

DOES JEWISH EDUCATION MAKE A
DIFFERENCE?
JEWISH IDENTITY OF PUPILS
AT CARMEL COLLEGE, DURBAN

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Europe Studies
University of Natal, Durban.

Atalia Ben-Meir, 1992

ABSTRACT

The trend towards assimilation which has characterised the Jewish People has highlighted the importance of Jewish education as one of the primary means of dealing with this process which foreshadows the disappearance of the Jewish People as a distinct national and religious entity. The overt purpose of the syllabus of the Jewish Day School movement in South Africa is to inculcate a Jewish identity based on a traditional religious orientation and Jewish national pride expressed by a commitment to the Jewish People and to the State of Israel. The purpose of this study was to examine the efficacy of the school in fulfilling these aims.

A questionnaire study was conducted at the Jewish Day School in Durban, Carmel College in May 1990. Eight dimensions of Jewish Identity were defined and multiple regression analysis was used to test whether they were statistically associated with each other. Two additional tools were used: an open-ended question designed to elicit from whom the pupils demarcate themselves when they define themselves as Jews and a delineation of the attributes of a "good Jew". In 1991 an additional questionnaire on the family background and its relation to the specifically Jewish dimensions was administered to a sample of Carmel pupils.

The findings revealed that the pupils manifested a strong Jewish identity expressed in the importance they attribute to Mitzvot, and Jewish credo. in the desire that their children be Jews, in the instinct to associate with other Jews. Moreover, the results suggest that their sense of commitment to the welfare of other Jews does not preclude a concern for non-Jewish society as well.

The pupils stressed the importance of being proud to be Jewish and being knowledgeable about Judaism. These findings were true of all categories examined: gender, denomination, standard at school and years of study at Carmel College. The study indicated that Jewish education had a positive impact on identity, but the magnitude of the impact was mediated by family background.

No marked differences were found in the intensity of Jewish Identity between Carmel pupils and the Jewish pupils attending government schools, although the latter tended to manifest a lesser commitment to the Jewish People and the State of Israel.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are extended to Carmel College, to the principal Mr. John Green, to the Head of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Mr. Issy Fisher and to the Board of Governors for their permission to conduct the study at the school.

I wish to thank Professor Valerie Moller for her support and guidance at all stages of this study.

I wish also to thank Robert Cairns and Richard Devey of the Centre for Social Development who did all the statistical processing on the computer. They were always so patient with my constant requests for more analyses.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TOPIC	PAGE
1. The Purpose of the Study	1
1.1 The Organisation of this Study	3
2. Jewish Identity	5
2.1 The Complexity of Jewish Identity	5
2.1.1 Jewish Identity According to Halacha (Jewish Law)	6
2.1.2 The Historical Perspective of Jewish Identity	8
2.1.2.1 The Vicissitudes of the Definition of Jewish Identity	8
2.1.2.2 Emancipation and Jewish Identity	10
2.1.3 Jewish Identity - Sociological Definitions	12
2.1.4 The Jewish People as an Ethnic Group	13
2.1.4.1 Ethnicity and Mobilisation of Political Interests	14
2.1.4.2 Ethnicity and Jewish Identity	15
2.1.5 Simon Herman -Definition of Jewish Identity	16
2.1.6 Popular Projections of Jewish Identity	17
2.1.7 Jewish Identity and Assimilation	20
2.1.7.1 Characteristics of Assimilation	20
2.1.7.2 Assimilation and the Jewish People	21
2.1.7.2.1 Tajfel's Theory of Social Identity and the Jews	21
2.1.7.3 The Crisis of Assimilation	22
2.1.7.3.1 Parameters for Predicting Assimilation	26
2.1.7.4 Assimilation and Intermarriage	26
2.1.7.4.1 The Moral Dilemma	26
2.1.7.4.2 Factors Influencing the Incidence of Intermarriage	23

2.1.7.4.3	The Consequences of Intermarriage	30
2.2	Jewish Religiosity	32
2.2.1	The Decline in Jewish Religious Observance	32
2.2.2	Criteria for Religious Observance	34
2.2.3	Jewish Denominations	37
2.2.4	The Jewish Apostate	39
2.3	Universalism	40
2.4	Jewish Nationality	42
2.4.1	The Rise in Jewish National Pride	42
2.4.2	Jewish Nationality and South African Jewry	43
3.	The Jewish Community	44
3.1	South African Jewry	45
3.1.1	Integrating into South African Society	50
3.1.2	Anti-Semitism in South Africa	51
3.2	The History of the Jews in Durban	55
3.2.1	The Durban Jewish Community	55
3.2.2	Zionism and the Durban Jewish Community	57
3.3	The Jewish Family	58
3.3.1	The Decline of the Jewish Family	59
3.4	Jewish Education	60
3.4.1	The Jewish Day School movement in South Africa	64
3.4.2	Jewish Education in Durban	65
3.4.2.1	The Jewish Day School: Carmel College	67
4.	Methodology	70
4.1	The Questions Addressed in the Study	70
4.1.1	Additional Factors Considered in this Study	72
4.2	Developing the Questionnaire	73
4.2.1	Range of Answers	75
4.2.2	The Dimensions Defined in this Study	75
4.3	Carrying out the Study	78

5. Results	80
5.1 Findings	80
5.1.1 Religious Practices	80
5.1.2 Religious Beliefs - Pietism	80
5.1.3 Particularism versus Universalism	81
5.1.4 Commitment to Judaism	82
5.1.5 Commitment to the Jewish People	84
5.1.6 Jews and the Non-Jewish Milieu	85
5.1.7 Assimilation and Intermarriage	85
5.1.8 Attitude Towards Israel	86
5.1.9 Differentiation by Standards	87
5.1.10 Comparison Between Standards 6 to versus standard 10	89
5.1.11 Differentiation by Affiliation	90
5.1.12 Differentiation by Sex	93
5.1.13 Differentiation by Years of Study at Carmel College	94
5.2 Demarcation versus Alignment	96
5.3 Multiple Regression Analysis	98
5.3.1 Predicting Practical Observance	99
5.3.2 Predicting Pietism	100
5.3.3 Predicting Universalism	101
5.3.4 Predicting Commitment to Judaism	103
5.3.5 Predicting Commitment to the Jewish People	104
5.3.6 Predicting the Attitude Towards Non-Jews	105
5.3.7 Predicting Tendency Towards Assimilation	106
5.3.8 Predicting Attitude Towards the State of Israel	107
5.4 Summary	108
5.5 The Profile of the "Good Jew"	109
5.6 Comparative Study of Jewish Identity: Jewish Pupils at Carmel College versus Jewish Pupils at Government Schools	111
5.6.1 Overview	111
5.6.2 Comparison between Carmel Pupils and Non-Carmel Pupils	111
5.6.3 The Affinity with the Jewish People	112

VIII

5.7 The Role of the Home in the Formation of Jewish Identity	117
5.7.1 Overview	117
5.7.2 The Research Question	117
5.7.3 Findings	119
5.7.4 Home Environment and Jewish Identity	124
6. Discussion and Conclusions	126
6.1 The Role of Carmel College in the Durban Jewish Community	126
6.2 The Jewish Identity of Carmel Pupils	127
6.3 Assimilation and Separateness	130
6.4 Some Qualifications	131
Bibliography	133
Appendix A - questionnaire	
Appendix B - Family questionnaire	
Appendix C - Description of the Sample Population	
Appendix D - Alpha Reliability Tables	
Appendix E - Factor analysis - family background	
Appendix F - Comments of Pupils	
Appendix G - Identification Scales	
Appendix H - Distribution of Means of Dimensions	
Appendix I - Glossary	
Appendix J - Statistical results of the comparative study of Carmel versus non-Carmel pupils	

TABLES AND FIGURES

	TABLE	PAGE
1)	Table 5.1 Standard of Religious Observance	80
2)	Table 5.2 The Importance of Observing Mitzvot	80
3)	Table 5.3 Religious Pietism	81
4)	Table 5.4 Universalism and Particularism as world views	81
5)	Table 5.5 Commitment to Judaism	82
6)	Table 5.6 Attitude of pupils towards Jewish knowledge	83
7)	Table 5.7 "Are you satisfied with the Jewish education you are receiving? /by standard	83
8)	Table 5.8 Commitment to the Jewish People	84
9)	Table 5.9 Relations with the Non-Jewish Environment	85
10)	Table 5.10 It is important to marry within the Jewish faith.	86
11)	Table 5.11 Attitude Towards Assimilation and Intermarriage	86
12)	Table 5.12 Our continued survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel.	86
13)	Table 5.13 [To what extent is it important to feel] attached to Israel] in order to be a "good Jew"?	87
14)	Table 5.14 What proportion of your friends are Jewish/ by standard	87
15)	Table 5.15 It is important to marry within the Jewish faith/by standard	88
16)	Table 5.16 Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew/ by standard	88
17)	Table 5.17 God is the Creator of the universe/ by standard	89
18)	Table 5.18 Universalistic attitudes/ by standards	89

19) Table 5.19	God is the Creator of the universe/ by affiliation	91
20) Table 5.20	Valence of Judaism: To what extent are the following essential in order to be a good Jew/ by affiliation	91
21) Table 5.21	Relevance of Jewishness to Life-space for the future/ by affiliation	92
22) Table 5.22	Differences in Ascription to the Jewish People: Synagogue affiliated versus Temple affiliated	92
23) Table 5.23	Relationships with Non-Jews/ by affiliation	92
24) Table 5.24	Religious Practices/ by Sex	93
25) Table 5.25	Differences between the sexes in Jewish Identity	94
26) Table 5.26	Distribution of means of dimensions by years at Carmel College	94
27) Table 5.27	Distribution of Responses for: We are Jews and they are.....	97
28) Table 5.28	Correlation matrix of all the dimensions	98
29) Table 5.29	Stepwise regression analysis: Practical Observance as predicted by Judaism and Pietism	99
30) Table 5.30	Stepwise regression analysis: Pietism as predicted by Practical Observance and Social Relations with non-Jews	100
31) Table 5.31	Stepwise regression analysis: Universalism as predicted by Commitment to Jewish People	102
32) Table 5.32	Stepwise regression analysis: Commitment to Judaism as predicted from Practical Observance, Assimilation and Social Relations with non-Jews	103
33) Table 5.33	Stepwise regression analysis: Commitment to the Jewish People as predicted from Commitment to Judaism, Social Relations with non-Jews and Attachment to Israel	104

34) Table 5.34	Stepwise regression analysis: Social Relations with non-Jews as predicted from Commitment to Judaism, Commitment to the Jewish People, Assimilation and Pietism	105
35) Table 5.35	Stepwise regression analysis: Assimilation as predicted from Social Relations with non-Jews and Commitment to Judaism	106
36) Table 5.36	Stepwise regression analysis: Attachment to Israel as predicted from Commitment to the Jewish People	107
37) Table 5.37	The Essential and Very Desirable Qualities of the "Good Jew"	110
38) Table 5.38	Comparison of Carmel pupils and non-Carmel pupils	113
39) Table 5.39	Aspects of alignment with the Jewish People: Carmel pupils versus non-Carmel pupils	115
40) Table 5.40	Interaction between family background and Jewish Identity	120
41) Table 5.41	Interaction between religious observance and concern for achievement in Jewish studies and Hebrew	121
42) Table 5.42	Interaction between religious observance, activity and Jewish Identity	122
43) Table 5.43	Impact of knowledge and involvement in community on Jewish Identity	123
44) Table 5.44	Interaction between Jewish Identity and years in Carmel	124

FIGURES

1) Figure 5-1	Scatterplot of Practical Observance with Commitment to Judaism and Pietism	100
2) Figure 5-2	Scatterplot of Pietism with Practical Observance and Social Relations with non-Jews	101
3) Figure 5-3	Scatterplot of Universalism with Commitment to the Jewish People	102
4) Figure 5-4	Scatterplot of Commitment to Judaism with Practical Observance, Commitment to Jewish People and Social Relations with non-Jews	103
5) Figure 5-5	Scatterplot of Commitment to Jewish People with Commitment to Judaism, Universalism and Attachment to Israel	104
6) Figure 5-6	Scatterplot of Social Relations with non-Jews with Assimilation, Commitment to Judaism and Pietism	105
7) Figure 5-7	Scatterplot of Assimilation with Social Relations with non-Jews and Commitment to Judaism	106
3) Figure 5-8	Scatterplot of Attachment to Israel with Commitment to the Jewish People	107

Chapter 1. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The preoccupation with Jewish survival may, perhaps, seem strange to an objective observer: however, the whole history of the Jewish people is of survival under trying circumstances. During the Holocaust six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis, raising the question whether there is a future for the Jewish People. Today the question which occupies Jewish leaders, religious and secular, is whether assimilation and intermarriage threaten the continued survival of the religion, the people, as both an ethnic and social group, and the Jewish heritage.

The major bulwark against total assimilation is the existence of a Jewish Identity, a feeling of belonging to the Jewish People, and an affinity to its religion and heritage. Therefore, enhancing this identity is considered to be essential in order to ensure the continued survival of the Jewish People and the Jewish religion.

The Jewish Day School in South Africa was established for the purpose of inculcating Jewish consciousness in the progeny of the thousands of Jewish immigrants escaping persecution and poverty in Eastern Europe who fled to South Africa.

The parents lived in a Jewish milieu; being Jewish was a way of life and a mentality. The children were deprived of this environment and the solution evolved was the establishment of the Jewish Day School.

The major question which the study addressed was whether Jewish education, within the framework of a Jewish Day School, makes a significant impact on the child's Jewish identity. There are influences in the life of the child which shape his/her identity and self-concept. The family is undoubtedly a major influencing factor; nevertheless, the school also plays a role in shaping the attitudes and behaviour of its pupils.

Goss, in 1968, articulated in the following terms what he believes to be the basic tasks of the Jewish Day Schools:

Our schools must be the vehicles which will convey at least some knowledge of Hebrew, of Jewish literature, of religion and history, for without these prerequisites no Jew is literate in a Jewish sense: without which no Jew can even begin to understand the Jewish heritage. A knowledge of all these is the basic minimum for an intelligent identification with the agencies that make for Jewish survival in the Diaspora. (quoted in Kark, 1975:5)

Goss's major contention is that in order to know what it means to be a Jew, knowledge about Judaism and its heritage is a prerequisite. This study examines this supposition, concentrating on one specific Jewish population, the pupils in the Senior school at Carmel College in Durban.

This study is focused on characterising one school and one unique population. In no way do I claim that the results of this study can be extrapolated to the youth of other Jewish communities in the Diaspora, nor even to the youth of other Jewish communities in South Africa.

1.1 THE ORGANISATION OF THIS STUDY

The rationale in organising this paper was to begin with the general perspective, and then to advance to the particular.

Chapter 2 introduces the major concepts for studying the identity formation of the Jewish People. Each of these concepts is defined in general terms before discussing their application to the shaping of Jewish Identity. This chapter also presents the complexity of defining Jewish Identity as well as its dynamics throughout history. The crisis of assimilation and its impact on the survival of the Jewish People is described, with special attention to intermarriage and the problems it poses for the Jewish community and the Jewish People. It is hypothesised that a strong Jewish Identity will enhance the attractiveness of the Jewish People and of Judaism and thus impede the assimilation process. This chapter goes on to examine specific dimensions of Jewish Identity : religiosity, universalism and Jewish nationality.

