= 3
Converted at/after marriage, orthodox	= 4
Converted at/after marriage, reform	= 5
No response/refusal	= 6

06

c. IF S IS MARRIED: IS YOUR SPOUSE JEWISH?

Yes, by birth	= 1
Yes, by conversion before marriage, orth.	= 2
Yes, by conversion before marriage, reform	= 3
Yes, by conversion after marriage, orth.	= 4
Yes, by conversion after marriage, reform	= 5
No	= 6
No response/refusal	= 7
Not applicable (not married)	= 8

07

XXX

d. IF S HAS MARRIED CHILDREN: HAVE ANY OF YOUR CHILDREN MARRIED NON-JEWS?

(NOTE: J=Jewish, G=Gentile, X=Christianity)

Child Male or Female	Conversion? J-X; G-J; No	Conversion G-J; Orth; R	Children J; X; None

08

XXX

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?

09

XXX

31. DO YOU INTEND TO REMAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA ALL YOUR LIFE?

10

32. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTY? IF YES, WHICH ONE? IF NO, WHICH PARTY DO YOU FAVOUR?

National Party member	= 1
National Party supporter/sympathiser	= 2
United Party member	= 3
United Party supporter/sympathiser	= 4
Progressive Party member	= 5
Progressive Party supporter/sympathiser	= 6
Liberal Party member	= 7
Liberal Party supporter/sympathiser	= 8
Don't know/undecided/indifferent	= 9
Refuse to answer	= 0

11

XXX

33. ARE THERE ANY POLITICAL PARTIES, POLICIES OR ACTIVITIES WHICH YOU FEEL JEWS SHOULD AVOID BECOMING INVOLVED IN? (PROBE)

12

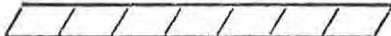
34. I AM GOING TO READ YOU A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS. SOME PEOPLE AGREE WITH MANY OF THESE STATEMENTS, OTHERS DISAGREE. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD GIVE ME YOUR OPINION. AFTER I HAVE READ EACH STATEMENT, PLEASE TELL ME HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT IT: DO YOU STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, STRONGLY DISAGREE, DISAGREE - 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 excell in the arts, sciences and professions.' SA A ? D SD WE CAN PROCEED WITH THE REST OF THE STATEMENTS IN THE SAME WAY.

		Col.	Row
1. I feel more at home living in a Jewish neighbourhood.	SA A ? D SD	13	
2. The orthodox synagogue service is a source of inspiration and spiritual satisfaction to me.	SA A ? D SD	14	
3. Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa, could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	SA A ? D SD	15	
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.	SA A ? D SD	16	
5. God is the creator of the universe and and continues to guide its destiny.	SA A ? D SD	17	
6. A Jew is more sensitive to his fellow-man's feelings than is a non-Jew.	SA A ? D SD	18	
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.	SA A ? D SD	19	
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.	SA A ? D SD	20	
9. The Torah (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt. Sinai and may not be changed.	SA A ? D SD	21	
10. The present government's policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only practical and just solution to the country's race problem.	SA A ? D SD	22	
11. The Nationalist government has conclusively shown that it will never allow anti-semitism to take root in the Republic.	SA A ? D SD	23	

		Col.	Row
12. It is better to remain loyal to traditional Judaism even if one is not very observant rather than to join a reform congregation.	SA A ? D SD	24	
13. If the State of Israel ceased to exist, no Jew could continue to live as a Jew with dignity.	SA A ? D SD	25	
14. I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.	SA A ? D SD	26	
15. It is important to participate in Jewish communal activities.	SA A ? D SD	27	
16. Reform Judaism is a serious attempt to apply the basic principles of Judaism to modern life.	SA A ? D SD	28	
17. Every Jew who is able to do so, should settle in Israel.	SA A ? D SD	29	
18. I feel personally ashamed when I see Jews making themselves conspicuous in public places.	SA A ? D SD	30	
19. Because of their own persecution, Jews should identify themselves with the suppressed non-white groups in South Africa.	SA A ? D SD	31	
20. God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind	SA A ? D SD	32	
21. Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.	SA A ? D SD	33	
22. I feel personally proud of Israel's achievements and sorrow at her set-backs.	SA A ? D SD	34	
23. I think it is disgraceful for Jews to adopt non-Jewish customs such as Xmas trees.	SA A ? D SD	35	
24. God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	SA A ? D SD	36	
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.	SA A ? D SD	37	
26. The Jewish group would get along a lot better if many Jews were not so clannish.	SA A ? D SD	38	
27. The future of Israel cannot be secured without large-scale settlement of Jews from western countries.	SA A ? D SD	39	
28. The reform synagogue service is uninteresting and uninspiring.	SA A ? D SD	40	
29. It is essential to be a member of a synagogue.	SA A ? D SD	41	
30. Jews should join mixed clubs in preference to Jewish ones.	SA A ? D SD	42	
31. Anti-semitism is directed more against Jews with obvious Jewish ways and mannerisms than against the more South Africanized Jews	SA A ? D SD	43	
32. God will reward the good and punish the wicked.	SA A ? D SD	44	

		Col.	Row
33. Africans must not be allowed to obtain employment in traditionally white jobs.	SA A ? D SD	45	
34. On the whole Jews are intellectually superior to other groups.	SA A ? D SD	46	
35. Our continued survival as Jews is <u>mainly</u> dependent on maintaining a strong bond with Israel.	SA A ? D SD	47	
36. Too many Jews try to intrude themselves into circles where they are not wanted.	SA A ? D SD	48	
37. The preservation of western civilization in South Africa makes it necessary to minimise contact between whites and non-whites.	SA A ? D SD	49	
38. One should try to observe all the mitzvoth (religious laws).	SA A ? D SD	50	
39. If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing the name.	SA A ? D SD	51	
40. Kashruth is one of the cornerstones of Judaism and must be observed.	SA A ? D SD	52	
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.	SA A ? D SD	53	
42. Jews who engage in politics are simply endangering the security of the whole Jewish community.	SA A ? D SD	54	
43. I would encourage my child to settle in Israel if he so desired.	SA A ? D SD	55	
44. It is not necessary to observe all the mitzvoth (religious laws). One should only observe those that are personally meaningful.	SA A ? D SD	56	
45. In general, I prefer to shop at Jewish-owned stores.	SA A ? D SD	57	
46. I believe that being born a Jew means that you are at a handicap in most occupations and professions.	SA A ? D SD	58	
47. The Zionist ideal was fulfilled with the establishment of the State of Israel, and no longer has any meaning.	SA A ? D SD	59	
48. I would rather a Jewish attorney or accountant handle my affairs than a non-Jew.	SA A ? D SD	60	
		61	
		62	
		63	

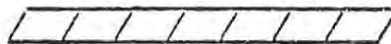
BELOW IS A RATING SCALE, AT ONE END OF WHICH APPEARS THE WORD 'Jewish', AND AT THE OTHER END THE WORDS 'South African'. INDICATE YOUR POSITION ON THIS SCALE BY PLACING A CROSS X WITHIN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE ON THE THE SCALE. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE MARK IS NEARER TO 'South African', IT MEANS THAT YOU 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  South African

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IN THE SAME WAY CHECK YOUR POSITION ON THE FOLLOWING FOUR SCALES:

b. A person with a strong feeling of being Jewish



A person with no feeling of being Jewish

65

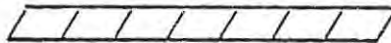
c. A person with a strong feeling of being South African



A person with no feeling of being South African

66

d. A very observant Jew



A completely non-observant Jew

67

e. A very religious person



A completely irreligious person

68

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?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| It plays a very important part | = 1 |
| It plays an important part | = 2 |
| It is of little importance | = 3 |
| It plays no part | = 4 |

69

g. DOES BEING SOUTH AFRICAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN YOUR LIFE?

It plays a very important part	= 1
It plays an important part	= 2
It is of little importance	= 3
It plays no part	= 4

70

h. WHEN I FEEL MORE SOUTH AFRICAN

I also feel more Jewish	= 1
There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African	= 2
I feel less Jewish	= 3

71

i. WHEN I FEEL MORE JEWISH

I also feel more South African	= 1
There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African	= 2
I feel less South African	= 3

72

j. IF YOU WERE TO BE BORN ALL OVER AGAIN, WOULD YOU WISH TO BE BORN A JEW?

I would very much wish to be born a Jew	= 1
I would wish to be born a Jew	= 2
I would not mind whether I was born a Jew or not	= 3
I would prefer not to be born a Jew	= 4

73

k. WHEN A BRITISH JOURNAL PRAISES THE JEWISH PEOPLE, DO YOU FEEL AS IF IT WERE PRAISING YOU?