Chapter 3 describes the Jewish community of South Africa, and the difficulties encountered by the Jewish immigrants in their quest to integrate into mainstream society. The chapter relates the formation of a common identity of all the Jews within the Jewish community despite conflicting class and economic interests. The chapter highlights the common goal of survival which unites all Jews despite other apparent cleavages. The chapter begins with the concept of Jewish community, goes on to describe South African Jewry and finally describes the unique characteristics of the Durban Jewish Community. The chapter discusses the transformation of the traditional Jewish family the trend for the Jewish Day School to displace the family as the major socialisation agent of Judaism. The chapter then explores the possible effects of Jewish education on the formation of Jewish identity in general and in South Africa in particular. The history of the Jewish Day School movement in South Africa and Durban is described, with special reference to Carmel College, where the study was conducted.

Chapter 4 introduces the methodology used in the study. It then describes each of the dimensions of Jewish Identity and the questions raised by the problematics of measuring Jewish Identity.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from the study conducted at Carmel College, and comparative results obtained from the study of the Jewish pupils at Carmel College and the Jewish pupils attending government schools in Durban. Finally, the chapter analyses the interaction between family background and the strength of Jewish identity.

Chapter 6 encompasses the discussion and the conclusions of this study.

Special terms used in the study are listed in a glossary in the Appendix (J).

Chapter 2. JEWISH IDENTITY

2.1 THE COMPLEXITY OF JEWISH IDENTITY

Jews have been, and are, unremittingly occupied with the issue of their survival as a people, today, perhaps, more than ever. The majority of the Jews live in pluralistic, democratic societies where they can live freely as Jews with no fear or shame at being Jewish. Paradoxically it is within this precise context that the contemporary Jew, with the exception of the Orthodox Jew, is grappling with the question of what it means to be a Jew generally, and what it means to him personally.

When we talk about "Jewish Identity" we are referring to a multidimensional phenomenon. "Most researchers agree that Jewish identification is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Yet there is little agreement as to how many dimensions there really are. (Himmelfarb 1980:51) . Each dimension has its own qualities, its own magnitude and its own dynamics.

A unidimensional concept of Jewish identity concept is fraught with distortion. Different Jews place emphasis on different dimensions in the process of defining what "Jewishness" means to them. For one Jew the unwavering belief in God and the Torah does not translate into meticulous observance of the Mitzvot, whereas for another Jew observance is the essence of the belief in God. One Jew expends time, energy and money in support of the State of Israel while another will expend time, energy and money in support of its enemies, each one convinced that they are exemplifying the meaning of Judaism. One Jew isolates himself from non-Jewish society while another isolates himself from Jewish society. One Jew will take all possible measures to aid all Jews in the world, while another will be indifferent, reflecting

Cain's words: "Am I my brother's keeper?". Nevertheless they all feel essentially Jewish.

Jews have integrated into non-Jewish society, discarded many elements that previously were considered indispensable. At the same time they have adopted patterns of living that are foreign to Judaism, and sometimes antagonistic and threatening.

The crucial question is, where is this process going to lead the Jewish People:

- a) Either to a refashioning of Judaism and the Jewish People in modern terms, thus assuring the perpetuation of this ancient people;
- b) Or, alternatively, will the process foreshadow the total assimilation of the Jewish People, and their eventual disappearance.

This issue is of prime concern to the Jewish people. One of the primary means of ascertaining the commitment to Judaism is clarifying the salience of Jewishness for the individual. Does the Jewish group occupy a position of centrality in his life? Does being Jewish have high valence for him? Does being Jewish constitute a factor in his major decision-making processes?

2.1.1 JEWISH IDENTITY ACCORDING TO HALACHA (Jewish Law)

It is virtually impossible to obtain universal consensus for a definition of Jewish Identity. At the moment of writing the Orthodox hold adamantly to the halachic definition whereas the Reform and Conservative denominations challenge it.

Under Jewish Law matrilineal descent is the only criteria of Judaism. The halachic definition of a Jew is one who was born of a Jewish mother or a

mother who has undergone conversion to the Jewish religion. However, this definition is not accepted by Reform Judaism and controversy rages over both the genetic and halachic aspects. In direct contrast to the Orthodox demand that descent derive from the mother, Reform Judaism in America has formulated a policy whereby patrilineal descent defines a Jew. In other words, anyone who has a Jewish father but a non-Jewish mother, is considered a Jew.

Regarding the second aspect Orthodox rabbis reject conversions performed by Reform and Conservative rabbis. In fact, the Israeli government nearly fell in the wake of this question. A non-Jewish woman, Shoshana Miller, underwent conversion by a Reform rabbi, came to settle in Israel in 1987 and demanded citizenship under the Law of Return which guarantees automatic citizenship to any Jew who wants to settle in Israel. The Office of Home Affairs refused to recognise her conversion and refused to give her citizenship under the Law of Return. One of the religious parties threatened to leave the coalition government if Shoshana Miller's request be acceded, in which case they would have caused the government to lose its majority in the Knesset.

The complexity of Jewish identity is also evident in the ambivalent status of non-Jews who are active in the Jewish community. The Zionist Record of February 14, 1992 relates cases of Christians, who have not converted to Judaism but are active members in the Synagogue, involved in communal organisations, and active in their support for Israel. These Christians identify themselves as non-Jews in spite of their active role in the Jewish community because they have not undergone any conversion.

Barry Kosmin, who directed the latest sociological-demographical study of American Jewry noted that the question of the involvement of non-Jews in the Jewish community derives from the fact that our only criterion for becoming Jewish is religious conversion. Kosmin asks:

But what if you identify with the Jewish destiny and socially and politically feel part of the Jewish community, but either cannot accept the Jewish God or have another religious affiliation?

officially convert....It's all very odd because it's become so difficult to decide who is a Jew today. The borders have become very permeable.(Zionist Record, 14/2/92)

In view of the controversy attached to the official definition of Jewishness, the study cannot take this as a starting point. This study focuses on the personal definition of Jewish Identity rather than the legal aspects and consequences. The thrust of the argument is that Jewish Identity is multidimensional and is shaped and formed by the person's family background, education and social environment.

2.1.2 THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF JEWISH IDENTITY

Jewish Identity is not, and has never been, static. Jewish identity has undergone changes throughout Jewish history, since biblical times until today. Historically, Jewish identity consisted of two components: religious and national.

2.1.2.1 The Vicissitudes of the Definition of Jewish Identity

In the Biblical era Jewish identity meant belonging to the Jewish community as a religio-national entity. In the confrontation with the Samaritans, after the return to Judea, Ezra defined the identity of the Jewish community as primarily religious.

During the Second Commonwealth era there were Gentiles who had not converted to Judaism, but had adopted many of the beliefs and style of life of the Jews. Nevertheless they were not regarded as Jews, because Jewish identity was defined in Halachic terms. A Jew was one who was born of a Jewish mother (or had converted to Judaism), who regarded himself as belonging to the Jewish community, and had not converted to another religion.

In the ninth century controversy broke out between the Rabbanites, who adhered to Talmudic Halacha, and the Karaite "heretics" who challenged the authority of the Rabbis and the Halacha to govern their life. The polemics raged for hundreds of years, but, for the most part, the Karaites were regarded as part of the Jewish People until the end of the eighteenth century.

After the emancipation in the 19th century more options were open to the Jews in defining who is a Jew, and in articulating their relations to Judaism and the Jewish community. There was a growing number of Jews who ceased functioning as Jews by simply terminating all ties with the Jewish community. At the same time it was possible to feel a strong sense of Jewish identity even though nearly all vestige of religious faith and practice had evaporated.

It was during this period that the marginal Jew appeared. This was a Jew who was marginal both to his/her own earlier Jewish identity as well as to the one he/she was trying to acquire. Most of the marginal Jews believed that Jews would achieve equality only through total assimilation to the way of life and outlook of the majority.

The appearance of Jews in the revolutionary movements was motivated from moral considerations as well as the belief that hope for real human equality lay in uprooting the past and beginning all over again in some new dispensation in which all men were equal co-founders. The allegiance to the movement represented a conscious denial of specifically Jewish identity.

In the modern era the Jew was faced with ever more complicated dilemmas. The solution evolved towards national definitions: the essential affirmation that the Jews are a people. The two major movements espousing this identity was Diaspora nationalism and Zionism.

Diaspora nationalism advocated cultivating Jewish communal organisation in the Diaspora. In direct contrast, Zionism advocated leaving the Diaspora and the

establishment of a home for the Jews in the Land of Israel. The Holocaust exposed the fallacy of Diaspora nationalism.

2.1.2.2 Emancipation and Jewish Identity

The Emancipation of the Jews in the 19th century was a watershed in Jewish history and in Jewish Identity. Jewish society and the Jewish life style of pre-Emancipation time are virtually extinct today, except for pockets in Israel and isolated communities in the Diaspora.

The problem of Jewish Identity, as it manifests today, did not exist in pre-Emancipation time. Prior to emancipation, Jews lived in virtual cultural and social isolation from their Gentile neighbours. Their lives were totally directed and regulated by Jewish law and custom. The rhythm of their daily life, their dress, their associations, language and view of life and its meaning were different from those of the non-Jews. Religious norms prevailed and the authority of the rabbis was not questioned. There was no ambiguity as to what was demanded in order to be Jewish. Most important, the great majority of the Jews did not even entertain the possibility of a change of identity. The life-style and world outlook of the Jew diverged from the non-Jewish world, but this did not perturb him. He felt safe and comfortable in his "Jewish" world.

The Enlightenment movement of the 18th century ushered in the age of Secularism for Western society and revolutionised European society and all its classes. Jewish society was not exempt. With emancipation, the Jews moved out of their physical and cultural separation. They began to have regular contact with the non-Jewish world. As a result they were exposed to a different system of mores and values. This was a decisive turning point in the history of Jewish society, as the societal-cultural frame of reference was transferred from a Jewish to a non-Jewish milieu.

For Jews, secularism meant the possibility that their variant religious identification would no longer stigmatise and keep them on the periphery of general society. It meant that the Jews became an integral part of European history.

There were strong attempts by Reform Jewry to re-evaluate and re-structure the Jewish religion, its ritual and laws. A serious attempt was made to eradicate all national elements from Jewish identity, to retain only the attenuated religious aspects and to refer to Jewish identity as "Jewish persuasion" or Mosaic persuasion". The overriding priority to be absorbed into the host society was compatible with the demand upon the Jews on the part of the champions of Emancipation.

Emancipation gave the Jews an explicit and unequivocal message: those Jews who so desired would indeed be allowed into the social mainstream of the larger society, but this was contingent on their either completely abandoning their group distinctiveness by assimilating or, at the very least, minimising overt signs of ethnicity and religiosity in order to maximise acculturation. By accepting rights of citizenship in the host countries, the Jews agreed to the transfer of the sovereignty of the Jewish community to non-Jewish society. This meant the end of rabbinical absolute authority. It forced the Jews to forsake traditional components of their identity. Most importantly it impelled the Jews to reject the salience and totality of their attachment to the Jewish people as a religious community.

The initial reaction of the Jews was to enthusiastically embrace Western culture to the detriment of Jewish culture. They embraced modernity even though, or perhaps because, it entailed turning their backs on traditional Judaism, its symbolism, rituals and its ways of living. The modern Jew has mitigated this extreme reaction, choosing to integrate into the larger society. In the process the modern Jew has modified and refashioned his/her

Judaism. But this has created a seemingly unsolvable problem: the modern Jew has a problem in defining what it means to be Jewish.

Charles Leibman defined the dilemma as the necessity of trying to balance two urges simultaneously :the urge to integrate into society and the urge to survive as Jews. The balance struck reflects, to a great extent, the properties of identification. The Jew is still called a Jew, but he/she is not the Jew of the closed Jewish society of the Shtetl. He/She has adapted to the demands of the modern world, but at the same time has tried to achieve the best of both worlds: to remain committed to his basic Jewish identification and at the same time to accommodate him/her self to the ideas and ideals of modern non-Jewish society. Today Jews have relinquished all efforts to reduce Judaism exclusively to its religious components and, on the contrary, they tend to accentuate the national component.

2.1.3 JEWISH IDENTITY - SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

Sociologists of the Jews tend to define Jewish identity in the context of social relations. Dubb (1970) infers Jewish identity from behaviour, the formal association with SAUJS (South African Union of Jewish Students) and patterns of social relationships. Simpson and Yinger (1972) stress the importance of anti-Semitism in group identification.

Glazer and Moynihan envisage an essential unity of the Jewish People in which the interest of the individual Jew is intertwined with the local Jewish community and Jewry worldwide. In their words, there is no ambiguity about being Jewish, even though people are Jewish in different ways. They see Jewish identity as a linking of all Jews in a common fate.

This community then is a group that may never act together and that may never feel together, but that does know it is a single group, from which one can be disengaged only by a series of deliberate acts. Only a minority belongs to synagogues, is sent to Jewish schools, deals with

Jewish welfare agencies, is interested in Jewish culture, speaks a traditional Jewish language, and can be distinguished by dress and custom as Jews. But added together, the overlapping minorities create a community with a strong self-consciousness and a definite character.
(Glazer and Moynihan, 1970:142)

These researchers have conceptualised Jewish Identity to be a product of the individual's background translated into actual behaviour in everyday life. The definitions reflect the multifaceted nature of Jewish Identity: social relations within the Jewish community, the quality of the relationships with the non-Jewish community, and the sense of belonging to the group.

2.1.4 THE JEWISH PEOPLE AS AN ETHNIC GROUP

The concept of ethnicity is useful in developing a better understanding of the Jewish People and their changing identity.

Ethnic groups are social entities characterised by their position vis-a-vis other social groups. They are self-defined and defined by society as being set off by a race, religion, cultural tradition or national origin or some combination of these categories. The ethnic group possesses continuity through biological descent and/or a unique social and cultural tradition which endows the individual with, among other things, his nationality, religion and value system (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Horowitz, 1975; Isaacs, 1975; De Vos, 1975; Francis, 1976; Gordon, 1978; Mithun, 1983). Ascription is the key characteristic that distinguishes ethnicity from voluntary affiliation. Mithun (1983) suggests that the family of the culture of origin plays a predominant role in the adaptive potential of ethnic groups in the acculturation process. Gordon highlights the role played by the ethnic group in creating and sustaining the ethnic group.

Within the ethnic group there develops a network of organisations 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. (Gordon, 1978:117)

Historical circumstances, as well as the present political, social and economic environment, are critical factors in the shaping and maintaining of ethnic identity. The common historical tradition creates a sense of peoplehood which transcends time and enhances the sense of identity and sentiments of solidarity. This solidarity manifests in a sharing of a common fate by virtue of common membership (Horowitz, 1975; Isaacs, 1975; Francis, 1976).

Ethnic groups are a dynamic entity. First of all there is a degree of mobility between most groups in society and some individuals will try to 'pass' from one group to another to bridge status differences, to integrate into the highly rated group. An example of this process are Jews who deliberately sever all ties with the Jewish community and the Jewish religion in order to be totally absorbed into non-Jewish society which is conceived as being superior. Secondly, the boundaries between groups are fluid. Collective action, in the sense of conscious modification of group behaviour and identification, may effect shifts of boundaries between ethnic groups. The Jews in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century, in their belief that the "Jewish" group had become obsolete, modified their life style and behaviour in the hope of their group amalgamating into the "European" group.

2.1.4.1 Ethnicity and mobilisation of political interests

Ascriptive behaviour is heavily contextual and not static. The salience of ethnic identity is dependent upon and changes with the environment. Ethnicity has become more central because it can combine interest

with affective tie by providing a tangible set of common identifications. In the competition for the values of the society to be realised politically, ethnicity can become a strategic choice of claiming place or gaining power or advantage. Affirmative action is especially germane in this context, whereby particularistic criteria (e.g. ascriptive or group identity), instead of equal opportunity on the basis of achievement, constitutes the basis of advancement. Horowitz (1975) explains the upsurge of ethnicity as the emergent expression of primordial feelings, chosen by disadvantaged persons as a new mode of seeking political redress in society. This is undoubtedly true in regard to the mobilisation of Jews in defence of common political interests.

2.1.4.2 Ethnicity and Jewish Identity

Medding (1983) conceives Jewish ethnicity to be of a multifaceted nature which enables different groups of Jews to relate selectively to its different aspects without being obliged to accept or reject the whole, with the consensus over the role of Israel as a unifying and integrating national symbol. Diaspora Jewry is distinguished from the rest of society on a communal basis which embraces a "consciousness of kind" that fosters internal unity.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Diaspora Jewry is the cultural diversity of the Jews residing in different societies:

However, such marked national cultural differences among Jews have not, as might have been predicted, prevented the development of shared political interests and purpose at the international level nor have they exacerbated existing cultural cleavages or threaten national integration.

This cohesion derives from one universal common cause of the Jews: survival.

The paramount international or universal Jewish political interest is in Jewish survival and Jewish security, that is, in continued

physical existence and cultural continuity. These have so often been in jeopardy in the past that Jewish survival is perpetually in question and not taken for granted. Politically motivated and organised physical liquidation is an ever present possibility. Political activity to prevent such a result is central in all Jewish communities. (Medding, 1983:199)

2.1.5 SIMON HERMAN'S DEFINITION OF JEWISH IDENTITY

In devising my questionnaire I have heavily relied on the comprehensive definition of Jewish identity given by Professor Simon Herman in his two books *Jews and Israelis* (1970) and *Jewish Identity* (1971).

Herman uses the term ethnic Jewish identity to connote:

- 1) The pattern of attributes of the ethnic group as perceived by members of the group, i.e. what being Jewish means to them.
- 2) The reflection in the individuals of these attributes, i.e. how the individual sees himself by virtue of his membership in the ethnic group.

Herman defines the criteria of alignment of the Jew with the Jewish people as follows:

- 1) Regards himself aligned with, and responsible for the welfare of all Jews wherever they are.
- 2) Sees himself linked not only to the Jews of the present but to generations past and those still to come.

The concept of the "Good Jew" was an attempt to delineate a pattern of attributes of the Jewish group as perceived by the pupils, whereas one of the purposes of the questionnaire was to ascertain the pupils' feelings towards the Jewish group and how they feel about being part of this group both in the present and in the future. The questionnaire included many questions

addressing the subjective feeling of being part of the Jewish People, feeling responsible for and wanting to support other Jews and a commitment to the continued survival of the Jewish People. In brief, these questions addressed the nature of alignment with the Jewish People, as defined by Herman.

Herman, in amplifying what he regards as the content of Jewish identity, asks the following questions:

- 1) How does the individual perceive the attributes of the group?
- 2) In what situations is the group membership a salient factor in his consciousness and how central a position does it occupy in his life-space ?
- 3) How does he feel about the group, its members and its attributes ? Does being Jewish have high valence for him ? What attracts him and what repels him about the Jewish group?
- 4) To what extent does he adopt its norms? To what extent does the membership group serve also as a source of reference with an obligation to adhere to its norms?

The questionnaire was an attempt to provide answers to some of the questions posed by Herman.

2.1.6 POPULAR PROJECTIONS OF JEWISH IDENTITY


Two major empirical studies were conducted in the 1960's in order to delineate how an individual, who considered himself a Jew, conceptualised "being Jewish". In preparing the profile of the "Good Jew" for my questionnaire I relied heavily on the Sklare and Greenblum study.

The first study, which was conducted by Greenblum and Sklare at Lakeville U.S.A.(1967), found the following to be the essential qualities of a good Jew.

- 1) self-acceptance

- 2) moral excellence
- 3) good citizenship
- 4) knowledge of Judaism

It is worth noting that none of the above attributes is uniquely Jewish. The first three are universal values incumbent on the individual as a human being. Regarding the fourth quality, "having knowledge" is a passive quality and does not convey how a person feels and acts: whether as a Jew or as that universal ethical being embodied in the other three qualities. Furthermore and individual does not have to be a Jew to have knowledge of Judaism. The desirable qualities were, on the whole, uniquely Jewish qualities, such as being well versed in Jewish history and culture, marrying within the Jewish faith, belonging to Jewish organisations, contributing to Jewish philanthropies, knowing the fundamentals of Judaism, supporting Israel and attending religious services.

In my opinion the concept of the "good Jew" as reflected in the Lakeville study exemplifies the limited Jewish resources of the third and fourth generation Jews in America. Sklare and Greenblum interpret the results as embodying the phenomenon whereby modern American Jewry stresses those virtues they suppose Gentiles will readily appreciate - good citizenship and an upright life. In the view of the respondents "Being Jewish" begins with ethics - the most unparticularistic aspect of life. This shows the great concern that contemporary Jews have for the opinion of the outside world - to an extent their forbearers did not. The Jew constantly experiences insecurity because he cannot be overconfident as to the security of his position. His forbearers were insulated by their tradition, religion and culture from being psychologically harmed by anti-Semitic propaganda. Contemporary Jews place a premium on creating a positive image in the eyes of the non-Jews. 

A similar study was conducted on South African Jewry by Dubb (1977) who asked his respondents what qualities are essential in order to be a "good Jew".

Dubb's results reflected both a universal outlook (kind, compassionate, moral, helpful) as well as specifically Jewish aspects (observing traditional Jewish religious customs and proud of being a Jew)

Dubb describes the South African Jew's self image as being characterised by "soft" virtues : compassion, kindness, tolerance, generosity, honesty, sincerity, charity, love of family and children, the epitome of moral rectitude.

In conclusion, the empirical studies show that the Jews equate ethics and morality with Judaism, and rate these qualities higher than any uniquely Jewish quality as being essential in order to be a good Jew. The particularistic characteristics of Jews and Judaism are relegated to being merely "desirable".

The essential and desirable qualities reflect the multidimensional character of Jewish Identity. Considerable stress is attached to the moral precepts of Judaism accentuating the universalistic aspects of Judaism. The practical religious aspects are also important, as is the ascription to the Jewish People evinced in the importance attached to knowledge of Judaism, marrying within the Jewish faith and belonging to Jewish organisations. Lastly, the importance of helping Jews in need through charity to Jewish philanthropies and support of Israel is considered to be elements in Jewish Identity.

2.1.7. JEWISH IDENTITY AND ASSIMILATION

The majority of sources on intermarriage are based on studies conducted in the United States. The largest Jewish population outside of Israel resides in this country. Escalating rates of intermarriage are a major issue in the Jewish community in the United States. In an attempt to deal with and contain this phenomenon ongoing research into intermarriage is funded by the United States Jewish community.

2.1.7.1 Characteristics of Assimilation

Gordon distinguishes four aspects of the assimilation process which all ethnic groups undergo:

- 1) Structural - Structural assimilation occurs when the newcomers are able to enter into primary relations with groups within the core (host) society. It reflects the desire to join the "in-group".
- 2) Cultural - acculturation manifests through the adopting of cultural patterns of host society and altering intrinsic traits (like language, ethics, religion, common past) and extrinsic traits (dress, mannerisms).
- 3) Identificational - identificational assimilation results in the exclusive sharing of the core group's sense of common peoplehood, and the subsequent loss of out-group identification.
- 4) Marital - large-scale intermarriage between members of newcomers' group and core society

Cutting across these four types of assimilation are the degree of prejudice and discrimination towards the newcomers and the degree of conflict in values and power. Gordon's general description of the assimilation process applies also to the process which the Jews, as a group, undergo in the course of integrating into mainstream society.

2.1.7.2 Assimilation and the Jewish People

In contrast to the stages of assimilation delineated by Gordon, Tajfel's Theory of Social Identity is applicable in isolating the forces which play a crucial role in the integration process of the individual Jew.

2.1.7.2.1 Tajfel's Theory of Social Identity and the Jews

Tajfel (1981) developed a theory of social identity which is especially germane when analysing the dynamics of the relationship of the individual Jew with his own group and with non-Jewish society.

Tajfel defined social identity as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Social groups provide their members with an identification in social terms. This identification becomes an intrinsic part of the individual's self-concept. It is through the process of social comparison that the evaluative dimension of group membership is determined. This process involves the evaluation of one's group with reference to other groups. The characteristics of one's group achieve significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups.

In order to enhance our social identity we tend to behave in ways that make our own group acquire positive distinctiveness in

comparison to other groups. If this not possible, we may seek to change our group membership. If this too is not possible, we may attempt to redefine our social situation so as to achieve a more positive social identity.

When we take cognizance of the fact that the Jewish People are a priori a social group, we can then understand the impact of the processes of social comparison on the stability of this social group. Tajfel's theory is especially relevant when analysing the Jew in modern society, where a great measure of his/her self-concept and esteem as a Jew is derived from the evaluations he/she perceives that non-Jewish society holds towards Jews and Judaism. Tajfel's theory is also helpful in contributing to our understanding of one of the forces motivating Jews to assimilate. Assimilation is the process whereby the Jew endeavours to create an image more acceptable to non-Jewish society in the belief that by modifying him/herself he/she will be accepted by the host society.

The hostility of non-Jewish society had harmful effects on the Jewish self-concept and engendered far-reaching consequences on the Jewish religion and the Jewish People. Emancipated Jews, who yearned to be accepted in non-Jewish society and could not tolerate the invidious image of the Jew in this society, changed their group membership by converting to Christianity. In contrast, Reform Jewry in Germany from the 18th century made efforts to modify their religion in order to harmonise Jewish ritual, beliefs, laws and customs with Christianity. In the process they established Jewish denominations.

2.1.7.3 The Crisis of Assimilation

Assimilation can be regarded as having a converse relation to Jewish identity: the more the Jew is assimilated the weaker is his Jewish identity. The assimilation process involves discarding distinctive and unique elements of being Jewish and substituting non-Jewish elements. Undoubtedly, assimilation

is a necessary social process ; the question is one of degree. In Medieval European society the Jews did not have an external reference group attractive enough to warrant or encourage assimilation. This contributed one of the reasons for its rarity. In contrast, in modern society there is a proliferation of outside groups which attract Jews and thus accelerate the assimilation process.

DellaPeregola (1981) points out that one of the most common ways of assimilating was by adopting the sociodemographic characteristics of the non-Jewish majority. For example DellaPeregola demonstrated that the geographical dispersal of the Jews in America has grown, reducing the geographical dissimilarity between Jews and non-Jews. Jews are no longer concentrated in Jewish neighbourhoods. This trend towards increasing Jewish population dispersal militates against maintaining the influence of the Jewish community on the individual Jew, making non-affiliation easier and more common.

It is an undeniable fact that traditional piety is practised by only a small minority of Jews outside the State of Israel. In the past the religious all-encompassing pattern of life served as a constant reminder to all Jews that they were a Holy People, and it was entirely clear to the Jew what this constituted. Assimilation undermines precisely those elements which have preserved the Jewish People for millennia: the religious tradition, the family and the community.

The Jew in modern times is confronted with the dilemma of choosing among many alternatives at a time when his adherence and his certitude in the traditional belief system have been undermined. This is the crux of the dilemma of Jewish Identity in the modern period : individual freedom amidst a wide spectrum of ideological and cultural options. The modern Jew has opted for freedom at the expense of certitude and unequivocal acceptance of a traditional belief system which in the past had provided the

security of being part of a compatible community.

This dilemma manifests, for example, in the apparent conflict between modernisation and Judaism. Whereas Judaism emphasises the family and the community modern society emphasises the individual. When there is a conflict between the individual and either of these institutions, modern society posits that the needs/ desires /goals of the individual supersede those of either the family or the community. In Judaism, the needs of society are paramount.

In Western countries there was, and is, a tendency for marginal Jews, whose Jewish identity is not central to their self-concept, to integrate precisely into those strata of society that denigrate ethnic and religious identity while consecrating rootlessness and amorphism. Such Jews pride themselves in being "just people" with no religious or national identity. They obliterate their roots and Jewish past and thus do not impart to their children a knowledge of Judaism nor a Jewish identity. It is from this background that many of the Jewish apostates emerge. They are born of Jewish parents, but minimise their Jewish identity. They are not involved in the activities of the Jewish community, they do not attend Jewish religious services, they do not join Jewish organisations. The problems of the Jews have no priority over those of other peoples or religions. This same process has occurred and is occurring in South Africa.

The conflict between modern society and the Jewish system of belief is a major problem both for the Jewish family and the Jewish community. The Jewish religion makes unremitting demands on the individual in behaviour, attitudes, plans, pattern of life and commitments which quite often contradict and conflict with the democratic, individualistic, and secular society of today. An example of this is the unequivocal prohibition on intermarriage.

In an attempt to deal with this crisis the Jewish communities are preoccupied with building Jewish and Zionist organisations, as well as educational and

cultural facilities which focus on the protection of the political interest of the Jewish people, and the preservation of the cultural and social features of the Jewish group, and thus assure the survival of the People.

The processes of assimilation and apostasy have created a crisis for the Jewish People worldwide. A rising percentage of Jews do not affiliate with any of the religious denominations, especially in large cities where Jews see themselves as just "Jews or without religious preference". Demographic studies have demonstrated that the number of people identifying themselves as Jews has declined in the past ten years. Sociologists attribute this to the growing rate of intermarriage not accompanied by conversion of the non-Jew to Judaism. Assimilation is regarded as the greatest threat to the continued survival of the Jewish People as an ethnic, religious, social and historical entity.