Never	= 1
Seldom	= 2
Often	= 3
Always	= 4

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l. WHEN A BRITISH JOURNAL INSULTS THE JEWISH PEOPLE, DO YOU FEEL AS IF IT WERE INSULTING YOU?

Never	= 1
Seldom	= 2
Often	= 3
Always	= 4

75

m. WHEN A BRITISH JOURNAL PRAISES SOUTH AFRICA, DO YOU FEEL AS IF IT WERE PRAISING YOU?

Never	= 1
Seldom	= 2
Often	= 3
Always	= 4

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n. WHEN A BRITISH JOURNAL INSULTS SOUTH AFRICA, DO YOU FEEL AS IF IT WERE INSULTING YOU?

Never	= 1
Seldom	= 2
Often	= 3
Always	= 4

77

o. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR FATE AND FUTURE IS BOUND UP WITH THE FATE AND FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA?

Yes, definitely	= 1
To a large extent	= 2
To some extent only	= 3
No	= 4

78

p. DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR FATE AND FUTURE IS BOUND UP WITH THE FATE AND FUTURE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE?

Yes, definitely	= 1
To a large extent	= 2
To some extent only	= 3
No	= 4

79

q. DO YOU THINK THAT THE BEHAVIOUR OF JEWS CONTRIBUTES TO THE SPREAD OF ANTI-SEMITISM?

The behaviour of Jews makes a considerable contribution	= 1
The behaviour of Jews makes a contribution	= 2
The behaviour of Jews makes a slight contribution only	= 3
There is no relation between the behaviour of Jews and anti-semitism	= 4

80

IF S THINKS THAT THE BEHAVIOUR OF JEWS DOES MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ANTI-SEMITISM, ASK:

WHAT IN THE BEHAVIOUR OF JEWS CONTRIBUTES TOWARDS ANTI-SEMITISM?

INTERVIEWERS OBSERVATIONS:

- a. Was there a Mezuzah on the front door? Yes = 1
No = 2
Were there Mezuzoth on doors inside the house? Yes = 1
No = 2
- b. Describe briefly the material culture of the home insofar as it may identify it as a Jewish household. (e.g. candle-sticks, menorah, Jewish books, Jewish or Israeli pictures and objets 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. (e.g. mannerisms, appearance, dress, use of Yiddish phrases, accent, gestures, etc.)
-
- d. Any further Comments or observations.
-

APPENDIX B

CODING KEY

CODING KEY

QUESTION	Q. NO.	COL.	ROW	ANSWER
CARD NO.	1	01	1	CARD NO. = 1
CODE NO.	1	02) 03) 04)	1-0	Reproduce Respondents' CODE NUMBERS in those three columns beginning with 001.
SEX	1	05	1 2	Male Female
AGE	1	06	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0	13 - 24 25 - 29 30 - 34 35 - 39 40 - 44 45 - 49 50 - 54 55 - 59 60 - 64 65 and over

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
1(a)	1	07	A	Bellevue/Bellevue East
Area of Residence			B	Berea
			C	Bertrams/JudithsPaarl/Bellevue Central
			D	Bramley/Savoy/Waverley/Rammarais Park
			E	Doornfontein/New Doornfontein
			F	Dunkeld/Hyde Park
			G	Emmentia and Extensions
			H	Greenside and Extensions
			I	Highlands North/
			J	Highlands North Extension/Clenhazel
			K	Hillbrow
			L	Hospital Hill
			M	Houghton
			N	Johannesburg Central
			O	Kensington/Bezuidenhout Valley
			P	Killarney
			Q	Linksfield and Ridge/Cyrildene/Dewetshof
			R	Melrose/Birdhaven
			S	Korwood/Orange Grove/Fellside/Mountain View/ Fairwood/Victoria
			T	Observatory and Extension
			U	Saxonwold/Parkwood
			V	Southern Suburbs
			W	Westcliffe/Parktown/Foresttown
			X	Yeoville
1(b)	1	08	1	+Lived in Johannesburg all my life
Length of residence in Johannesburg			2	+Since beginning high school/age 13
			3	+Since my arrival in South Africa
			4	+For the past twenty years or more
			5	+For the past 15-19 years
			6	+For the past 10-14 years
			7	Continuously for the past 5-9 years
			8	Continuously for the past 2-4 years
			9	For less than 2 years
			0	Unknown/no response/unclear response
				+NOTE:Disregard "brief absences", i.e. periods or a period of absence totalling about one-third or less of Respondents' total length of residence in Johannesburg.

QUESTION	CODE	REL.	RCN	RESPONSE
1(c)/(d)	1	C9	A	<u>General Convenience</u> (near to shops, transport, work, town, hospital, doctor, University-if S is student).
Reason for coming to live in area/ advantages of area			B	<u>General Convenience</u> + <u>near to family</u>
			C	<u>General Neighbourhood</u> (like neighbours, quiet, friendly, respectable, pleasant, nice, price of house/flat right).
			D	<u>General Neighbourhood</u> + <u>near family</u>
			E	<u>General Neighbourhood</u> + <u>General Convenience</u> + <u>near family</u>
			F	<u>General Neighbourhood</u> + <u>general convenience</u>
			G	<u>Education Convenience</u> (near nursery school, school, university - if S parent)
			H	<u>Education convenience</u> + <u>general neighbourhood</u> + <u>family</u>
			I	<u>Education convenience</u> + <u>general neighbourhood</u>
			J	<u>Education convenience</u> + <u>family</u>
			K	<u>Jewish convenience</u> (near to synagogue)
			L	<u>Jewish convenience</u> + <u>Jewish neighbourhood</u>
			M	<u>Jewish Neighbourhood</u>
			N	<u>Jewish education</u> (near JEWISH day school, nursery school, Hebrew school)
			O	<u>Jewish Convenience</u> + <u>Jewish neighbourhood</u> + <u>Jewish Education</u>
			P	<u>Jewish Convenience</u> + <u>Jewish Education</u>
			Q	<u>Jewish Neighbourhood</u> + <u>Jewish Education</u>
			R	<u>Near family</u>
			S	<u>Jewish Neighbourhood</u> and <u>near family</u>
			T	<u>Jewish convenience</u> and <u>near family</u>
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
			Y	<u>No alternative living in this area</u>
			Z	<u>No response</u>

(NOTE: 'Lowest' category is A; 'Highest' is Z. Responses to be coded in terms of highest category into which it fits. Thus A to P and R include ONLY those responses listed; Q to J include BOTH those responses listed AND 'general convenience' if it occurs; K to T include BOTH those responses listed AND any/all responses listed in A to J and R, if they occur. The category 'Miscellaneous' includes all responses not listed specifically from A to Z.)

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
1(e)	1	10	A	<u>General Inconvenience</u> (far from amenities, lacking in amenities)
Dislike about/dis- advantages of area			B	<u>Bad Neighbourhood</u> (deteriorating area, noisy, unfriendly, snobbish, low-class neighbours)
			C	<u>Not Jewish Neighbourhood</u> (Jews moving out, not enough Jews)
			D	<u>Lacking in Jewish amenities</u>
			E	A + B + C + D
			F	A + B + C
			G	A + B + D
			H	A + C + D
			I	A + C
			J	A + D
			K	B + C + D
			L	B + C
			M	B + D
			N	C + D
			O	Too many Jews
			P	Anti-semitic neighbours
			Q	
			R	
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	Miscellaneous
			Y	No disadvantages living in this area
			Z	No response
2(a/b)	1	11	A	FaFa first came to S.A. before 1900 (3+1)**
Who (i.e. S, Fa, FaFa) came to S.A. first, and when.			B	ditto 1900-1909 (3+2)**
			C	ditto 1910-1919 (3+3)**
			D	ditto 1920-1929 (3+4)**
			E	ditto 1930-1939 (3+5)**
			F	ditto 1940-1949 (3+6)**
			G	ditto 1950-1959 (3+7)**
			H	ditto 1960 on (3+8)**
			I	Fa first came to S.A. before 1900 (2+1)**
			J	(2+2)**
			K	(2+3)**
			L	(2+4)**
			M	(2+5)**
			N	(2+6)**
			O	(2+7)**
			P	(2+8)**
			Q	Respondent first came to S.A. before 1900 (1+1)**
			R	(1+2)**
			S	(1+3)**
			T	(1+4)**
			U	(1+5)**
			V	(1+6)**
			W	(1+7)**
			X	(1+8)**
			Y	Don't know when FaFa, Fa or Self first came to S.A.
			Z	No response