2.1.7.3.1 Parameters for Predicting Assimilation

The Jews are not one monolithic group in their attitude towards Judaism and Jewish identity. It is possible to perceive important differences in education level, generation and in age. These parameters are important in predicting the strength of an individual's Jewish identity and affiliation to the Jewish community.

a) Jewish Educational Level

Social status and occupation contribute to the variance in Jewish identification (Goldstein and Goldscheider), (1968), Lazerwitz (1970,1971), Sklare (1968), Lipsett and Ladd (1974).

b) Generation and Age

Recent research has found that generation in the United States is one of the most potent variables in predicting rate of assimilation on Jewish identification in general and on religiosity in particular (Cohen 1980; Farber and Gordon 1980; Lazerwitz and Harrison 1979; Lazerwitz 1970-1971). Age was

also found to be a critical factor. More young people were not affiliated to the Synagogue or Temple, and in the study conducted by Lazerwitz and Harrison (1979) the rate of intermarriage among the younger age groups was found to be greater. Lazerwitz's (1970 - 1971) study demonstrated the paucity and poverty of the Jewishness which the first and the second generations gave to their children. The first generation, the elderly respondents, came from very Jewish homes and their Jewishness was inherent in their upbringing, whereas "Jewishness" was reduced with each successive generation in America.

Himmelfarb (1979) quotes research which claims that in actual fact the third generation in America has developed a religion different from that practised by the grandparents. This Judaism emphasises social more than religious activities; emphasises the ethnic components of Jewishness rather than the religious; emphasises seasonal rather than daily or weekly rituals. Thus, while the observance of Sabbath and dietary laws is declining, attendance at a Passover Seder, concurrent with Easter, and the celebration of Channukah, concurrent with Christmas remain high, and may even be increasing. At the same time the fourth generation evinces characteristics similar to their parents and grandparents : the concern for the fate of Israel and for good Jewish education for their children and social relationships heavily concentrated among Jews.

Himmelfarb's work suggest that contemporary Jewish Identity has changed rather than diminished.

2.1.7.4 Assimilation and Intermarriage

2.1.7.4.1 The Moral Dilemma

The attitude towards intermarriage is a crucial component of Jewish Identity. As past and contemporary history have attested to, intermarriage has the potential of distancing the Jew from the Jewish religion and community and

attenuating his Jewish Identity. Obviously in reality the Jew may act in contradiction to his declared position, but expressing the determination to marry within the Jewish faith is indicative of the importance the person attaches to his Jewishness.

Intermarriage is the price the Jewish community is and will be paying for the privilege of living in an open, pluralistic society where there is, among other factors, a greater willingness on the part of non-Jews to marry Jews.

The modern Jewish family lives in a democratic society where values of individualism and equality are dominant, and the parents' attitude is that the child must make his or her own decisions. Jews have always subscribed to democratic values (which are very similar to the values of Judaism as found in the Bible and translated into a way of life by the Talmud, Jewish Law, and as can be seen in the chapter on Universalism), but not to individualism which advocates free choice of a spouse.

In such an atmosphere parental opposition to dating non-Jews is conceived as non-democratic and must be suppressed for two reasons:

- 1) The young adult is an autonomous individual and has the right and the responsibility to choose his own spouse without parental intervention or interference.
- 2) If everyone is equal, how can a Jewish parent object to a prospective son or daughter-in-law exclusively on the basis of the fact that he or she is not Jewish ?

Goldscheider and Zukerman address the issue of intermarriage as a value conflict in an open society: *...no other issue symbolises more clearly the conflict between universalism and particularism. between the American melting pot and pluralism, between assimilation and ethnic continuity in American society.* (1984:178)

Goldscheider and Zukerman succinctly delineate the threat of assimilation to the future survival of the Jewish People:

It is not the level of Jewish intermarriage per se that challenges the quantitative survival of Jews in America. Rather the specific demographic context within which intermarriage occurs is significant. The combination of low marital fertility, geographical dispersion, minimum potential sources of population renewal through immigration, changes in family cohesion and relatively high intermarriage rates have resulted in questions about the demographic viability of Jewish Americans. When the losses and gains due to intermarriages and conversions are estimated and those added into population estimates based on projected trends of fertility, mortality and immigration, the conclusion seems to be that the American Jewish community is at, or just below, zero population growth. (1984:180)

Dubb (1970) found similar soul-searching among Jewish students in Johannesburg who were concerned about Jewish survival: eschewing intermarriage and a preference for endogamy is an expression of ethnocentrism, which, in turn, is an aspect of the prejudice and discrimination which they abhor.

Thus the Jew is in the invidious position of exerting pressure to reduce majority group discrimination, while he himself maintains, in regard to marriage, an extreme ethnocentric stance.

2.1.7.4.2 Factors Influencing the Incidence Of Intermarriage

Ellman quotes from the NJPS (National Jewish Population Study) conducted during the period of 1966-1971:

...positive Jewish identity in childhood is associated with marriage within the Jewish community. (1987:9)

DellaPerogola (1981) delineates the main factors affecting Jewish exogamy in the United States :

- 1) Demographic factors such as size and density of Jewish population : age and sex composition; age at marriage, previous marital status, generation.
- 2) Socioeconomic factors such as general educational attainment, occupational stratification and residential characteristics
- 3) Cultural and Ideological factors such as the social and institutional structure of the general society, social and institutional structure of the Jewish community; religion of parents; Jewish education; religious observance; Jewish communal involvement and attitudes towards mixed marriage.

Massarik and Chenkin (1974) present a list of factors which show a close association with assimilation, and ultimately with intermarriage: residence outside the ethnic enclave, salience of group membership, familiarity with the larger society's cultural milieu. Steven Cohen (cited in Ellman 1987: 20) and Obermeyer (1987), all argue that most of the losses stem from the low initial levels of Jewish identity. Ellman (1987) and Farber and Gordon (1982) point to communal marginality as a crucial factor in the prevalence of intermarriage, increasing the sense of alienation from "Jewishness". West (1984) found participation in the Jewish community by the parents as a deterrent.

Jewish education did not unequivocally prove to be a discriminatory factor between those who intermarried and those who did not (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968; Ellman, 1987; Wasserstein 1971). In contrast, Weinberger (1971) and Dashevsky and Shapiro (1974) found that Jewish education had a mild but lasting effect on Jewish identity and constituted a major block to intermarriage.

Undoubtedly the trend is towards greater intermarriage. Farber and Gordon (1982) showed that there is a clear trend generally, and particularly among younger Jews, to intermarry. Nevertheless the attitude of the parents is a crucial factor. The majority of young Jews who saw their parents as strongly opposed to intermarriage invariably married endogomously.

Both Kosmin and Waterman (1968) found an overall decline of religious marriages in Anglo-Jewry. Ellman (1987) shows that the current rate of intermarriage in America is far higher than the cumulative one, indicating an accelerated rise in intermarriage. Ellman also points out that the rate of conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to Judaism among younger people is significantly lower than for the older age groups.

2.1.7.4.3 Consequences of Intermarriage

- a) A significantly lower level of Jewish involvement of the intermarried couple

Children growing up in intermarriages, even if identifying as Jewish, are growing up in homes with minimal commitments to Judaism as measured by the extent of Jewish practices within the home (Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968). Egon Mayer (1983) found that in a study of Philadelphia Jews only 24% of the children born into a non-converted intermarriage identified as Jews, whereas among families where conversion had taken place, 84% of the children identified themselves as Jews. The latest study on Jews in the United States

(Zionist Record,30/8/91:4) showed that nearly three out of every four children of intermarriages are either raised as Christians or without any religion.

In the Philadelphia study, conducted by Mayer (1983) and cited by Ellman (1987), 87% of all children having two Jewish parents received some form of Jewish education, while 56% of those with one parent who was a convert received Jewish education. In contrast, only 18% of the children in those families in which there had been no conversion received some form of Jewish education. Mayer found that intermarriage seems to have the *greatest effect in diminishing the affiliational Jewishness of inter-married Jews and their spouses. It seems to diminish their behavioral Jewishness to a lesser extent, and it seems to have the least effect on their attitudinal expressions of Judaism.* (Ellman,1987:13)

b) A higher rate of intermarriage among the offspring of the intermarriage.

Mayer (quoted in Ellman 1987), found that 32% of the children from conversionary families married out of the Jewish religion compared to 92% whose non-Jewish parent did not convert 92%.

c) The weakening of the Jewish network.

Friendship and familial patterns are of the utmost importance in solidifying Jewish life. Ellman (1987) showed that while 75% of Jewish-born couples had nearly all Jewish friends, 26% of the conversionary couples had such friends, while only 13% of the mixed couples had nearly all Jewish friends.

Farber and Gordon (1982) suggest that the trends in intermarriage indicate that the role of the family as a carrier of Jewish tradition will change; the part played by communal organisations and educational institutions can be expected to expand and eventually overshadow the family as a bearer of Jewish

norms and values. This is a crucial development in Judaism, where the family has always been the main socialising agency of the children.

In conclusion, research has indicated that assimilation and intermarriage are positively correlated: the more assimilated the Jew is, the more tenuous are his/her ties with Judaism. The more tenuous are the ties to Judaism and/or the Jewish People the more likely marriage will occur outside the Jewish religion.

2.2 JEWISH RELIGIOSITY

Although all Jews may share a core value and religious-cultural heritage, within Jewry there are variations in the degree of commitment to, and identification with, the religious value system, and the ritual behaviour derived from it.

2.2.1 THE DECLINE IN JEWISH RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Religious observance and piety are the foundations of any religion. The Talmud says that a person should keep the precepts and the commandments of the Torah even if he does not believe because by performing them he will ultimately come to belief.

Religious observance is the core of the Jewish religion; it dictates a certain way of life and outlook on life in general and on Jews and the Jewish people in particular. Religious observance, therefore, is an element of Jewish Identity; its absence as well as its presence.

Religion is a system which organises life and mediates between the individual and the world. McIntosh and Alston (1982) emphasise its linkage function whereby religious commitment leads to greater secondary and primary ties, with relatives, neighbours, organisations. Religion is viewed as a system which unites, and is conducive to social cohesion.

Traditional Judaism, in particular, focused on imbuing the Jew with a sense of community and provided the means of socialisation of the children. The socialisation process endowed the Jew with an "ethnic" identity which reinforced the religious identity.

One of the major problems facing Jews in the Diaspora is dealing with the loss of Jewish content in their life as a result of rapid modernisation. Indicative of this loss of Jewish content, concomitant with the assimilation processes, is the decline in religious observance observed by researchers such as Cohen (1983) Lazerwitz (1970), Glazer (1957), Hellig (1984), Himmelfarb (1979).

Betty Levine (1986), for example, posits that the Jewish community has moved from normatively binding to being functionally integrated in a unity bound by the common goal of survival as a separate community. In other words, Jewish communities will continue to exist only if individuals engage in behaviour that allows the many groups comprising the community to survive as groups with primarily Jewish interests. Otherwise, as Jews become more and more assimilated into American society, they distance themselves from groups which have a distinctive Jewish stamp, and inevitably from the Jewish communities.

Etzioni-Halevy and Shapira (1975) found strong Jewish identification universal among religious Israeli but Jewish identification diminished as religiousness weakened.

It is of interest to note that even among the nonreligious a sizable group expresses strong Jewish identification, which goes to show that such identification is not exclusively a religious phenomenon, and that the possibility of secular Jewish education does exist. (Etzioni-Halevy and Shapira, 1975:259)

Nevertheless, the percentage of second-generation non-religious students displayed a weaker Jewish identification than that of first-generation non-religious students. This indicated a progression towards diminishing Jewish identification associated with a non-religious home background.

Etzioni-Halevy and Shapira observed that although the sense of affinity for Jews in the Diaspora is generally strong, it was significantly stronger among students who expressed strong Jewish identification than it was among those who expressed weak Jewish identification (90% compared to 71%). This points to the possibility that Jewish identification is critical in explaining the desire to maintain ties with Jews abroad in the Diaspora.

A surprising finding was "...that of students expressing weak Jewish identification, the percentage expressing strong attachment to Israel was almost one fifth less than among those students whose Jewish identification was strong. " (Etzioni-Halevy, 1975:265)

This is compatible with the findings of Herman (1970, 1978) in which non-religious pupils and teachers were less apt to express strong Jewish identification than religious pupils and teachers. The religious and traditionalist teachers and students were higher both in their desire to be born Jewish, and to be born Israeli relative to the non-religious teachers (94% of the religious teachers compared to 37% of the non-religious teachers).

2.2.2 CRITERIA FOR RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Marshall Sklare, as presented by Wertheimer (1989), identified five criteria that help explain why certain rituals are retained by American Jews while others are ignored:

1. It is capable of being redefined in modern terms
2. Does not demand social isolation or adoption of a unique

lifestyle

3. Accords with the religious culture of the larger community while providing a Jewish alternative when needed
4. Centred on the child
5. Performed infrequently, i.e. annually

For this reason, Channukah and Purim have become such popular ceremonial rituals. They are celebrated annually, centred on the children, and provide alternatives precisely when Christian society is celebrating their major holidays - Christmas and Easter. This is precisely the reason that dietary laws are not maintained as they isolate the Jew, and impose a unique lifestyle on him. In sharp contrast, religious ritual, which involves the participation of children, is actively observed.

Goldstein and Goldscheider pinpoint the transformation of Jewish religious tradition within the American context:

...integration into American society has led to the abandonment of traditional forms of religious behaviour and the transition to forms that are more secular but within a Jewish context. Strong identification factors are evident with the preservation of some form of affiliation; at the same time, all the indications point to the rejection of the traditional concepts of religiousness...those ritual practices were retained and emphasised were ...functional, from a sociological perspective, within the context of American life... Religious commitments are retained when they are functionally integrated within a secular context and where retention of Jewish identity is possible in a form that is expected and conditioned by the majority of the community. (1968:228 - 229)

Other researchers have arrived at similar conclusions (Cohen 1984; Goldscheider and Zukerman 1984). For most Jews in America Judaism is central

One of the reasons for Orthodoxy's success is that it has succeeded, more than the other denominations, to ensure continuity; its youth are not abandoning them. Orthodoxy has succeeded in breaking the link between religious traditionalism and poverty and backward un-American ways. The modern message is : being Orthodox and being modern are no longer a contradiction in terms !

Hayman (1989) demonstrated that pupils in religious schools, both the modern Orthodox and the Ultra-Orthodox, have a very strong Jewish identity. They felt that their fate was dependent on the Jewish People. They also felt a responsibility for all Jews ,even those Jews who have departed from the fold of authentic Torah.

There is evidence of a group solidarity which transcends any difference in level of observance or shade of Orthodoxy. The pupils are conscious of a common destiny." (Hayman,1988:166)

Reform and Conservative parents regard their child as an autonomous member of the family, thus parents have no right to subordinate the child completely to the parents' wishes. In contrast the child in the modern Orthodox family learns to differentiate between those spheres in which he is autonomous and his parents are permissive and those spheres where he has to unconditionally comply to his parents demands. In Orthodox families the parents are autocratic in the religious sphere clearly giving the message that the religious ritual is not optional but obligatory. (Leibman,1979)

Lazerwitz and Harrison suggested that the individual selects the denomination that best suits his needs.

...individuals appear to choose the kind of denominational affiliation that most closely resembles the style of Jewish identity they desire for themselves and for their children. and then appear to be influenced by this denominational context. (1979:661)

2.2.3 JEWISH DENOMINATIONS

Research has confirmed that the denominations vary not only on the religious dimensions but also on the sociological dimensions. Lazerwitz and Harrison (1982) found that the Orthodox had the least assimilationist tendency and the Reform the most, while the Conservatives had an intermediate position. The unaffiliated are, on the whole, characterised by a strong assimilationist stance, and by a high percentage of intermarriage. They also found a disproportionate number of younger, unmarried adults among those who expressed no denominational affiliation. As a result, Jewish denominational identification is closely associated with those forms of secular behaviour and orientations that bear on the issue of ethnic adjustment or resistance to the host culture.

The characteristic response of Conservative and Reform Jews has been to reshape their Judaism to meet the changing social and cultural environment. Orthodoxy has responded by compartmentalising Judaism. Judaism and things Jewish are sacred; things not Jewish are secular or profane...Most Orthodox Jews have retained their ritual tradition and belief system virtually intact and at the same time have acculturated in language, dress and education to American styles because they have been able to separate these two aspects of life so that they impinge on each other as little as possible. (Leibman, 1979: 23,24)

One of the paradoxes of American Jewry is the resurgence of Orthodox Jewry. Many scholars during the previous decades had predicted the extinction of Orthodoxy because the general trend had been away from religious observance and towards accelerated assimilation, concomitant with the upsurge of Reform. This phenomenon is even more paradoxical because it contradicts the five criteria formulated by Sklare.

One of the reasons for Orthodoxy's success is that it has succeeded, more than the other denominations, to ensure continuity; its youth are not abandoning them. Orthodoxy has succeeded in breaking the link between religious traditionalism and poverty and backward un-American ways. The modern message is : being Orthodox and being modern are no longer a contradiction in terms !

Hayman (1989) demonstrated that pupils in religious schools, both the modern Orthodox and the Ultra-Orthodox, have a very strong Jewish identity. They felt that their fate was dependent on the Jewish People. They also felt a responsibility for all Jews ,even those Jews who have departed from the fold of authentic Torah.

There is evidence of a group solidarity which transcends any difference in level of observance or shade of Orthodoxy. The pupils are conscious of a common destiny." (Hayman,1988:166)

Reform and Conservative parents regard their child as an autonomous member of the family, thus parents have no right to subordinate the child completely to the parents' wishes. In contrast the child in the modern Orthodox family learns to differentiate between those spheres in which he is autonomous and his parents are permissive and those spheres where he has to unconditionally comply to his parents demands. In Orthodox families the parents are autocratic in the religious sphere clearly giving the message that the religious ritual is not optional but obligatory. (Leibman,1979)

Lazerwitz and Harrison suggested that the individual selects the denomination that best suits his needs.

...individuals appear to choose the kind of denominational affiliation that most closely resembles the style of Jewish identity they desire for themselves and for their children, and then appear to be influenced by this denominational context. (1979:661)

2.2.4 THE JEWISH APOSTATE

The Jewish family, Jewish education and a Jewish neighbourhood all mutually support each other to transmit and enhance the Jewish Identity of the next generation. Sometimes they fail. A Jewish apostate has rejected the values and way of life embodied in Judaism, with Jewish heritage and the Jewish way of life and has substituted another system of values and way of life. This system is not necessarily contradictory to Judaism, but ultimately the apostate takes step to minimise his involvement in the Jewish community and obscure his Jewish identity.

Caplovitz and Sherrow (1974) depict the profile of a Jewish apostate as someone who is maladjusted in his social milieu (by not adjusting to the Jewish values of his home and social background) oriented to values that are not widely held in Jewish orthodox society (intellectuality, culture and idealism).He is highly critical of the social status quo, and thus committed to radical social change. Jewish apostates subscribe to higher values and are more likely to be sensitive to empirically based truths. Thus they experience strain between religious beliefs and secular forces thus are especially sensitive to the values of achievement and universalism, which are conceived as being contradictory to the particularism and the closure which characterises Jewry as both a religious and ethnic group.

2.3 UNIVERSALISM

Universalism is a value which is fundamental to Jewish Identity.

Universalism is one of the foundation stones of Judaism demanding equality in all our dealings with our fellow man. At the same time the Jewish People have been distinguished by their particularism. This particularism was essential both theologically and historically. The concept of the "Chosen People" subsumed particularism. The prerequisites for being the chosen People was the achieving of self-purification and the creation of the perfect society in the Promised Land in accordance to God's commandments. In addition, particularism was crucial for the very survival of the Jewish People during two thousand years of persecution and oppression in exile.

The Torah was given to one particular people, and only they are bound by its commandments. On the other hand, the people, the Jewish people, have been charged with bringing the values and ethics of the Torah to "all the families of the earth" (Genesis 12:3). Many of the commandments of the Bible regulate the attitudes and behaviour to foreigners, postulating that morality, charity and compassion be the hallmarks of all deeds. Thus, although love and support are the axioms of the relations between a Jew and his brother, they do not obviate nor exclude similar relations with non-Jews. On the contrary, it is compulsory.

The concept of universalism relates to an attitude which does not differentiate between Peoples, but regards them all as being encompassed within one all-inclusive entity. It is a misapprehension to conclude that Judaism is particularistic from the fact that the religion encompasses a particular people. Judaism, from its inception, was universalistic. When God calls the People of Israel to be a "*kingdom of priests and a holy nation*" (Ex. 19:6) He is referring to the demand that they exemplify the worship of the one God and the observance of his commandments as a community

in order to attract the nations of the world to the worship of the God of Israel.

The Pentateuch is replete with demands to treat the foreigner with compassion and equality (Lev. 19:10,33-34), to be kind and compassionate (Micah 6:8; Hosea 6:6; Habakuk 3:2; Rashi, Avot 1), to be charitable (Deut. 15:7; Psalms 41:2; Avot 5:13; Talmud Bava Batra,9,1), to bring peace (Isaiah 2:1-4; 11:1-9; Micah 2:1-4. The Mishnah and the Talmud regard charity to be one of the pillars of Judaism as is responsibility towards the community.

The Sages developed the concept of the "Noachide Laws" in order to convey the belief that all righteous people, whether Jewish or not, will enjoy the grace of God. The introduction to "The Sayings of Our Fathers" (Mishnah) specifically states that all the righteous of the world have a place in the World to Come.

Apartheid is and was an anathema to Judaism. Nevertheless, the principle of separate development and particularism was advantageous. Under Apartheid each ethnic group was encouraged to preserve something of its own ethnic identity and heritage. Jews felt no external pressure to merge their identity into a monolithic South African Peoplehood. Nevertheless, the Jewish religion maintains that a strong Jewish Identity enables the Jew to retain the vitality of this identity, and at the same time to be involved actively in the formation of the non-racial South Africa. The universalistic aspect of Judaism expects Jews to fight for a just political and social system in South Africa; this is not contradictory to religious demands but complementary.

2.4 JEWISH NATIONALITY

2.4.1 THE RISE IN JEWISH NATIONAL PRIDE

Research has shown that there has been a resurgence in Jewish national pride. Support for Israel is an intrinsic part of Jewish identity translated into monetary and active support wherever possible. Israel gives a sense of pride in being Jewish.

Jewish national pride has supplanted Jewish religious belief and observance for a very large proportion of modern Jewry. A study, conducted in the United States and reported in the *Zionist Record* (February 1, 1991:3) accentuates the potency of visits to Israel as a means of enhancing Jewish identity and combating assimilation. The same study found that Israel is among the strongest motivators for participation in Jewish philanthropy in times of peace, and these feelings become even more compelling when Israel's security was threatened. Those interviewed said Israel made them feel stronger and prouder as Jews.

The survey found that caring about Israel remains a crucial aspect of American Jewish identity and that overall, the stronger the tie to Israel, the larger the level of giving to all Jewish philanthropies.

Flusser (1979) attributes the continuous survival of the Jewish People in modernity to this Jewish national pride; Jewish affiliation in the Diaspora is through national affiliation.

There is much evidence which indicates that the attitude towards Israel forms a key element in Jewish identification (Cohen 1974; Dubb 1968; Lazerwitz and Harrison 1979; Gordon and Mayer 1980; Farber and Gordon 1979). Farber and Gordon (1979) found that the symbolism of Israel is the clearest rallying point for Jewish identification. Thus, it can be deduced that Jewish national

pride has become a major factor in Jewish identity, while solidarity with the State of Israel, as a pattern of Jewish identification, has become a "surrogate" for religious practice.

2.4.2 JEWISH NATIONALITY AND SOUTH AFRICAN JEWRY

M. Arkin, a past director of the South African Zionist Federation, in his report on an international seminar in Jerusalem dedicated to formulating ways of combating assimilation, expressed his opinion that Zionism and Jewish national pride are the bulwarks against assimilation.

What has given South African Jewry the means and the will to resist the tremendous forces of assimilation? The one word answer is Zionism...Zionism represented a total ideology: it was not only concerned with propagating the concept of a Jewish national home - it was inextricably bound up with all other aspects of Jewish life. (Jewish Chronicle, February 6, 1980)

Arkin is articulating the view of the majority of leaders of the Jewish community in general and of the Jewish educational system in particular. This viewpoint explains why Zionism and the State of Israel constitute important elements in the curricula of the Jewish Day School of South Africa.

CHAPTER 3. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

This chapter deals with the research setting. The community setting is where Jewish Identity is formed. The first section introduces the theoretical concept of community and its application to the Jewish People in the Diaspora and South African Jewry. The historical overview suggests that the changing structure of the community is reflected in shifting Jewish Identity. The impact of anti-Semitism on the formation of the South African Jewish community and on the crystallisation of Jewish Identity in South Africa is also discussed.

In the second and third sections of this chapter the role of the two major community agents of socialisation are examined. The family and the school constitute the settings in which Jewish Identity is transmitted from one generation to the next.

Bozzoli gives a general definition for the term 'community' as referring to a group of people with common organisations and an ability to conjure up images of supportiveness. It is a place of kinship ties and of cross-class cooperation (Bozzoli, 1987). Judaism, as a religion, has always attached paramount importance to the community. The needs of the individual were subordinate. If there was a conflict of interests, the needs of society took priority. The Jews have always, since biblical days, been organised in communities.

For thousands of years the leaders of these communities were the most learned men. In Second Temple times (from around 300 B.C.E. until 200 C.E.) the leaders were the Sages who interpreted the Bible and laid the foundations of Jewish Law in the Mishnah. In the beginning of the 3rd century the centre of Jewish learning, and thus Jewish leadership, was transferred to Babylon where the Talmud was canonised around 500 C.E. It was then that authority over the Jewish community rested in the hands of the rabbis.

Attachment to the community, no matter how amorphous, demonstrated the viability of the individual's Jewish Identity. Severing all ties with the Jewish community was one of the first steps towards vitiating Jewish Identity.

In the past the Jewish community in the Diaspora had legislative authority and was often the liaison between the masses of Jews and the government. In modern times the scope of the Jewish communities' activities has been extensively curtailed but it still plays a pivotal role in the lives of Jews. The Jewish community encompasses a wide range of institutions: religious, welfare, philanthropical, political, educational, social organisations for women and men. In South Africa the Jewish Board of Deputies represents the Jewish community while the Zionist Federation monitors all the activities vis-a-vis Israel. For example, the present national chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Mervyn Smith, urged all South Africans to vote "yes" in the March 17, 1992 referendum. In the published statement Mr. Smith stated that the *"South African Jewish Board of Deputies had always been committed to the reform process in South Africa."*

In the past two years the leaders of the Jewish community have met with political leaders of South Africa such as president De Klerk, the leader of Kwa Zulu and Inkatha, Mr. Buthelezi, and with the leader of the ANC, Mr. Mandela. In these talks the underlying assumption is that the leaders of the Jewish community represent all the Jews of South Africa.

3.1 SOUTH AFRICAN JEWRY

Krut comments on the achievements of South African Jewry:

..as a group, their [Jews in South Africa] prominence far outweighs their numerical significance. South African Jews are highly urbanised, they receive more formal education than any other ethnic, religious or racial group, and they are

→ why being
 study by who
 in children
 studies + etc.
 choice.

over-represented in the professions, administration and sales sectors. They are under-represented in clerical work, service and production and in agriculture...it remains true that the story of the Jewish community in South Africa has been one of spectacular success. (Krut:1987:135)

The first Jews who arrived in South Africa in the early colonial days were generally of British and German origin. The "ethnic balance" in the Jewish community was radically changed during the period of 1881-1910 when 40,000 Eastern European Jews emigrated to South Africa in the wake of pogroms of the Tsars against the Jews. The community became divided not only along linguistic/cultural lines, but also on the socio-economic level. The economically well-established Anglo-German section of the community distanced itself from the impoverished, semi-skilled Eastern European Jews who displayed a "foreign" culture, and whose external appearance and behaviour were an embarrassment to their co-religionists.

One of the most important goals of the Jewish community is to provide welfare to needy Jews. The concept of charity, *tsedaka*, commented upon by Van Onselen (1982:187), expressed itself in the financial and political support given to the impoverished, unskilled Jewish immigrants by their co-religionists. Schrire (1990) documented the activities of the Cape Town Jewish Philanthropic Society which assisted the impecunious Jewish immigrants who flocked to South Africa penniless, homeless, jobless, friendless.. The Society provided funds, employment and/or tools of trade in order that the immigrant can be self-supporting. *By 1904 two dozen Jewish organisations had sprung up in Cape Town to help the newcomer to adapt to the new society. (Schrire,1990:26)*

The immigrants who arrived in Johannesburg after the South African War were literate, politically educated, and they were keen to commit themselves to the building a future in their new society. They brought with them elements of a highly Orthodox, traditional Jewish ways of life which included a flexible,

but consistent attachment to the Jewish religion as well as literacy among even the poorest Jews.

The rapid and spectacular upward mobility of Johannesburg Jewry after the War [1914] was achieved not through traditions brought with them from the Lithuania Pale, but through the radical reconstruction of a Jewish community into a form that gave it a place in 'modern' South Africa - as white, urban, English-speaking and middle class. The 'South African Jewish community' that was manufactured and packaged in Johannesburg in the period of 1902-1914 grafted a homogeneous identity onto a diverse Jewish population.

(Krut, 1987:140)

E.A. Mantzaris (1987) describes the ideology of the Yiddish Speaking Branch (Y.S.B.) of the International Socialist League as anti-Zionist and opposed to a concept of a common "Jewishness". Contrary to the wider Jewish community the Y.S.B. conceived society as being stratified along class lines. The Jewish socialists saw themselves as part of the wider working class revolutionary movement in South Africa while the Zionists spoke of a "exclusive Jewishness". Nevertheless, I believe it is indicative of the existence of a kernel of Jewish Identity that the Y.S.B. found it necessary to perpetuate an exclusive Jewish branch within the International Socialism Movement even after language was no longer a barrier between the immigrant and the English speaking Socialist Movement of South Africa.

Socialism and Zionism competed for the allegiance of the ordinary people. The Zionist sought to forge a Jewish identity which not only merged with, and possible submerged, socialism, but also established Jewishness rather than class as the primary category of identification. Ultimately the Zionists were victorious, relegating socialism to a minor theme in the subsequent concepts of Judaism. Krut (1987) suggested that the combination of the economic

incentives and cultural capacity of the middle classes gave the Zionists the strong capacity to forge the emergent community under their aegis.