**NOTE: Numbers refer to 2a+2b on questionnaire

QUESTION	QID	QID.	QID	RESPONSE
2(d) First to come to S. A. and where S born	1	12	A	1 S born Eastern Europe
			B	2 S born Germany/Austria
			C	3 S born Other outside S.A.
			D	4 FaFa born South Africa
			E	5 FaFa came to S. A. ((Fa born E. E.))
			F	6 FaFa came to S. A. (Fa born G/A)
			G	7 FaFa came to S. A. (Fa born S. A.)
			H	8 Fa came to S. A. (S. born E. E.)
			I	9 Fa came to S. A. (S. born G/A)
			J	0 Fa came to S. A. (S. born S. A.)
			K	
			L	Fa came to S. A. (S born other)
			M	FaFa came to S. A. (Fa born other)
			N	S born S. A. (no details of Fa or FaFa)
			O	
			P	
			Q	
			R	
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	No response/Response unclear
3 Standard of gen- eral education	1	13	1	Full-time Jewish education overseas with little or no secular studies
			2	Primary school/up to 7 years schooling/up to 13 years old
			3	Secondary incomplete/3 years schooling and over/ 14 years old and older
			4	Matriculation or equivalent
			5	Post-matric technical diploma
			6	University incomplete
			7	University complete
			8	Other post-matric
			9	No education
			0	No response/unclear, etc.
4 Observance of Kashruth	1	14	1	Completely kosher(1 - 5 inc)
			2	Ditto, but non-kosher away from home (1 - 6 inc)
			3	Buy Kosher meat plus any rituals (1 + 2/3/4/5)
			4	No kosher meat, but keeps rituals (2/3/4/5)
			5	Does not observe kashruth at all
			0	No response/unclear
5 Parents' kashruth compared with S	1	15	1	Parents more kosher than S
			2	Parents same
			3	Parents less
			9	Not applicable (orphan, convert, etc.)
			0	Don't know/no response

QUESTION	CHED	COL.	CV	ANSWER
6	1	16	1	Observe kashruth for religious reasons (1 + any)
Reasons for kashruth observance			2	In order to identify/tradition (5 + any)
			3	For sake of children (2 or 7 + any)
			4	Habit/brought up/happier (6 + any)
			5	For sake of parents, relatives, spouse (4 or 6 + any)
			6	Healthy/testy/rationalization (5 + any)
			9	Not applicable - S does not keep kosher at all
			0	Don't know/no response
7(a)	1	17	1	Most or all of the time
Head covering			2	Whenever possible (i.e. except in business or at work, in cinemas, etc.)
			3	At meals only
			4	No
			9	Not applicable (S is female)
			0	No response
7(b)	1	18	1	Most or all of the time
Razor			2	Whenever possible
			3	No
			9	Not applicable (S is female)
			0	No response
7(c)	1	19	1	Regularly
Tefillin			2	Occasionally
			3	Very seldom/not at all
			9	Not applicable (S is female)
			0	No response
7(d)	1	20	1	Regularly
Brachah			2	Occasionally
			3	Very seldom/not at all
			0	No response
7(e)	1	21	1	Regularly
Grace			2	Occasionally/Sabbath and festivals only
			3	Very seldom/not at all
			0	No response
8(a)	1	22	1	Yes, always/usually
Candles			2	Yes occasionally
			3	Seldom/Never
			9	Not applicable (S does not have own home)
			0	No response
8(b)	1	23	1	Yes, always/usually
Middush			2	Yes occasionally
			3	Seldom/Never
			9	Not applicable (S does not have own home)
			0	No response
8(c)	1	24	1	Yes I always/usually avoid all/most
Sabbath			2	Yes, apart from what is absolutely necessary in making a living
			3	To some extent
			4	Little/Not at all
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
8(d) Seder	1	25	1	Yes, an orthodox seder
			2	Yes, a reform or shortened seder or modified seder
			3	Only a family meal (with or without kiddush only)
			4	No
			0	No response
8(e) Chametz	1	26	1	Yes, strictly (only use Beth Din certified foods)
			2	Yes, but not strictly/only at home
			3	Only avoid bread and cakes
			4	Eat Matzah mostly, but don't take special care
			0	No response
8(f) P.S.S.	1	27	1	Go to synagogue, close business/don't work, observe all customs and prohibitions
			2	Possibly go to some services and/or observe some customs, DO HAVE candles, kiddush, festive meal
			3	As above, but not all three festivals
			4	Observe little or nothing of any
			0	No response
8(g) RHYK	1	28	1	Go to synagogue, close business/do not work, observe associated customs and prohibitions, all three (or, if reform, two) days
			1	Go to synagogue, close business/don't work, all three (or, if reform, two) days, and fast Yom Kippur
			3	Go to synagogue for all/some services and work part of the time, usually fast Yom Kippur
			4	Observe <u>only</u> Yom Kippur by going to at least some services and by usually fasting
			5	Observe little or nothing myself, but close business/don't work out of respect
			6	Observe little or nothing at all
			0	No response
8(h) Chanukah	1	29	1	Yes, always/usually
			2	Yes, Occasionally
			3	Seldom/never
			9	No, because I do not have own home
			0	No response
9(a) Mourning rites in last five years	1	30	1	Observed fully
			2	Shivah plus no entertainment or kaddish for <u>year</u>
			3	Shivah plus no entertainment or kaddish for at least one month
			4	As (3) but less
			5	Observed no rites
			9	Not applicable (parents alive/died more than five years ago)
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
9(b) Memorial rites	1	31	1	Yahrzeit and Yizkor
			2	Yahrzeit only
			3	Yizkor only
			4	No memorial rites
			9	Not applicable (parents alive/died less than a year ago)
			0	No response
10 Changes in S's religious observance	1	32	A	No change
			B	More observant now than previously
			C	ditto since marriage
			D	ditto since children
			E	
			F	
			G	
			H	
			I	
			J	
			K	
			L	
			M	Less observant today than previously
			N	Was more observant when first married
			O	ditto until children grew up/left home
			P	ditto whilst my parents were alive
			Q	ditto whilst living with parents/as a child
			R	ditto as adolescent/as member of movement
			S	ditto until went to Israel
			T	ditto until coming to S.A.
			U	ditto before marriage
			V	ditto before starting work
			W	ditto when I had my own home
			X	convert
			Y	Don't know
			Z	No response
11 Parents' observance compared with S	1	33	1	Both parents more observant
			2	Both parents same
			3	Both parents less
			4	One more, one same
			5	One more, one less
			6	One same, one less
			0	Don't know/no response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
12(a)	1	34	A	1 English
S's home language			B	2 Afrikaans
			C	3 Yiddish
			D	4 Ladino
			E	5 Hebrew
			F	6 German
			G	7 Other
			H	English and Afrikaans (1+2)
			I	English and Yiddish (1+3)
			J	English, Afrikaans and Yiddish (1+2+3)
			K	English and Hebrew (1+5)
			L	English and German (1+6)
			M	English and Other (1+7)
			N	English, Yiddish and Hebrew (1+3+5)
			O	
			P	
			Q	
			R	
			S	Yiddish and Hebrew (3+5)
			T	Yiddish, Ladino and Hebrew (3+4+5)
			U	Yiddish and Other (3+7)
			V	German and Other (6+7)
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	Unknown/No response

12(b)	1	35	A	1 English
Parents home language			B	2 Afrikaans
			C	3 Yiddish
			D	4 Ladino
			E	5 Hebrew
			F	6 German
			G	7 Other
			H	English and Afrikaans (1+2)
			I	English and Yiddish (1+3)
			J	English, Afrikaans and Yiddish (1+2+3)
			K	English and Hebrew (1+5)
			L	English and German (1+6)
			M	English and Other (1+7)
			N	English, Yiddish and Hebrew (1+3+5)
			O	
			P	
			Q	
			R	
			S	Yiddish and Hebrew (3+5)
			T	Yiddish, Ladino and Hebrew (3+4+5)
			U	Yiddish and Other (3+7)
			V	German and Other (6+7)
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	Unknown/No response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
13(a)	1	36	1	At least weekly
Jewish newspapers			2	Irregularly
			3	Subscribe regularly but read irregularly
			4	Seldom/not at all
			0	No response
13(b)	1	37	1	Only Jewish-interest books
Jewish books			2	Mainly Jewish-interest books
			3	About as many as others
			4	Mainly other books
			5	No books of Jewish interest
			6	Do not read books at all/rarely
			7	Best sellers/whatever comes to hand
			0	No response
13(c)	1	38	1	About weekly
Jewish lectures			2	About monthly
			3	About six during the whole period
			4	Few/not at all
			0	No response
14(b)	1	39	1	Married Jewish rites, now separated
Marital status			2	Married Jewish rites, now divorced
			3	Married Jewish rites, now widowed
			4	Married Jewish rites, still married
			5	Married Civil rites, now separated
			6	Married Civil rites, now divorced
			7	Married Civil rites, now widowed
			8	Married Civil rites, still married
			9	Never been married
			0	No response/unclear response
15	1	40	A	Not married
Children			B	Married but no children
			C	All male children single
			D	ditto married
			E	ditto single and married
			F	All female children single
			G	ditto married
			H	ditto single and married
			I	Male and Female children all single
			J	ditto all married
			K	ditto all/some males single
			L	ditto all/some females single
			M	ditto some males and females single
			N	
			O	
			P	
			Q	
			R	
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	No response/unclear

QUESTION	CARD	CCL.	ROW	RESPONSE
16(a) Circumcision	1	41	1	All sons (or only son) circumcised by mohel
			2	Some sons by mohel, some by doctor
			3	All sons (or only son) by doctor
			4	Some sons by mohel, some uncircumcised
			5	Some sons by doctor, some uncircumcised
			6	All sons (or only son) uncircumcised
			0	Not applicable (no children/no sons)
16(b) Barmitzva	1	42	1	Yes, there was service and party
			2	Yes, there was service but no party
			3	Yes, there was party, but no service
			4	No, there was no service or party
			5	Yes, there will be service and party
			6	Yes, there will be service only
			7	Yes, there will be party only
			8	No, there will be neither party nor service
			9	I do not know what will be/child to decide/ indifferent
			0	Not applicable (no children/no son's)
16(c) Batmitzva	1	43	1	Yes, there was service and party
			2	Yes, there was service but no party
			3	Yes, there was party but no service
			4	No, there was no service or party
			5	Yes, there will be service and party
			6	Yes, there will be service but no party
			7	Yes, there will be party but no service
			8	No there will be no party or service
			9	Don't know what will be /child to decide/ indifferent
			0	Not applicable (no children/no daughters)
17(a) Children Sabbath observance	1	44	1	All observe strictly
			2	All attend services but do not observe strictly
			3	Observe little or nothing
			4	Some (1) and Some (2)
			5	Some (1) and Some (3)
			6	Some (2) and Some (3)
			9	Not applicable (no schoolgoing children)
			0	Don't know/no response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	PCW	RESPONSE
17(b)	1	45	A	Not applicable
Children Festival observance			B	Don't know/no response
			C	1 <u>All</u> attend all or most services, do not attend school on any festival, and completely refrain from riding (except possibly to synagogue), writing, attending cinemas or parties, playing sport, etc.
			D	2 <u>All</u> attend all or most services, do not attend school on any festival, but observe few or none of the prohibitions
			E	3 <u>All</u> attend High Holyday services and, possibly, an occasional service on other festivals, do not attend school on any festival, and observe few or none of the prohibitions.
			F	4 <u>All</u> do not attend school on any festival
			G	5 <u>All</u> do not attend school on some festivals and/or attend High Holyday services
			H	6 <u>All</u> observe no Jewish festivals
			I	7 <u>Some</u> observe as (C) and some as (D) or (E)
			J	8 <u>Some</u> observe as (C) and some as (F) or (G)
			K	9 <u>Some</u> observe as (G) and some as (E)
			L	0 <u>Some</u> observe as (D) or (E) some as (F), (G) or (H)
17(c)	1	46	A	No schoolgoing children
Children Jewish education			B	No response/response unclear
			C	Afternoon classes only: 2-5 times per week - all children
			D	Primary day school only - all children
			E	Secondary day school only - all children
			F	Bar/batmitzvah only - all children
			G	Private tutor only - all children
			H	Afternoon classes some children & primary day-school others
			I	Afternoon classes and secondary day-school
			J	Primary and secondary day-school
			K	Bar/batmitzvah only for some, private tutor for others
			L	Afternoon classes some, private tutor others
			M	Only girls in family - no Jewish education
			N	Only boys in family - no Jewish education
			O	Some afternoon classes, others no Jewish education
			P	Some bar/batmitzvah only, others no Jewish education
			Q	Some private tutor, others no Jewish education
			R	No children having Jewish education (boys & girls)
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	

QUESTION	CARD	CCL.	ROW	RESPONSE
18(a)	1	47	1	Desire it strongly
Unmarried children			2	Prefer it
future kashruth			3	Indifferent/child's choice/don't know
			4	Would prefer them not to keep kosher
			9	Not applicable
			0	No response
18(b)	1	48	1	Desire it strongly
Unmarried children -			2	Prefer it
future observance			3	Indifferent/child's choice/don't know
			4	Would prefer them not to keep observances
			9	Not applicable
			0	No response
18(c)	1	49	1	Desire it strongly
Unmarried children			2	Prefer it
bring up children as			3	Indifferent/child's choice/don't know
Jews			4	Would prefer them not to bring up their children as Jews
			9	Not applicable
			0	No response
18(d)	1	50	1	Strongly disapprove of any such friendships
Teenage children			2	Alright if of same sex only
gentile friends			3	Alright with both sexes, provided no dating at all with boys/girls
			4	Alright with both sexes, provided only occasional dating/dating in crowd
			5	I have no objections whatsoever
			6	I am indifferent/child's decision
			7	I think it is a good thing
			8	I would prefer my children to have gentile rather than Jewish friends
			9	Not applicable (no teenage or older unmarried children/no children)
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARE	SID.	ANS	RESPONSE
18(e)	1	51	A	Not applicable
Attitude to child's intermarriage			B	Don't know/no response
			C	In favour of intermarriage - it is desirable
			D	In favour of intermarriage - would accept it
			E	Not against/would allow it
			F	Not against, because intermarriage already in family
			G	Not against intermarriage as such, provided backgrounds not too dissimilar/non-Jewish party was nice person/both parties know what to expect/ etc.
			H	
			I	
			J	Would not like child to intermarry but would not oppose
			K	Would not like it, would try to prevent it, but would ultimately accept it.
			L	Would not like it, would try to prevent it, but would ultimately accept it provided gentile spouse converted.
			M	Would not like it, would try to prevent it, would not disown child but would never accept gentile spouse.
			N	Would disown child/throw him(her) out/disinherit him(her)/ <u>never</u> accept it.
			O	Would not like it and would try <u>hard</u> to prevent it/generally disapprove
			P	Might disown child
			Q	Would be very upset/would not like it/etc.
			R	
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	Indifferent/child's choice
			Z	

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
20(a)	1	52		<u>Paying members of orthodox congregation</u>
Synagogue affiliation			A	Parlview/Greenside/Emarentia
			B	Oxford
			C	Yeoville
			D	Great (Wolmarans St.)
			E	Berea
			F	Ninth St. Orange Grove; Sydenham/Highlands North;
				Pine St (North-Eastern); Glenhazel; Waverley
			G	South (Rosettenville)
			H	Observatory (Valley-Observatory); Kensington; Jeppe
			I	Beth Hamidrash Hagadol; Doornfontein (Lions Shul);
				Chassidischer; Ponysvler; Etz Chayim
			J	Linksfield; Cyrildene
			K	Other/unspecified/more than one orthodox/
				orthodox outside Johannesburg.
			L	Paying member of both orthodox and reform
				congregations
			M	<u>Paying member of reform congregation: Temple Shalom</u>
			N	<u>Paying member of reform congregation: other/</u>
				unspecified
			O	Non-paying member of orthodox congregation = 3
			P	Non-paying member of reform congregation = 4
			Q	Favour orthodox synagogue = 5
			R	Favour reform synagogue = 6
			S	Attend both reform and orthodox = 7
			T	Attend neither reform nor orthodox = 8
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	Unclear/no response
20(c)	1	53	1	Yes
Chevrah Kadisha			2	No
			3	Don't know what it is
			0	No response/unclear/don't know
20(d)	1	54	1	Committee member
Position in synagogue			2	Executive member
			3	Sub-committee member only
			4	Other
			5	None
			9	Not applicable (not a member)
			0	No response
20(e)	1	55	1	6 or more hours per week
Synagogue activities- time spent			2	Weekly meeting or task
			3	Fortnightly/monthly meeting or task
			4	Bimonthly meeting or task
			5	Less than bimonthly
			6	None
			9	Not applicable (not a member)
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARD	CCL.	RCM	RESPONSE
20(f) Synagogue attendance	1	56	1	Daily, Sabbath & Festivals
			2	Sabbath & festivals mornings plus or minus evenings
			3	About weekly
			4	About monthly
			5	Rosh Hashannah and Yom Kippur only
			6	Yom Kippur/Rosh Hashannah only
			7	Not at all
			0	No response
20(g) Ability to follow services	1	57	1	Can follow all/most orthodox services without difficulty
			2	Find it difficult to follow some/parts of some orthodox services
			3	Find it difficult to follow all/most orthodox services
			4	Can follow all/most reform services without difficulty
			5	Find it difficult to follow some/parts of some reform services
			6	Find it difficult to follow all/most reform services
			7	Do not attend services at all
			0	No response/Don't know
20(h) Ability to understand Siddur	1	58	1	Read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew and understand most (orthodox)
			2	Read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew but understand little/nothing - (orthodox)
			3	Can read Hebrew, but read all/most prayers in English (orthodox)
			4	Unable to read Hebrew and read all prayers in English (orthodox)
			5	Read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew and understand most (reform)
			6	Read all/most Hebrew prayers in Hebrew but understand little/nothing - (reform)
			7	Can read Hebrew, but read all/most prayers in English (reform)
			8	Unable to read Hebrew and read all prayers in English (reform)
			9	Do not attend services at all
			0	No response/unclear