Beyond class differences there was one issue which transcended all class differences and united the Jews as a community in Johannesburg: the issue of Jewish civil and religious rights in the Transvaal Republic. The imposition of British rule over the Transvaal at the end of the South African War secured Jewish religious freedom and civil liberty. Nevertheless insidious anti-Semitism still survived. The lack of access to the club world was especially disturbing. Under these circumstances the upwardly mobile middle-class Jews began to look to a different kind of community to secure their status - and they turned to immigrant East European Jews who were also looking for stability and an economic future on the Witwatersrand.

One of the major reasons why this new Jewish bourgeoisie in Johannesburg had to wrest control from the Zionist faction was: *to ensure that they, and all South African Jews, espoused a national identity that was compatible with a South African nationalism. Obviously Zionism in its national, East European form jeopardised their national credentials in their host countries* (Krut, 1987 :146). The Jewish Board of Deputies was established in 1903. In his opening speech, Lord Milner commented that it was natural for immigrant Jews to expect support, guidance and leadership from their "English Jewish brethren".

For the next ten years the men of the Board were actively engaged in constructing the foundations of a Johannesburg, and ultimately a South African Jewish community as well as establishing a position as sole representative of the community. The Board combated anti-Semitism, established a community newspaper and established welfare organisations. In order to enhance the image of the Jewish community in the wider community, the Board took strong steps to eradicate the Jewish involvement in prostitution and illicit liquor dealing. One of the most crucial problems facing the Board was the complex problem of defining the South African Jewish Community.

The Board resolved to espouse the cause of the Russo-Jewish immigrants, not only through charity but mainly through self-interest. By securing rights for alien immigrants they wished to secure such rights for all the Jews of South Africa.

Krut maintains that: *The particular conditions faced by Jews in South Africa thus provided a strong impetus to the construction of a community that cut across class boundaries* (1987:151). The South African Jewish community rejected the assimilation model in favour of creating a homogeneous Jewish community within a white South African population. The principle concern was that Jewish identity should be compatible with South African citizenship.

On the national scene those Jews who involved themselves in political movements did so in their individual capacities, for it was the official stand of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies that no collective viewpoint existed for the Jewish community as a whole. Although the Board of Deputies was often harshly criticised for this stand, it was perceived as serving the best interests of the Jewish community.

The important role of Jewish individuals in the struggle against *apartheid* was largely what prompted right wing extremists to equate the Jewish community with white opposition: *As in Afrikaner eyes generally apartheid was intrinsic to their political aspirations, opposition to this policy was perceived as opposition to the Afrikaner national movement. The prominence of Jews in opposition was therefore also widely commented upon in pro-government circles.* (Cohen, 1982:1362)

In truth, however, although many white liberals and radicals were Jews, the vast majority did not align themselves with the political opposition to Apartheid, but rather tended to cluster around a position left of centre. Nevertheless the community could not remain neutral. In 1961 Prime Minister

Dr. Verwoerd wrote a letter in which he deplored Israel's condemnation of South Africa. In his letter there were veiled references to the tenuous position of South African Jewry, and insinuating that there will be repercussions for the Jewish and Israeli condemnation of Apartheid.

3.1.1 Integrating into South African Society

In a country which has always promoted ethnicity the Jews, like other ethnic groups, were encouraged to maintain their separate identity. *The very converse prevails. Jews can maintain one of the most basic features of Orthodoxy, namely separateness.*

(Hellig,1987:7).

Zvi Adar (1965) describes the early immigrants to South Africa as observant Jews with a tradition of an ingrained Jewish life. They had a deep Jewish consciousness and thus had both the knowledge and the motivation to sustain their Judaism.

These same deep religious beliefs militated against their integration within the local population - thus leaving them free to develop a Jewish community and to maintain a Jewish way of life. The goal of the communal bodies was "continuity through change": transmitting the important values of the Jewish social heritage, and at the same time effecting an adequate adjustment.

Adar explains that the transmission of Jewish values and the insistence on the preservation of the Jewish heritage was done in order to ensure Jewish cohesion and continuity in a new environment which was not only strange but also permeated with a bewildering freedom which bore no resemblance to the Shtetl life to which they had been accustomed.

The initial stages at the beginning of this century were not easy. The first immigrants to South Africa demonstrated an integrationist tendency: reducing

the scope and intensity of their subcultural involvement in order to be accepted. The practices which were readily abandoned included those that made large and repeated demands on time and energy, like prayer and the dietary laws.

When the question of a Jewish Day School was brought up many parents were deterred from sending their children out of fear that the Jewish school would constitute a social and cultural ghetto. They were fearful that their child would be socially divorced from the non-Jewish majority (Hayman, 1988).

The respondents in Dubb's research showed a broad consensus as to the importance of Jewish survival. Conflict was evident between the desire to survive as a group, and the belief that barriers between groups should be minimal. This quandary was manifested in their ambivalent attitudes towards intermarriage, ethnocentrism and social relations.

3.1.2 Anti-Semitism in South Africa

Two embryonic, but nevertheless distinctive images of the Jew in South Africa emerged in the 19th century: the gentleman - characterised by enterprise and loyalty - and the knave, characterised by dishonesty and cunning. These contradictory perceptions were easily reconciled in class terms, the lower class fortune-seekers and the newcomers from Eastern Europe providing the negative polarity.

The refugee influx had clearly consolidated the negative dimension of the Jewish stereotype. As peddlers, shopkeepers and impecunious drifters, they augmented the knave image. To this was added the image of the "cosmopolitan financier" - introducing a new dimension to the stereotype - Jewish power.

In the first decade of the 20th century the Jews were perceived as unassimilable. They were dirty, lived in squalor, and had a hunted and beaten

look on their faces as a result of generations of persecution. The Jewish trader was perceived as exploiting the population through his allegedly powerful position in the rural economy. At the same time the stereotype of the cosmopolitan financier figured prominently in the image of the Jew.

Anti-Semitism surged during the South African War (1889-1902) when Jewish activities were put under stringent scrutiny. A patriotic anti-war movement in England attributed British involvement to the influence of "Jewish finance capital" pointing to the number of Jewish landlords on whose behalf the British were mistakenly fighting. In South Africa the British victory focused attention on the indigent East European Peruvians who precipitated extreme anxiety in the established elites.

In 1923, Jewish support for Government was strained by the application of Section 4 (1) (a) of the *Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913* to limit Jewish immigration. The Government's justified the application of this clause on Jews on the grounds that the large scale unemployment existing in the country would be aggravated by an uncontrolled influx of immigrants.

In the 1920's anti-Semitism focused on the inherent predisposition of the Jews towards commerce, their non-productivity and dishonesty in business. They were perceived as a threat to the white or European establishment. Almost everyone wanted to avoid charges of blatant anti-Semitism: nevertheless opposition to the Jews was expressed in terms of a 'race problem'. The Jews were outsiders, immutably alien, and inherently devious. They were "unassimilable" amidst the Gentiles. The Jewish Board of Deputies expressed alarm at the anti-Semitism. The President of the Zionist Federation and the Chief Rabbi extolled the contributions of the Jewish community to South Africa, pointing out that the Jews wanted to become true sons of the land.

The thirties were largely characterised by hardship, by political uncertainty and by an upsurge in anti-Semitism which reached its apex in Nazi Germany and

overflowed into South Africa. In 1930 the *Immigration Quota Bill* was introduced in Parliament. This Bill was designed to restrict immigration from Eastern Europe and in effect, to limit the number of Jews entering South Africa. This Bill was of enormous significance in that it highlighted a wide cross section of public support for limitation on Jewish immigration which cut across political lines and linguistic divisions.

However, The broad base of public opinion favouring the Bill becomes comprehensible when viewed against the socio-economic conditions of the time. Large numbers of impoverished Afrikaners moved to the cities and were confronted by Black competition in the areas of unskilled labour, and predominantly English speaking employers:

With the problem of the "poor Whites" particularly marked amongst the Afrikaner section of the population, the problem became...a major issue in the consciousness of Afrikaner nationalism and came to be related to the Afrikaner's national struggle. The Jewish community with its extensive involvement in commerce thus came to be a valuable scapegoat for the ills of the poor Whites... (Cohen, 1982:148)

Philosemitism concentrated on Jewish excellence – but also on the concomitant power – which could easily be interpreted to mean potential of domination. Even the philosemites expected the Jew to assimilate and integrate into the general community, objecting to Jewish exclusiveness:

Jewish distinctiveness, then, underpinned antagonism towards Jews at a certain level....The reality, however, was that Jews perceived themselves as a distinctive group, and were by and large perceived as a distinctive group. Such notions were reinforced by determinist assumptions of race, culture and finally the Zionist Enterprise. (Shain,1990:312 - 313)

Second generation Jews moved rapidly into the professions and industry. It mattered little that this generation was more acculturated than their forbearers. Very often the Jew-hater had an even greater fear of the "duplicity and conniving" of the assimilated Jew (Shain,1990: 316-7). In fact the metamorphosis from unkempt smous to powerful city professional was viewed positively in some quarters, but others felt threatened and envious of Jewish success. *The outsider had become an intruder.* (Shain,1990:317)

The involvement of Jews in the anti-Apartheid movement from the 1960's and the condemnation of Apartheid by Israel tended to elicit resentment towards Jews and Israel on the part of the Afrikaner community, although they denied that they were anti-semitic.

In 1959-1960 a wave of anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi activity swept Europe, reaching Durban in January 1960 when pamphlets containing a scurrilous and blasphemous attack on the Jewish religion were pasted on windows of Jewish owned shops. Swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans appeared in other cities and towns in South Africa including Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Scant sympathy was shown by the government, the press or the general public for anti-Semitic behaviour, and leading clergymen and prominent Durban residents expressed their disgust at the anti-Jewish pamphlets. Nevertheless the Jewish community was both angered and disturbed by these incidents. The Jewish Board of Deputies and the local Jewish communities continually worked to combat anti-Semitic propaganda and manifestations of anti-Jewish prejudice and discrimination, whilst promoting better understanding between Jews and their Gentile neighbours.

In 1956 the Jewish Board of Deputies passed a resolution calling on every Jew to play his part in furthering inter-racial and inter-group goodwill and harmony. The resolution was motivated by the belief that it was in the national interest that racial policies be based on principles of tolerance, justice and respect for the fundamental human rights of all inhabitants.

However, South Africans were not necessarily tolerant towards the Jews. Shenhar (1985) conducted a survey in 1983 of the attitudes among the white pupils in South Africa towards Jews. His results revealed that anti-Semitic beliefs were fairly common among non-Jewish South Africans. Traditional images of Jews as dishonest, clannish prideful and pushy were widely subscribed to in white South Africa. However, only a minority expressed serious concern about "Jewish money" or "Jewish power". Shenhar concluded that although anti-Semitism persists in South Africa it is not, for the most part, the virulent hate-inspired type. Such prejudice survives within some extremists groups, but is not practised by large numbers.

At the same time, South Africans hold favourable images of Jews. The most commonly mentioned traits in Shenhar's study were ability in business, religious loyalty, intellectual attainments, ambition. Jews were also considered to be warm, friendly and generous. These results show a decline in anti-Semitic feelings since the 1930's and 1940's.

3.2 THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF DURBAN

3.2.1 THE DURBAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

From its inception in the second half of the 19th century, the Jewish community in Durban, in its dominant English tradition, diverged from other Jewish communities in South Africa. Its Jewish leaders were less observant than their East European counterparts who had settled in other parts of South Africa. In fact, the leaders were English in everything except their religious affiliation. Therefore, they initially saw no need to establish or maintain a branch of any Jewish national movement or any exclusive Jewish social and cultural forum. It was only after the influx of East European refugees after the Boer war that uniquely Jewish and Zionist associations were established.

In 1883 the Durban Hebrew Congregation was established and much later, in 1948, a Reform Temple. The Council of Natal Jewry was established in 1930. It encompassed all the different Jewish organisations and was endowed with the authority to speak on behalf of Durban Jewry. It was also responsible for the welfare of the community.

Involvement in the Jewish community did not obviate involvement in civic activities. Jewish candidates made themselves available for election to the municipality. Many of those elected were well known for their work within the Jewish community.

Although the official position of the Jewish Board of Deputies was to eschew an official stance, nevertheless there were individual Jews who became politically active, including members of the Jewish community of Durban. In December 1956 the government ordered the arrest of 150 people on the charge of high treason. Of the 23 whites arrested half were Jews, including Jacqueline Arenstein of Durban. Jewish academics were vociferous in their opposition to the government's decision to take away the non-European Medical School from the University of Natal in 1957.

Not one member of the Jewish community of Durban stood for election to Parliament in the 1958 elections. Cohen refutes the proposition that this is due to Jewish apathy or an anti-Jewish stance of any of the political parties but to their involvement in the field of Jewish communal endeavour.

In the aftermath of Sharpeville and the political turmoil the members of the Durban Jewish community, as did many other white South Africans, whether to remain in the country or to join those who had emigrated. *...by and large the Durban Jewish community had decided to stay, and after long, careful thought and with a clear conception of all the implications had, furthermore, committed itself to strengthen its inner consciousness so as to ensure its continuation.* (Cohen,1982:1363)

The Jewish Club was enlarged, a new synagogue was erected and plans for a Jewish high school were reaffirmed. The Public Relations Committee of the Council of Natal Jewry made special efforts to maintain the harmonious relationship which existed between the Provincial and Civic authorities of Natal. Special attention was given to enhancing relations between Jews and non-Jews and to bringing greater social contact between the Jew and his Gentile neighbour.

The congregation was not religious. At one stage the Orthodox rabbi threatened to resign because of poor attendance at the Synagogue and the low level of Jewish observance of those affiliated to it. There was an attempt in 1944 to establish a society to raise the religious standards of the community: "*To spread and foster a wider and more intimate knowledge and appreciation of Judaism and Judaic traditions, to strengthen its observance in the spirit of our holy Torah.*" (Cohen, 1982:526)

Other aims were creating and sanctifying a Jewish atmosphere in the Jewish home and impressing upon the parents - especially upon the Jewish mother - the sacred duties and responsibilities towards the religious education of their children. In the beginning the society prospered but then declined in 1945. Cohen attributes this to the fact that its efforts were ineffective, probably because it was incompatible with the needs and desires of the community that they wished to influence.

3.2.2 ZIONISM AND THE DURBAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

The South African Zionist Federation was founded in 1898. The overwhelmingly Zionist character of the Jewish community of South Africa was noted by Shimoni (1980) who ascribes this phenomenon to a number of manifestations unique to the Jewish population per se, and the South African political and social system, especially the segmentation of South African society by colour, and

the division of the white community into Afrikaner and English. As a result there were no common national symbols nor a universally accepted South African national identity. This facilitated the preservation and enhancement of the Jewish identity. It endowed Jewish identity " *with an ethnic national dimension of its own which found its expression in Zionism.* (Shimoni, 1980:4)

In addition, Shimoni points out that the foundations of Zionism were laid long before any tradition of religious reform or denationalised Judaism had emerged and in actual fact encompassed almost all of organised Jewry (Shimoni, 1980:81)

The South African Zionist Federation did not enjoy widespread support in Natal, neither on the part of the community nor even among its leaders. The root of the problem was primarily the overwhelmingly Anglo-Jewish composition of the local Jewish population and the Zionist association's weak and ineffectual leadership. It was only in 1943 when a Provisional Zionist Council which coordinated all the Zionist bodies was formed in Durban, that Zionist activities received a boost and attaining a high level of prestige in the Durban Jewish community .