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
21	1	59	A	Zionist - no elaboration/no reason/miscellaneous
Zionist affiliation			B	ditto - support Israel financially
			C	ditto - belong to Zionist organization/party/movement/attend meetings (includes B)
			D	ditto - do Zionist work/work for Israel (includes B and C)
			E	ditto - Zionist background/always been Zionist/ <u>was</u> active in Zionist work/believe in Jewish national home/Jewish state/homeland for all people
			F	ditto - Identify with Israel/support Israel morally/follow news about Israel
			G	ditto - support Israel financially + E/F
			H	ditto - support Israel financially + I/K
			I	ditto - Intend to settle in Israel (includes C/D in <u>one</u> case)
			J	ditto - Would like/encourage children to settle in Israel
			K	ditto - Have children/family in Israel
			L	ditto - Intend/have/want visit Israel
			M	ditto - Have lived in Israel and like it/want to return/other positive
			N	ditto - Intend to settle + E/F
			O	Not Zionist - no elaboration/no reason
			P	ditto - Do not work for Israel
			Q	ditto - don't believe Jews should be separate national group
			R	Zionist - but would not settle
			S	Not Zionist - no background
			T	ditto - visited/lived in Israel and do not like it/other negative
			U	ditto - I only give money
			V	ditto - I do not intend to settle
			W	ditto - not interested in Zionism or Israel/ Zionism outdated/I am a South African/no feeling for Israel
			X	ditto - I only give money, but do not want to settle in Israel
			Y	Zionist - B+E/F+I/K
			Z	Don't know/no response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
22 Zionist behaviour	1	60	A	No response/unclear/etc.
			B	1 - Not a Zionist
			C	Zionist - but does none of listed items
			D	2 - Zionist: Reads Zionist periodicals only
			E	2 + 7 - Zionist: reads Zionist periodicals and has/intends visit Israel
			F	2+5/6 + 7 - Zionist: reads Zionist periodicals, <u>and</u> has/intends visit Israel <u>and</u> attends Zionist meetings.
			G	2 + 3/4 + 7 - Zionist: as E <u>and</u> belongs to a Zionist party
			H	2 + 3/4 + 5/6 + 7 - Zionist: F <u>and</u> G
			I	B (\pm 7, 8, 9, 0) - Zionist: Volunteered for service in Israel (would like to settle in Israel, would like to study in Israel).
			J	B + 2, 3/4, 5/6 (\pm 7, 8, 9, 0) - Zionist: volunteered for service in Israel and active in S.A.
			K	A + 7 + 2, 3/4, 5/6 - Zionist: have children in Israel, have visited Israel and active locally.
			L	2 \pm 3/4 \pm 5/6 - Zionist: read Zionist periodicals and belong to Zionist party and/or attend Zionist meetings.
			M	7 - visited Israel only.
			N	7 \pm 3/4 \pm 5/6 Zionist: visited Israel and active locally but do not read Zionist periodical.
			O	9 (+0) + 7 + 8 + 2 + 3/4 + 5/6 - Zionist: intend to settle in Israel and have studied, visited or settled previously in Israel and active locally.
			P	7 + 9 - Zionist: visited and intend to settle
			Q	9 + 2 + 3/4 + 5/6 - Zionist: active locally and intend to settle.
			R	8 + 2 + 3/4 + 5/6 Zionist: active locally and settled for a while
			S	8 Zionist: settled for a while
23(a) Jewish education - standard	1	61	1	None/a few years as a small child
			2	Only for bar/batmitzvah
			3	Throughout primary school/until bar- or batmitzvah/until 12-13 years of age
			4	2 or more years post-barmitzvah/batmitzvah - but not as matric subject
			5	Matriculated in Hebrew, or higher
			6	1 or 2 above plus adult classes anywhere
			7	3 or 4 above plus adult classes anywhere
			8	Adult classes only
			9	Conversion classes
			0	No response
23(b) Jewish education- source	1	62	1	Jewish day school (including any fulltime Jewish educational institution in S.A. or elsewhere-e.g. King David, cheder in Eastern Europe, yeshiva ketanah, yeshivah, etc.) Primary/age 12-13
			2	Jewish day school - secondary/age 15-16
			3	Part-time classes in morning or afternoons (e.g. cheder, talmud torah)
			4	Private tutor
			5	Taught by parents
			6	No Hebrew education as child
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
24(a)	1	63	A	Medical (p.2,v and vi)
24(b)	1	64	B	University students (p.2,i)
Occupation/Father's occupation			C	Engineers,etc.(p.2,ii)
			D	Pharmacists (2,iii)
			E	Scientists (p.2,iv and iii excluding pharmacists)
			F	Legal profession (p.2,viii)
			G	Other technical and professional (Remainder pp.2,3)
			H	Managerial and administrative (pp.4,5)
			I	Accountants
			J	Clerical and related workers (pp.5,6)
			K	Sales workers (p.6)
			L	Workers in mine,quarry and related occupations/ workers in operating transport occupations/ semiskilled and unskilled labourers/service work- ers/other (Categories 5,6,3,9.10 at pp.7,8,9,10, 11)
			M	Skilled workers (p.8,9)
			N	Unemployed/retired/not working at present - usually A-G
			O	ditto - usually H
			P	ditto - usually I,J
			Q	ditto - usually K
			R	ditto - usually L
			S	ditto - usually M
			T	ditto - unspecified
			U	Housewife - usually,normally,(or formerly)A-G
			V	Housewife - ditto H-J
			W	Housewife - ditto K,M
			X	Housewife - ditto L
			Y	Housewife - no normal occupation/unspecified
			Z	Don't know/no response/unclear response

(N.B. (a) Code applicable to both question 24(a) and 24(b);

(b) Page references, etc. following Row designation refer to U.N.
'Definitions for the Coding of Occupations')

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
25 Whether, how and why employs Jews	1	65	A	Not an employer/don't know/no response
			B	1 - Mostly/all Jewish
			C	2 - About equally Jewish and Non-Jewish
			D	3 - Mostly/all non-Jewish
			E	
			F	B + Salesmen, No reason
			G	B + Clerical, Supervisory. No reason
			H	B + Secretary typist. More honest.
			I	B + various. Customers mostly Jewish.
			J	C + various. No reason
			K	C + supervisory. No reason
			L	C + Clerical and supervisory. More able.
			M	C + Typists. Prefer to employ Jews.
			N	D + Various. Efficient. Not because are Jews.
			O	D + Jews would not apply.
			P	D + Jews would take over business
			Q	D + Jews not hard-working
			R	D + Professional. No reason
			S	D + Clerical, supervisory, secretarial. No reason.
			T	D + Sales
			U	D + various. Trustworthy
			V	D + employ only people of ability irrespective.
			W	D + Various. No reason
			X	D + Sales. But Jews won't apply
			Y	D + Managerial. Would employ more Jews, but
			Z	(in short supply.
26 Income	1	66	A	Don't know/dependent/no income/working wife's income only/refuse to respond/unclear response
			B	Estimate of husband's income including or excluding own (wife's) income: less than R250 p.m.
			C	ditto: R250-R449 p.m.
			D	ditto: R450-R649 p.m.
			E	ditto: R650-R849 p.m.
			F	ditto: R850 and over p.m.
			G	Total household income/husband's actual income (whether respondent is male or female)/own income if respondent is not presently married: less than R250 p.m.
			H	ditto: R250-R449 p.m.
			I	ditto: R450-R649 p.m.
			J	ditto: R650-R849 p.m.
			K	ditto: R850 p.m. and over