3.3 THE JEWISH FAMILY

Traditionally, the role of socialising the younger generation to the roles in the Jewish religion and in Jewish society rested with the mother. Upon the father lay the burden of observing the Mitzvot (that applied) while the women had the responsibility to run the household and educate the children.

The processes that the family has undergone in modern times have had a profound effect on the Jewish family and have militated against the traditional division of roles in the Jewish family. Today, the Jewish family is urbanised, has an average of less than two children. The Jewish mother is usually highly educated and career orientated.

The key role played by the attitudes of the parents and the content of family life in the development (or the non-development) of Jewish identity was recognised by the Colloquium on Jewish Education and Jewish Identity - organised by the American Jewish Committee extending from 1972 to 1976. The main recommendation issued was the importance of the intensification of efforts in Jewish family education.

Herman's study of Jewish society showed " *...the home to be one of the main vehicles of the transmission of Jewish attachment.* " (1971:209).

Brodbar-Nemzer (1986) points out that Judaism assigns a major role to the family, especially as a source of support and nurture; therefore family stability is especially valued. In his study he shows that the self-esteem of Jews was more negatively affected by marital problems and marital stress, and conversely, supportive marital relationships have a greater impact on the self-esteem of Jews than of Christians.

Lazerwitz (1973) emphasises the dominant relationship between childhood background and involvement in Jewish life. The family has a strong impact on Jewish religious and organisational activities in adulthood, the maintaining of ethnic ties with the Jewish community, and assuring Jewish education for children.

3.3.1 THE DECLINE OF THE JEWISH FAMILY

Fishman (1989) highlights some of the factors that threaten the normative Jewish family: feminism, the cultural ethos that stresses individual achievement and pleasures; the secular revolution; materialistic expectations that elevate the perceived standard of what a "middle-class" lifestyle comprises, and the necessity of dual incomes to maintain this life-style (1989:15).

The demographic composition of the Jewish population in America has changed: there are more Jewish singles, more divorced people, more single parents. Jewish families are having fewer children and many more Jews are intermarrying. As a consequence of these demographic processes there is a breakdown in the traditional manner of the transmission of Jewish heritage and Judaism. In such a context the traditional role of the family as the principle transmitter of the Jewish religion, Jewish heritage and the Jewish way of life is in jeopardy. These processes are becoming more and more evident in the South African Jewish community where the divorce rate is nearly 50%.

Nevertheless, even with the decline in its influence, the Jewish family is still the most important factor in Jewish identification. The family is not only the chief "mechanism" whereby this attitude is transmitted, but the most important source of Jewish identity.

3.4 JEWISH EDUCATION

Jewish education is sustained in the context of the Jewish community. This is one of the means in which the Jewish People transmit the heritage of millennia and impart a sense of belonging, and commitment to the People. The role of Jewish education in the socialisation of the next generation has been underscored today when the Jewish family is unable fully to fulfil its traditional role as the socialisation agent of Judaism and the Jewish People.

Jewish parents want Jewish identification for their children and towards this end they put their hopes in Jewish education. However, they actively resist any education that might be construed as being "too Jewish" (Sklare, 1967).

The ultimate effect of Jewish education on Jewish identity is not clear-cut.

In recent years several studies of the long range

or Jewish identification....Apparently the more Jewish schooling received, the greater likelihood the adult will identify Jewishly or be religiously involved. The correlation is low (in some case bordering on moderate), but it is consistent.

(Himmelfarb 1977:117)

Although extensive research has been conducted on the impact that Jewish education has on Jewish identity the opinions are divided as to the magnitude of this impact. Numerous studies have shown a low-to-moderate correlation between amount of Jewish schooling and adult identification, even when controls for parental and other inputs are made. Some studies (Cohen, 1975; Himmelfarb, 1977b) find that schooling has an interaction effect, having the greatest impact on those from highly religious homes.

Friedman (1984) is sceptical about the "non-effects" of Jewish education contending that there is a dearth of systematic ethnographic detail about what actually transpires in the real-life natural settings of the graduates of Jewish education.

Sigal, August and Beltempo (1981) found that although research has consistently found that home atmosphere and practice rather than formal Jewish education have been the prime factor that determine the offspring's attitudes towards the customs and rituals associated with Judaism the Jewish Day School students obtained significantly higher scores on nearly all the factors investigated. The researchers drew the conclusion that only full-time attendance at a Jewish school through to high school has a measurable effect on the Jewish identification of the graduates; in its absence the home predominates.

Steven Cohen (1974) and Himmelfarb (1977) found that Yeshivas and Jewish Day Schools have a substantial impact only on students raised in very observant homes. The general impact of religious schooling is to accentuate family

effects. Religious schooling accentuates Jewish values; but when the predisposition is lacking, schooling has little impact.

Goldstein and Goldscheider confirm these findings: *significantly, among those who do not identify with any of the three religious divisions, almost three-fourths of those of 15 to 24 years of age had no Jewish education.* (1968: 225)

In contrast to the findings by American researchers, Dubb, in a study conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand, 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* (1971:31). Dubb 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 particular tended to manifest this concern in taking steps to provide their children with a Jewish education.

Marcus Arkin, as the then Director-General of the South African Zionist Federation, attended an international seminar in Israel dedicated to identifying innovative means of combating assimilation and intermarriage through the Jewish Day Schools. Although there was universal consensus at the seminar that it was essential to utilise the Jewish Day Schools towards this end, but there was awareness that to date the results have disappointing.

Arkin stated his belief that the failure of the schools derived from an excessive emphasis on knowledge rather than a sense of personal attachment, on the inculcation of knowledge about Judaism, rather than a strengthening of identification with it.

The influence of Jewish education on the formation and/or enhancement of Jewish Identity is not clear-cut. Nevertheless there is a consensus in the Jewish communities in the Diaspora that the Jewish Day School is the primary

means of strengthening Jewish Identity. Educational bodies in both countries are now focusing on the process of Jewish education and developing school curricula, instruction material, books and activity programmes to increase the effectiveness of Jewish education. One of the plans now being put into effect is elevating Jewish Studies to a matriculation subject in South Africa.

Zisenwine and Kraemer(1985/6) conducted a study to investigate the efficaciousness of the "national-tradition" programme instituted in the Jewish Day School Movement in South Africa. This programme emphasised the traditional heritage of Judaism and the sense of affinity to the Jewish People and the State of Israel. Zisenwine and Kraemer found that the students had a strong Jewish identity and that "nationalist reasons" were regarded as more important than "traditional reasons" as motivators for the study of Hebrew. Nevertheless, there was a sharp decline, in "traditional reasons" for learning Hebrew, from middle school to high school.

The differences between the responses of middle and high school pupils on the traditional reasons is highly significant. This would indicate a sharp decline in the role played by traditional factors in motivating Jewish education as the child progresses from the middle to the high school. (Zisenwine and Kraemer, 1985/6:136)

The researchers propose that the embracing of the nationalist option by South African adolescents serves as a means of rebellion without risking total alienation from the home. On the contrary, the option has been approved by both the community and legitimised by the school: *Zionism offers the South African Jewish child an opportunity within a framework that has legitimacy in the eyes of the parent and the school. (Zisenwine and Kraemer, 85:133)*

3.4.1 THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Jewish community in South Africa regards itself primarily as a traditional community; it is thus natural that it strives to provide its children with a traditional type of education. By transmitting Jewish tradition it is hoped that they will observe and preserve it.

Placing Jewish tradition as the focal point of the curriculum of the Jewish Day School is problematic because of two factors:

- 1) In reality only a small minority actually observe traditional Judaism in their everyday life. The others tend to be assimilated in varying degrees. Therefore the schools tend to inculcate a traditional type of education to children from non-traditional homes.
- 2) The Reform movement in South Africa, which ascribes to a modified version of Judaism, tends to challenge the Jewish traditionalism taught in the Jewish schools.

The definition of Jewish education as a national education reflects the deep affiliation of this community with Zionism and the renaissance of Israel. The Jewish Day School concentrated on the renewal of Hebrew culture and creativity.

It aims to recreate the people of Israel and to revive its culture...National education in this context means /the formation of a deep sense of attachment to the renewal of Jewish life in the State of Israel, and an introduction to and some familiarity with the network of Hebrew culture. National education means, then, Zionist education and Hebrew education. (Adar, 1965:6)

In 1948 the first Jewish Day School in South Africa was established in Linksfield. Johannesburg.

It was a bold advance on the educational front and faced a long arduous uphill struggle. Among its problems was community

proposals were tantamount to ghettoisation of the children, severing their contact with their non-Jewish neighbours, an unthinkable, not to say unwise policy to pursue in a multi-lingual, multi-national country wherein the child would have to deal with all races and language groups. Isolation in all-Jewish schools was eminently undesirable...Patience and perseverance were rewarded within two decades by almost unanimous community acceptance as well as the pride at being held up as a model of Jewish Educational institutions from which Diaspora communities could take example and encouragement. (Levin, 1973:29)

The chief agency in establishing the Jewish Day Schools was, and is, the South African Board of Jewish Education. As a measure of its success in achieving acceptance among the Jewish parents was the fact that in Johannesburg alone there were four Day Schools (two primary and two secondary schools) by 1966. In the 1950's Hertzlia in Cape Town was founded, as well as Carmel at Bulawayo and Sharona in Salisbury in Rhodesia. A Jewish Day School was founded in Durban in 1958, and in 1960 Carmel in Pretoria and Hertzlia in Port Elizabeth were established.

The Jewish Day Schools are administered and financed by the local communities through a Board of Governors. They are affiliated to the Board of Jewish Education which provides educational inspectors to review curricula and standards, recommends supervisory personnel, and organises national conferences, in-service teacher training programmes and refresher courses.

3.4.2 JEWISH EDUCATION IN DURBAN

At the outset both the Orthodox Synagogue and the Reform Temple ran their own schools but attendance generally was very poor. Rabbi Levy of the Synagogue attributed this state of affairs to lack of interest on the part of the

parents. Many of them encouraged their children to participate in the extra-curricular activities of the government schools rather than attend the supplementary afternoon religious schools. Distance and transport problems were also a major deterrent.

In 1939 a committee was formed to investigate all aspects of Hebrew education. This committee found *the venue of meeting, the indifference of parents and the consequent poor attendance of children had always been the main problems.*

(Cohen, 1982:320)

The committee recommended that ways and means be found to encourage the young married couples to observe, at the very least, a minimum of Jewish traditions and ritual by establishing a class in Jewish education for women. The committee urged that the greatest amount of time possible should be spent in teaching religion, customs and traditions because the children were receiving scant instruction in their homes. This knowledge was regarded as vital for the continuity of the community.

Despite all efforts to popularise the Talmud Torah, the Orthodox Hebrew school, there were still many parents who did not realise the importance of Jewish education. Even among those who did send their sons to Talmud Torah, many discontinued attendance after their Bar Mitzvah. Many neglected the Jewish education of their daughters completely.

In 1942 the Talmud Torah began to teach secular subjects at Standard 1 level and registered with the Natal Education Department as a day school. The creation of a day school made it possible to combine both Hebrew and Jewish education with secular education, thereby obviating the burden and inconvenience of afternoon lessons at the end of regular school activities; thus more time could be devoted to Jewish education (Cohen, 1982:610). Unfortunately there was no parental support for this endeavour and plans to establish a Hebrew Day School were discarded.

3.4.2.1 The Jewish Day School: Carmel College

The creation of a Jewish Day School on sound foundations was the crowning achievement of Mr. Sam Ernst. By 1958 Sharona Primary School comprised a kindergarten and Class 1 to Standard 2. The Jewish content of the syllabus was clearly demonstrated in the celebration of the Festivals and the strong links to Israel.

It was felt that the proposed high school should be a communal effort and responsibility. It was intended that it should be conducted on broad national-traditional lines, in common with other Jewish Day Schools affiliated with the South African Board of Jewish Education. The proposed high school led to the establishment of the Natal Hebrew Schools' Association.

Nevertheless, the close relationship between the Synagogue and the Hebrew education was recognised by the proposal that at least 75% of the school's governors should be members of the Durban United Hebrew Congregation (Cohen, 1982: 1238). As well as taking cognizance of the congregation's contributions to Hebrew education, this proportion roughly corresponded to the proportion of pupils in the existing schools whose families belonged to the Orthodox Synagogue.

In 1961 the present site of Carmel College was purchased.

By the end of 1961, the state of Jewish education in Durban was a cause for much pride and satisfaction, with a larger percentage of the Jewish child population receiving a Jewish education than ever before. (Cohen, 1982:1246)

Nevertheless there were problems:

With the generally low quality of Jewish aspiration and Jewish living in Durban and the general communal indifference to, and

neglect of Jewish culture and Jewish religious observance...the schools were largely expected to single-handedly arouse and imbue that knowledge and commitment. (Cohen, 1982:1247)

By 1964 the number of pupils exceeded expectations and had risen to 420, ranging from Class 1 to Standard 8. At this time a modern high school, Carmel College, was inaugurated.

Carmel College is a multi-racial school. Although the school was established to provide Jewish education for Jewish pupils not all Jewish parents send their children to Carmel or send them only for a limited period. In addition, pupils from other ethnic and religious groups have been attracted to Carmel because of the quality education it offers. Non-Jews have always been welcomed, although the policy is to maintain a majority of Jewish students. Carmel College has not been substantially effected by the turmoil characterising the educational scene in South Africa. Conflict that has emerged between Jewish and non-Jewish pupils has focused on the attitude towards the State of Israel rather than racial issues.

The opening up of the schools to all races in 1993 may have a substantial impact on the racial composition of the school in the future. Many well-off non-white families send their children to Carmel because of its high academic standard and its non-racial policy. The new educational policies in South Africa may change the ethnic composition of the school. It is predicted that many of the non-Jewish parents, for financial reasons, will transfer their children to the less expensive government schools whose doors are now open.

The study of the Hebrew language and Jewish studies is compulsory for both Jews and non-Jews studying at Carmel College. Jewish studies encompass Jewish History, the Bible, Jewish thought and Jewish ethics. All Jewish holidays are thoroughly studied and celebrated. Every year the ceremony commemorating the Jews killed in the Holocaust takes place at Carmel College with the

participation of the pupils. The celebrations of the Independence of the State of Israel are often held at Carmel College. Secular subjects are taught in a manner that demonstrates their relevancy to Judaism and Jewish history. It is interesting to note that there have been years in which non-Jewish pupils have received the prize for Hebrew and/or Jewish studies rather than the Jewish pupils for whom the programme is designed.