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
27(c)	1	67	A	No response/unknown/unclear response/etc.
Close friends:			B	Relatives only
Jewish/non-Jewish			C	Relatives and Jews only
			D	Relatives and mostly Jews
			E	Relatives and about equal no. Jews and non-Jews
			F	Relatives and mostly non-Jews
			G	Relatives and non-Jews only
			H	Only Jews
			I	Mostly Jews
			J	About equal no. Jews and non-Jews
			K	Mostly non-Jews
			L	Only non-Jews
(N.B. Mostly = 2/3, 4/5, 4 or 5/6, 5 or 6/7, 6 or 7/8, 6 or 7 or 8/9 About equal = 2 +3/5, 3+3/6, 3+4/7, 3+5 or 4+4/8, 4+5/9				
27(d)	1	68	1	Only Jews
Acquaintances:			2	Mostly Jews
Jewish or non-Jewish			3	About equal no Jews and non-Jews
			4	Mostly non-Jews
			5	Only non-Jews
			0	No response
27(e)	1	69	A	No response/not applicable/unclear
Business associates:			B	Partners (business or professional) only Jewish
Jewish or non-Jewish			C	ditto: mostly Jewish
			D	ditto: about equal Jewish and non-Jewish
			E	ditto: mostly non-Jewish
			F	ditto: only non-Jewish
			G	ditto: all/mostly relatives
			H	Employer/supervisor only Jewish
			I	ditto: mostly Jewish
			J	ditto: about equal
			K	ditto: all/mostly non-Jewish
			L	Clients/customers only Jewish
			M	ditto: mostly Jewish
			N	ditto: about equal
			O	ditto: all/mostly non-Jewish
			P	Other associates only Jewish
			Q	ditto: mostly Jewish
			R	ditto: about equal
			S	ditto: all/mostly non-Jewish
			T	Various associates only Jewish
			U	ditto: mostly Jewish
			V	ditto: about equal
			W	ditto: all/mostly non-Jewish
			X	
			Y	
			Z	

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
28(a)	1	70	A	No response/refusal
Associational			B	Did not belong to any organization
Participation			C	Member of Jewish organisations (exc.sport/social) only
			D	Member of Jewish organisations plus sport only
			E	Member of Jewish or predominantly Jewish sport only
			F	Member of not predominantly Jewish sport only
			G	Member of Jewish/predominantly Jewish and not predominantly Jewish sport only
			H	Member of Jewish and predominantly Jewish organizations, including sport, only
			I	Member of predominantly Jewish and not predominantly Jewish organizations, including sport, only
			J	Member of not predominantly Jewish organizations, including sport, only
			K	Member of Jewish, predominantly Jewish and not predominantly Jewish organisations, including sport.
			L	Member of Jewish and predominantly Jewish org. excluding sport
			M	Member of not predominantly Jewish organisation excluding sport
			N	Member of Jewish and not predominantly Jewish organisation including sport
			O	K excluding sport
			P	I excluding sport
			Q	Member predominantly Jewish excluding sport
			R	N excluding sport
			S	
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
28(b) Board of Deputies	1	71	A	Don't know anything/much, but do good job
			B	Know function of Board of Deputies good
			C	Miscellaneous favourable
			D	Government of community. Good.
			E	Represents Jews to outsiders. Good.
			F	Looks after S.A. Jewish interests. Good.
			G	Employment agency. Good.
			H	General Welfare and assistance. Good.
			I	Works for Israel. Good.
			J	Promotes Jewish education. Good.
			K	Collects money(for U.F.C. and communal institutions). Good.
			L	Miscellaneous Unfavourable
			M	Miscellaneous. Uncertain good or bad
			N	Don't know anything. Don't know whether do good job or not
			O	Represents and looks after Jewish interests (E,F)
			P	Represents and promotes Jew.education (E,J)
			Q	Represents,looks after Jews,welfare org.(E,F,H)
			R	Looks after Jews, general welfare (F,H)
			S	Looks after Jews, collects money (F,K)
			T	Looks after Jews, promotes Jew.education(F,J)
			U	Represents Jews,general welfare (E,H)
			V	Looks after Jews, works for Israel (F,I)
			W	Misc.favourable,employment,Jew.education(C,G,J)
			X	Represents,looks after,welfare,Israel(E,F,H,I)
			Y	Looks after Jews, employment (F,G)
			Z	No response/unclear
29(a) Charitable Contributions	1	72	1	Almost totally/overwhelmingly Jewish
			2	Mostly Jewish
			3	About equally Jewish and non-Jewish
			4	Mostly non-Jewish
			5	Almost totally/overwhelmingly non-Jewish
			6	Don't know
			7	Made no regular contributions at all
			8	Made no regular contributions apart from three major funds
			9	
			0	No response/unclear

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
29(b)	1	73	A	Zionist/Israel only
Disbursement of			B	Zionist mostly and local Jewish.
R500 to charity			C	Zionist mostly and non-denominational
			D	Zionist mostly, Jewish and African
			E	Zionist mostly, Jewish and non-denominational
			F	Zionist and local Jewish funds only
			G	Local Jewish only
			H	Local Jewish mostly and Zionist
			I	Jewish mostly, non-denominational and Zionist
			J	Jewish mostly and African
			K	Jewish mostly and African and non-denominational
			L	Jewish mostly and non-denominational
			M	Zionist, Jewish and non-denominational
			N	Zionist, Jewish and African
			O	Zionist, Jewish, African and non-denominational
			P	Zionist and non-denominational
			Q	Zionist, African and non-denominational
			R	Zionist and African
			S	Jewish and non-denominational
			T	Jewish and African
			U	Jewish, African and non-denominational
			V	Non-denominational only
			W	Non-denominational mostly and Jewish
			X	African/non-White only
			Y	African and non-denominational
			Z	No response/Don't know/would not donate

QUESTION	D	CCL.	RCW	RESPONSE
30(a)		05	A	Don't know/no response/refuse to answer
Attitude to intermarriage in general			B	Approve of intermarriage (no further elaboration)
			C	
			D	Do not disapprove of intermarriage
			E	
			F	Have no views either way/indifferent/a personal matter
			G	Disapprove - but not strongly or vehemently
			H	Disapprove - but not strongly. Wouldn't do it myself or like my children to do (have done) it. But otherwise don't really mind much.
			I	Disapprove, but difficult to prevent/many opportunities nowadays
			J	Disapprove unless Gentile spouse prepared to convert
			K	Disapprove unless one party is prepared to convert
			L	Disapprove strongly (no further elaboration)
			M	Disapprove strongly - would be (have been) very upset if children marry (had married) out of faith
			N	Disapprove (strongly); does not work out (no elaboration)
			O	Disapprove (strongly); marriage will not work out because of religious and other differences in background
			P	Disapprove (strongly); because children neither Jews nor Gentiles/ don't have an identity/suffer
			Q	Disapprove (strongly); should stick to own kind
			R	Disapprove (strongly); causes loss of Jewish identity/undermines Jewish community/survival
			S	Disapprove (strongly); causes family friction, upset, etc.
			T	
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	
30(b)	2	06	1	Born of Jewish mother
Spouse Jewish by birth or conversion			2	Converted with mother, orthodox
			3	Converted with mother, reform
			4	Converted at/after marriage, orthodox
			5	Converted at/after marriage, reform
			6	Not converted
			0	No response/refusal

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
30(c) Spouse Jewish by birth or conversion	2	07	1	Yes, by birth
			2	Yes, by conversion before marriage, orthodox
			3	Yes, by conversion before marriage, reform
			4	Yes, by conversion after marriage, orthodox
			5	Yes, conversion after marriage, reform
			6	No.
			7	
			8	Not applicable - not married
			9	
			0	No response/refusal
30(d) Children's actual intermarriage	2	08	A	No married children intermarried
			B	No children/no married children
			C	No response/refusal
			D	Male child married out - no conversion
			E	Ditto - Gentile spouse converted Orthodox.
			F	Male child married out - Gentile spouse converted Reform.
			G	Male child married out - child converted Christ- ianity.
			H	Female child married out - no conversion
			I	Female child married out - Gentile spouse converted Orthodox
			J	Female child married out - Gentile spouse converted Reform
			K	Female child married out - child converted Christianity.
			L	Male child married out - no further details
			M	Female child married out - no further details
			N	More than one child married out - no conversions
			O	More than one child married out - all Orthodox conversions
			P	More than one child married out - all Reform conversions
			Q	More than one child married out - all Orthodox or Reform conversions
			R	More than one child married out - some converted Jewish, some not
			S	More than one child married out - some converted Jewish, some Christian
			T	More than one child married out - some converted Christian, some not
			U	More than one child married out - all converted Christian
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	

QUESTION	CARD	POL.	HOW	RELATION
30(e)	2	09	A	
Close relatives			B	No close relatives married out
actual intermarriage			C	One close relative married out - uncle
			D	One close relative married out - aunt
			E	One close relative married out - brother
			F	One close relative married out - sister
			G	One close relative married out - nephew/niece
			H	One close relative married out - cousins (any degree)
			I	One close relative married out - grandchild
			J	One sibling plus one other relative
			K	One sibling plus two other relatives
			L	One sibling plus more than two close relatives
			M	Two siblings
			N	Two close relatives
			O	Three siblings
			P	Three close relatives
			Q	Two siblings and one close relative
			R	Two siblings plus more than one close relative
			S	Three siblings plus any close relatives
			T	One close relative (not specified)
			U	
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	N/A, subject converted/one parent converted
			Z	No response/refusal/don't know

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
31 Intentions of remain- ing in South Africa	2	10	A	No response/refusal
			B	Don't know
			C	Yes, intend to remain in South Africa (unconditional)
			D	Yes; if possible/probably/as far as I know/other conditional without further elaboration
			E	Yes; if Jews are permitted to/don't know where Jews will move next/if it is still all right for Jews here
			F	Yes; unless general political developments make it impossible
			G	Yes, if I do not emigrate to Israel (no reason given)
			H	Yes, if international position, in general, does not deteriorate
			I	Yes, if I do not emigrate to another country, excluding Israel (no reason given)
			J	G or I
			K	Maybe/perhaps (no further elaboration)
			L	
			M	No (no further elaboration)
			N	No, I am about to /intend to emigrate to Israel
			O	No, I am about/intend to emigrate to another country
			P	N or O
			Q	G or I + political reasons (not anti-Semitism)
			R	G + political reasons (not anti-Semitism)
			S	No, Political reasons (not anti-Semitism)
			T	I + political reasons (not anti-Semitism)
			U	O + political reasons (not anti-Semitism)
			V	
			W	
			X	
			Y	
			Z	
32 Political party affiliation	2	11	1	National Party member
			2	National Party supporter/sympathiser
			3	United Party member
			4	United Party supporter/sympathiser
			5	Progressive Party member
			6	Progressive Party supporter/sympathiser
			7	Liberal Party member
			8	Liberal Party supporter/sympathiser
			9	Don't know/undecided/indifferent
			0	Refuse to answer

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	RCN	RESPONSE
33	2	12	A	Refusal/no response
Jewish avoidance of politics			B	Don't know
			C	Jews need not avoid any political activities/ personal matter
			D	Jews must keep out of racial politics (no reasons)
			E	Jews must avoid Communism
			F	Jews must avoid left-wing politics, including Liberal/Progressive parties
			G	Jews must avoid anti-South African politics
			H	Jews must avoid politics leading to violence
			I	Jews must avoid right-wing politics, fascism, racial discrimination
			J	Jews must avoid the Nationalist Party (no reason)
			K	Jews must avoid the Nationalist Party; leaders anti-Semitic
			L	
			M	Jews should not get involved in non-Jewish activities
			N	Jews should keep out of politics altogether
			O	Jews should not be concerned with South Africa, only Israel
			P	Jews must avoid anti-Government political activity
			Q	Must avoid racial politics: causes friction between Government and Jews
			R	Must avoid left-wing and Nationalists
			S	Must not be extremist
			T	Yes - Zionist
			U	Other specific parties
			V	Must avoid Nationalists and United Party/ Progressives
			W	Jews should not be too liberal (causes trouble)
			X	
			Y	
			Z	
34(1)-(48)	2	13-60	1	Strongly disagree
Attitude scale			2	Disagree
			3	Don't know/undecided
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			0	No response

(N.B. For columns 15, 20, 23, 30, 31, 37, 38, 42, 43, 48, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59 - being questions 3, 8, 16, 18, 19, 25, 26, 30, 36, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47 - Rows are reversed so that 1 = Strongly Agree, and 5 = Strongly disagree)

QUESTION CARD	CCL.	ROW	RESPONSE
34	2	61/62	1-0 Social Relations
Sub-scale totals	63/64	1-0	Insecurity in South Africa
	65/66	1-0	Religious Beliefs
	67/68	1-0	Ethnocentrism
	69/70	1-0	South Africa
	71/72	1-0	Self-hatred
	73/74	1-0	Zionism
	75/76	1-0	Religious Conservatism
35 (a-e)	3	05	1-7 Jewish-South Africa
Self-assessments	06	1-7	Strong Jewish feeling - no Jewish feeling
	07	1-7	Strong South African feeling - no South African feeling
	08	1-7	Very observant Jew - non-observant
	09	1-7	Very religious person - irreligious person
	05-09	0	No response
35(f)	3	10	1 Very important
Importance of being Jewish		2	Important
		3	Little importance
		4	No part in life
		0	No response
35(g)	3	11	1 Very important
Importance of being South African		2	Important
		3	Little importance
		4	No part in life
		0	No response
35(h)	3	12	1 I also feel more Jewish
When I feel more South African		2	There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African
		3	I feel less Jewish
		0	No response
35(i)	3	13	1 I also feel more South African
When I feel more Jewish		2	There is no relationship between my feeling Jewish and my feeling South African
		3	I feel less South African
		0	No response
35(j)	3	14	1 Very much
Would like to be reborn a Jew		2	Yes
		3	Makes no difference
		4	Prefer not
		0	No Response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	ROW	RESPONSE
35(k)	3	15	1	Never
Journal praises Jews			2	Seldom
feel praised			3	Often
			4	Always
			0	No response
35(l)	3	16	1	Never
Journal insults Jews			2	Seldom
feel insulted			3	Often
			4	Always
			0	No response
35(m)	3	17	1	Never
Journal praises South			2	Seldom
Africa, feel praised			3	Often
			4	Always
			0	No response
35(n)	3	18	1	Never
Journal insults South			2	Seldom
Africa, feel insulted			3	Often
			4	Always
			0	No response
35(o)	3	19	1	Yes
Fate bound with			2	Large extent
South Africa			3	Some extent
			4	No
			0	No response
35(p)	3	20	1	Yes
Fate bound with Jewish			2	Large extent
people			3	Some extent
			4	No
			0	No response
35(q,i)	3	21	1	Considerable
			2	Contributes
			3	Slight
			4	No
			0	No response

QUESTION	CARD	COL.	RCM	RESPONSE
35(q,ii) What in the behaviour of Jews contributes to anti-Semitism	3	22/23	A	No response
			B	N/A
			C	Don't know
			D	General bad behaviour
			E	Materialistic/interested only in money
			F	Jews too sensitive
			G	Jews have negative attitude to Gentiles - exclude, dislike, regard them as inferiors
			H	Jews more Zionist/Jewish than South African
			I	Business ethics bad/dishonest/fraudulent/hard
			J	Jews different in habits/speak with accent/ gesticulate - i.e. identifiable
			K	Jews cause anti-Semitism simply because they exist
			L	Ambitious/successful
			M	Jews too liberal/left-wing/communist/associate with non-whites/anti-Government
			N	Pushing/throw weight around/aggressive/ ostentatious/loud/conspicuous/boastful
			O	Intrusive
			P	Jews treat non-Jews badly/dishonestly
			Q	Jews selfish - only concerned with own community
			R	Regard themselves as superior to non-Jews
			S	Jealous of Jews' superiority/success
			T	Jews segregate themselves
			U	Orthodox Jews
			V	Miscellaneous
			W	T + N
			X	S + L
			Y	H + M
			Z	S + T + M

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWERS' INSTRUCTIONS

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg



Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg, South Africa

Telephone 724-1311 Telegrams 'University'

PRO FORMA : INTERVIEWERS LETTER OF INTRODUCTION (JANUARY 1968)

Your reference

Our reference

Date 10th January
1968

This is to introduce (name) who is a student of this University. (name) is assisting in a survey of the Johannesburg Jewish Community, and your co-operation would be greatly appreciated. Your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence and will be used for scientific purposes only.

The survey is being conducted with the approval and part-sponsorship of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Zionist Federation.

With thanks for your assistance,

Yours sincerely,

Allie Dubb

Senior Lecturer, Department of Social Anthropology

STUDY OF JOHANNESBURG JEWS - INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS

15th January 1968

1. It is suggested that you wear a Magen David (Star of David) brooch or pendant or something similar.
2. **APPROACH:** Introduce yourself by name. Say that you are from the University and are doing a study of Johannesburg Jews. Ask if Respondent is Jewish, if not excuse yourself and proceed to next house. If Respondent is Jewish ask if you may interview him/her - or whomever you need to fill your quota.

If necessary show Respondent your letter of introduction.

Do not make lengthy explanations of the purpose of the survey: simply paraphrase what is written in the letter of introduction.

N.B. It is most important that you do not enter into any discussions on the topic of the interview.

3. **LOCATING RESPONDENTS:**

You will be provided with a map and a list of streets for each area allocated to you. The number of Males and Females to be interviewed is shown in the column "Sample Size".

For all suburbs the minimum number of streets to be used is calculated as follows: for total sample size (i.e. M plus F) = 2 : 2 streets; = 3 : 3 streets; = 4 : 4 streets; = 5,6,7,8,9 or 10 : 5 streets; = 11 or over : 6 streets. In most cases a larger number of streets than the required minimum is provided in case some streets have no Jewish residents. Any of the streets may be taken in any order. N.B. If more streets are required in any area, please inform me. Do not make any substitutions.

The sample is stratified not only by area of residence and sex, but also by age. For every ten(10) consecutive interviews (irrespective of area) you should have four (4) Respondents aged between 18 - 34; five (5) between 35 - 64; and one (1) aged 65 years or over.⁺ N.B. Only people 18 years old and above must be interviewed.

To locate Jewish residents, simply go from door to door until you find the required subject. Do this even if you are told that no Jews live in the street, or that there is a Jewish family in a particular house...../2

⁺When this instruction proved impossible to comply with in practice, adjustments were made in terms of interviewers' experience of the area within the framework of overall sampling requirements. See Chapter 4 section C(e).

house. In the first street in an area, begin with number 1 then go on to number 2 and so on. In the second street, begin with the last house in the street and proceed towards number 1. It is quite permissible to interview next door neighbours, but do not interview more than one person per household.

In areas with a large proportion of flats, do not interview more than two (2) people in one building. Where there are a large number of flats and houses (e.g. Yeoville) interview people living in both types of dwelling. Avoid obvious biases such as interviewing only in new and/or expensive blocks in any area.

4. CODING OF SCHEDULE:

Coding should be done after the interviewing.

When recording responses for which alternatives are provided on the Schedule ring the appropriate number on the right hand side of the page. When coding the ringed number should be placed in the box in the right hand margin.++

N.B. Do not code where specific instructions not to code are given, or where the words "NO CODE" appear in the right hand margin. Note too that in some cases special CODING INSTRUCTIONS are provided.

5. THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

- (i) All questions preceded by XXX in the left hand margin must be put to Subject without suggesting possible answers. Try to fit Subject's response to listed alternative, where these are provided, but if in doubt read these alternatives so that Subject can make own choice. If still in doubt, record response verbatim. Questions not marked XXX - alternative responses should be read to Subject.
- (ii) Try out the first questionnaire on a friend or relative for practice and familiarisation
- (iii) Many of the questions from pages 1 to 24 may be paraphrased if Subject does not understand, but the utmost caution must be exercised. Don't explain questions aimed at eliciting values, opinions or perceptions.
- (iv) Probes should be done with caution - do not suggest lines of thought. Probes should flow from Subject's response. Where alternatives are listed they may be used as probes.

(v)...../3

++Most of these codes were subsequently changed.
Coding sheets are reproduced in Appendix B.

- (v) Do not forget to furnish the information required on the first page of the Schedule and to record your observations on the last page.
- (vi) Question 2(a) to (d): The direct male line of descent is required. Thus if S immigrated with a brother or cousin, record simply that S immigrated first. However if S came out with widowed or divorced mother, or as a small child under guardianship of some other relative, record verbatim in space provided.
- (vii) Question 4: Alternatives 4 and 5 (i.e. "Not cook or eat meat and milk together" and "Not use pork products or shellfish") are correctly worded. Thus the response "Do not use pork but do use shellfish" is to be regarded as equivalent to "Use neither pork nor shellfish" or "Use pork but not shellfish". Similarly, with alternative 4.
- (viii) Question 10: Probe - find out whether S has changed during adolescence or since, at marriage, as a result of children, etc.
- (ix) Question 15: If S volunteers information about deceased children, record this but do not probe. Make the notation "deceased" above the initials of such child.
- (x) Question 17: This question is only for school-going children.
Do not spend much time on 17 d-h.
- (xi) Question 19(a-e): In probing these questions use Subject's own response.
Note down negative as well as positive responses (e.g. Jews do not do OR A good Jew is not etc.)
- (xii) Question 20(e) and (h): Note that (g) is intended to find out whether Subject is able to follow the services in the synagogue he usually attends. In other words, can he find the right place in the prayer book, does he know what stage the service has reached.
Question (h) however refers to Subject's ability to read and understand Hebrew prayers in the prayer book.
- (xiii) Question 22: Do not ask those sections which have already been clearly covered by Subject in Question 21. Mark these responses later.
- (xiv) Attitude Schedules: The attitude questions on pages 25 to 30 inclusive must be administered exactly as written. Under no circumstances must you explain, interpret or amplify any statement. Re-read it. If S persists that he cannot understand, record this on the facing

page. Subject may argue about statements or criticise them. Do not defend or interpret or agree. Re-read if necessary, and insist politely that S expresses his opinion.

Some statements have two (2) clauses (e.g. 34(5) or 34(9)). This is intentional and S must respond to the statement as a whole.

To administer attitude schedules, hand Subject blank copy and then read the instructions - and, if necessary, explain them - to him. Ask Subject to follow the statements as you read them to him and to tell you which response to mark. On no account should the Subject mark the blank schedule nor should you hand him his own schedule to fill in. The only questions which subject may mark himself are a,b,c,d,e, on page 28.

Note there are two (2) separate attitude questionnaires and instructions are given on page 25 and on page 28.

APPENDIX D

GLOSSARY

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.

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".

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.

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.

CHANNUKA

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 (Adj. 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 CHANNUKA.

MIKVAH or MIKVE

Ritual bath used mainly by women, but also by men, to restore ritual purity (e.g. 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. MITZVOTH)

A religious law.

MEZUZAH (pl. MEZUZOTH)

A small phial, about 2 inches long by $\frac{1}{4}$ 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).

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.

Yahrzeit (Yohrzeit)

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

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 MEZUZA, they are visible reminders of God's law (Numbers 15:37-41).

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 (i.e. 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 E

ADDITIONAL TABLES

A. BIOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC

1 . Sex and Age: Table 4.4

2 . Area of Residence: Table 4.4

3 . Length of Residence in Johannesburg:

Lived in Johannesburg all my life	125	44%
Since my arrival in S.A. 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, <u>cheder</u>	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 S.A., Father born S.A.	35	12%
Father's father came to S.A., Respondent born S.A.,		
Father born Eastern Europe	15	5%
Father born Germany/Austria	1	-
Father born other outside S.A.	5	2%
Father came to S.A., Respondent born S.A.	139	49%
Father came to S.A.,		
Respondent born Eastern Europe	17	6%
Respondent born Germany/Austria	2	-
Respondent other outside S.A.	6	2%
Respondent came to S.A. from Eastern Europe	32	11%
Respondent came to S.A. from Germany/Austria	8	3%
Respondent came to S.A. from other	14	5%
No response	6	2%
Total	283	98%

8 . General Education: Tables 5.8 and 5.9

9 . Home language of Respondents and parents: Table 5.3

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 5.15

13 . Income: Table 5.6

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 8.3

17 . Jewish Education source: Table 8.4

B. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

18 . Observance of mitzvot: Tables 9.1, 9.4, 9.5, 9.7

19 . Comparison between Respondent's and parents' observance of kashruth:

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 mitzvot 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 kashruth observance: Table 9.2

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 7.2

24 . Synagogue attendance: Table 7.3

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 7.6

33 . Zionist behaviour: not tabulated

E. JEWISH SURVIVAL - CHILDREN

34 . Children's Sabbath observance: Table 10.7

35 . Children's festival observance: Table 10.8

36 . Children's Jewish education: Table 10.6

37 . Unmarried - should they observe kashruth in their own homes: Table 10.5

38 . Unmarried children - should they be observant generally as adults: Table 10.5

39 . Unmarried children - should they rear their children as Jews: Table 10.4

F. JEWISH SURVIVAL - INTERMARRIAGE

40 . Teenage children - should they have gentile friends: Table 10.13

41 . Teenage children - attitudes to their possible intermarriage: Table 10.12

42 . Attitude to intermarriage: Table 10.11

43 . Children's intermarriage: Table 10.10

44 . Close relatives' intermarriage: Table 10.9

G. SOCIAL RELATIONS

45 .	Employment of Jewish employees: Table 7.13		
46 .	Close friends: Table 7.11		
47 .	Acquaintances: Table 7.11		
48 .	Business Associates: Table 7.12		
49 .	Associational participation: Tables 7.7, 7.8, 7.9		
50 .	Philanthropies: Table 7.5		
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 10.18
53 .	Political party affiliation: Table 10.16
54 .	Should Jews avoid involvement in South African politics: Table 10.17

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