To sum up, Carmel College makes an all-out effort to imbue the learning process with a Jewish stamp. Sometimes the school is successful, sometimes it is not. The present study is an attempt to gauge the success or failure of the school in enhancing and giving substance to Jewish Identity.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 THE QUESTIONS ADDRESSED IN THE STUDY

Consideration of both theory and prior research have generated the hypothesis that Jewish education in a Jewish Day School will enhance the Jewish identity of the Jewish scholars. The Jewish identity of these pupils will manifest itself in the following ways which match the dimensions distinguished in the study:

- a) Religious Observance: A tendency to evaluate positively religious ritual and observance as well as their importance to Judaism
- b) Pietism: A basic belief in the existence of the Creator and a tendency to mitigate religious skepticism.
- c) Universalism : Concern for non-Jews complementing their concern for Jews and commitment to the Jewish People.
- d) Commitment to Judaism: A desire to perpetuate Jewish traditions; the pupils see themselves as linked not only to Jews of the present, but to generations past and those to come, including a pervasive consciousness of being Jewish which affects decision- making and relationships.
- e) Commitment to the Jewish People: A sense of belonging to the Jewish People, pride in ascription to the Jewish People, and an urge to perpetuate it by sustaining it in themselves and by taking measures to ensure their

children's Jewishness. A feeling of kinship (alignment) with Jews all over the world, a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of all Jews and a willingness to help and support them in time of need.

f) Relations with non-Jewish Society: A desire to associate with Jews in a social context concomitant with a wariness of anti-Semitism

g) Attitude towards assimilation: A desire to marry within the Jewish faith and disapproval of behaviour which depreciates Judaism.

h) Attitude towards the State of Israel: A feeling of association with the Jewish State.

The question arises whether all of the above dimensions exert the same influence on the preservation of the vitality of Jewish Identity or whether there are dimensions which are more crucial and decisive. What is the relationship between each dimension and each of the other dimensions, and between each dimension and the overall magnitude of the intensity of Jewish Identity?

It is here hypothesised that there is a strong association between all dimensions of identity and that a dynamic mutual reinforcement as well as mutual dependency exists between the various dimensions. Each dimension has a high predictive value for any other dimension. For example, a pupil who subscribes to the religious beliefs of Judaism will be more committed to the perpetuation of the Jewish religion and People than one who rejects them. A commitment to the Jewish People is ipso facto a commitment to the Jewish religion and the State of Israel and a consciousness of being Jewish. Centrality of Judaism and the Jewish People are complementary and coalesce.

4.1.1 Additional Factors Considered in this Study

1) It is assumed that in view of the decline of the Jewish family as the prime socialisation agent of Judaism, the primary agency for ensuring the continued viability of Judaism and the Jewish People in modern times is the Jewish Day School. The present study represents an attempt to gauge the intensity of the Jewish Identity of pupils from standard 6 to standard 10 who are scholars at the Jewish Day School in Durban, Carmel College. A strong Jewish identity is presumed to indicate the measure of success of Carmel College as a socialisation agency for Judaism and the Jewish People.

2) Inasmuch as universalism is an intrinsic element in the Jewish religion, and the Jews living in the Diaspora are part of a non-Jewish environment with the incumbent commitments towards non-Jews, I believe it was appropriate, as well as relevant, to investigate the intensity of commitment towards non-Jewish society and the relationship between Jewish identity and the attitude towards the needs of non-Jews and the various dimensions of Jewish identity as defined in paragraph 4.2.2.

3) It is important to point out that historically, the Reform movement introduced innovations in religious beliefs and observance. I cannot comment on the factors which motivate one family to affiliate itself with the Orthodox Synagogue while another will affiliate itself with the Reform Temple; nevertheless there are significant differences today between these two movements in content and observance. This study also addresses the question whether there are significant differences in the intensity of the overall Jewish identity and/or any of the dimensions between pupils attending Carmel who come from families affiliating with the Synagogue relative to pupils who come from families affiliating with the Temple.

One important reservation vis-a-vis the results of this study regarding the comparison between those affiliated to the Temple compared to those affiliated to the Synagogue is derived from the inescapable fact that there were substantially fewer respondents whose families were affiliated to the Temple than those affiliated to the Synagogue. In the framework of this limitation, the results are presented in this study.

4) Upon reaching the age of 13 a Jewish boy is obliged to observe the 613 Mitzvot of the Jewish religion. A girl reaches her maturity at the age of 12, but is only obliged to observe 4 Mitzvot. Being Jewish has far-reaching consequences for the life-style of the boy to a far greater extent than for the girl. The study addresses the question of possible gender differences in the intensity of overall Jewish identity.

5) The overriding issue examined in this study is the efficacy of Jewish education in forestalling processes detrimental to the survival of Judaism and the Jewish People as vibrant and vital entities in the lives of Jews. One of the means of inquiring into this question was to investigate whether there were significant differences between those pupils who have been educated at Carmel College for a substantial number of years (at least 5) in comparison to those who have had a limited Jewish education: pupils at Carmel College: four years or less at Carmel College.

6) The uniqueness of Durban Jewry relative to the other Jewish congregations has been emphasised. In view of this the results of this study are of limited use in extrapolating to the youth of Cape Town and Johannesburg.

4.2 DEVELOPING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following procedure was used to operationalise those facets of young people's life-space which were assumed to comprise their Jewish Identity:

- 1) Scales developed by sociologists of the Jews as these appeared in the literature were examined (See Appendix I).
- 2) The dimensions of Jewish Identity were defined (ch. 4.2.2).

About two hundred questions from questionnaires used in other sociological studies such as Sklare and Greenblum (1967), Segalman (1967), Dubb (1971), Herman (1970, 1977), Lazerwitz (1973), Dashevsky and Shapiro (1974), Himmelfarb (1980), Cohen (1983) and Heilman (1982) were collected, and the efficacy of different scales used in these scales was evaluated. The most appropriate scales were chosen. (See Appendix A).

The questions were divided into categories. Each question was then considered, and the most concise, incisive, clear and relevant were chosen. The final questionnaire encompassed a total of 45 close-ended questions.

Two additional measures were used in the study:

- a) An open-ended question : "We are Jews and they are....."

The object of this question was to clarify the extent the pupil aligns himself with the Jewish people vis-a-vis the dominant non-Jewish society. Does the pupil consciously mark himself off from other groups and from whom?

- b) The profile of "The Good Jew"

The object of this series of questions was to illuminate the concept of "The good Jew" as conceived by these adolescent pupils. Those activities defined as essential or very desirable comprise the profile of "The Good Jew". Similar questions asked by Sklare and Greenblum (1967) and Dubb (1971) elicited a fairly universal profile with few activities uniquely Jewish. Would the responses of the pupils of Carmel College replicate their results?

4.2.1 *Range of Answers*

In formulating the alternative answers offered to the respondent, the poles were arranged so that the direction was towards positive Jewish Identity. All responses scored that 1 reflected strong Jewish identity while at the opposite pole, responses that attained a score of 3 or 4, reflected weaker Jewish identity. Thus there were questions in which "strongly agree" were scored "1" while in other questions it was scored "4".

4.2.2 *The Dimensions Defined in this Study*

The items included in the questionnaire fall under eight headings which correspond to the most central dimensions of Jewish identity found in the relative literature. A description of these dimensions is as follows:

- 1) Religious behaviour/ritual behaviour - this refers to the tendency to observe the religious commandments and precepts, the Mitzvot, as delineated in Jewish Law. This dimension measures the inclination to observe and the attitude towards the very existence of these Mitzvot.

Example : "One should try to observe as many of the Mitzvot as possible."

- 2) Jewish Pietism - Refers to the very essence of the Jewish credo - the belief in God, His commandments and the special and reciprocal relationship between God and the Jewish People.

Example: "God is the Creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny."

- 3) Universalism - This refers to the extent that the pupils feel an obligation towards the needs and welfare of non-Jews and non-Jewish society.

Example: [To what extent is] "Supports all humanitarian causes" [important in order to be a good Jew]?

- 4) Judaism - Refers to the commitment to the Jewish religion, to the importance the pupil ascribes to the viability of Judaism as a living religion and to the relevance it has in his life. This dimension includes the wish for Jewish education and knowledge of the fundamental beliefs of Judaism and the centrality of Judaism in his life.

Example: "If you were born anew, would you wish to be born Jewish?"

- 5) Jewish People - This refers to the commitment to the Jewish People. To what extent does the pupil feel that there is a link between him or herself and Jews all over the world in the present time, and to what extent does the pupil feel a link between him or herself and Jews in the past and the future. Does he or she subscribe to the concept of "Arvut Haddadit" (mutual guarantee) which has sustained the Jews for millennia? Does he/she ascribe importance to the survival of the Jewish People? Does being part of the Jewish People hold positive valence? How close does one feel to the members of the Jewish group?

Example: "Do you regard the problems of Jews in other countries as your problems also?"

- 6) Non-Jewish society - This refers to the extent that the pupil feels comfortable in non-Jewish society and how he perceives the attitude of non-Jews towards Jews, especially his evaluation of the existence of anti-Semitism.

Example: "I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews."

- 7) Assimilation - This mainly refers to intermarriage as the most salient and prominent factor in the assimilation process. It also addresses the attitude towards adopting non-Jewish norms.

Example: "Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew?"

- 8) Israel - The State of Israel is the greatest achievement of modern Jewish history. Its continued survival is regarded as a prerequisite for the continued viability of the Jews in the Diaspora as well as a crucial element in their identity as Jews. Items falling under this heading address the question whether the pupils have inherited this perspective?

Example: "Our continued survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel."

Appendix D gives the Alpha Reliability Analysis of each of the eight dimensions. These tables also list the questions in the questionnaire which fall under each category.

4.3 CARRYING OUT THE STUDY

Stage One

An application for permission to carry out my study on Jewish Identity among Durban adolescents was made to the Principal of Carmel College Mr. John Green and to the Head of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Mr. Issy Fisher. The application was conveyed to the Board of Governors of the school who considered the request, and granted consent to carry out the study.

In the middle of May, 1990, I visited the school and administered the questionnaire to all the Jewish pupils in standards 6 to 10 who were present at the school on that day. The non-Jewish pupils were otherwise occupied. In all 136 pupils were interviewed. As there were very few absentees the sample represents virtually 100% of the Jewish high school pupils at Carmel College. The questionnaire is reprinted in Appendix A. A lecture hall was allocated and the pupils were brought in by the principal, one standard at a time. The pupils brought their own writing materials. I introduced myself to the pupils, read the introduction to the questionnaire out loud, and emphasised that the answers were confidential, that there were no correct or incorrect answers and that they should give the response which best suited their position. The pupils took approximately a half hour to complete the questionnaire.

The responses of the pupils were collated and analysed using the university computer. Cronbach's Alpha was used to check reliability. The statistical tests chosen were: Frequencies, Chi-Square, Kendall's Tau as well as Multiple regression analysis.

Stage Two: Comparison of Jewish Pupils attending Carmel and government schools

Nearly all the Jewish pupils attending government schools belong to the SJA (Students' Jewish Association) and receive extra lessons in the Jewish religion and tradition. I was invited to administer the questionnaire at Durban Girls and Durban Boys High Schools, and to Woodlands and Northlands High Schools during the religious instruction lesson. The government school comparative sample comprised of 34 respondents. Stage two was completed during the months of August to November 1990.

Stage Three: The Influence of the Home

In order to isolate the influence of the parents and the home on the formation and strength of Jewish Identity, an additional questionnaire was administered in September 1991 to a sample of the pupils (N=56) studying at Carmel. The questionnaire (See appendix B) inquired into the attitudes towards Judaism and the Jewish People of the parents, as well as the their religious observance. Included in this questionnaire were questions from the original questionnaire which dealt specifically with Jewish attitudes and behaviour. These questions achieved the highest correlation with strong Jewish Identity in the factor analysis.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

5.1 FINDINGS

The following are the findings from the questionnaire administered at Carmel College, and are the responses of the pupils who were at school on this day.

5.1.1 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The majority of pupils would maintain the same standard of religious observance in their homes (63.2%) but a large minority (27.9%) would raise the degree of observance in their homes. Basic religious rituals are observed by the great majority of the families, as can be seen from Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

TABLE 5.1 STANDARD OF RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Candles lit on Friday nights	89.7%
Kiddush over wine	85.3%
Attend Passover Seder	97.8%
Attend services at least "often"	44.9%
Attending service at least "Very Desirable"	63.6%

TABLE 5.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF OBSERVING MITZVOT

	Ess+V.Desir	Des+irr
Only meaningful Mitzvot should be observed	45.6%	54.4%
Observing Jewish beliefs and customs indispensable for Jewish survival	93.4%	6.6%
Try to observe as many Mitzvot as possible	91.1%	8.9%

Only 1.5% regarded observing Mitzvot irrelevant to the good Jew.

5.1.2. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS - PIETISM

Table 5.3 shows that, in general, the pupils accept basic beliefs in Judaism. The relatively low consent to the idea that God has chosen the Jewish People suggests that the youth have a problem with this concept, interpreting it to

meant that the Jews consider themselves superior to other nations and peoples, and they find this objectionable.

TABLE 5.3 RELIGIOUS PIETISM

	agree	disagree
God is the Creator of the universe	84.7%	15.3%
Torah is the word of God	93.2%	6.8%
God is concerned with each one of us	92.5%	7.5%
God has chosen the People of Israel as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind	60.9%	39.1%

5.1.3 PARTICULARISM VERSUS UNIVERSALISM

The strong universal impetus of the pupils at Carmel College was manifested in their perceptions, or expectations of fellow Jews towards non-Jews and the non-Jewish world. The dominant trend was to expect the Jew to be not only supportive and sensitive to the needs of his own people but also towards other peoples. This is reflected in the results presented in Table 5.4

TABLE 5.4 UNIVERSALISM AND PARTICULARISM AS WORLD VIEWS

Essential: <u>Takes an interest in Jews</u>	Essential	Irrelevant
a) to make S.A. Democratic	23.9	28.2
b) support humanitarian causes	36.1	23.6 *
c) to obtain justice in S.A.	30.6	29.2

* found significant using Kendall's Tau

Essential: <u>Proud to be a Jew</u>	Essential	Irrelevant
a) to make S.A. Democratic	17.5	33.3
b) support humanitarian causes	26.1	15.7
c) to obtain justice in S.A.	21.9	28.1

Essential: Helps other Jews In South Africa

a) to make S.A. democratic	28.3	25.0 *
b) support humanitarian causes	32.8	18.0 *
c) to obtain justice in S.A.	30.0	25.0 *

Strongly agree: I feel a close kinship with Jews

a) to make S.A. Democratic	26.3	26.3
b) support humanitarian causes	47.4	10.5 *
c) to obtain justice in S.A.	24.3	21.6*

* found significant using Kendall's Tau

What gradually becomes clear is that the particularistic attitude towards the Jewish People of the pupils in our sample, does not preclude a universalistic attitude towards members of other nations and religions. A strong sense of responsibility towards the Jewish People, and a commitment to the Jewish religion are accompanied by a strong, albeit attenuated, impulse to support and aid people who are not part of the Jewish People.

At the same time it can be seen that there is a tendency towards particularism, a feeling of responsibility only to the group of ascription, amongst a minority of the respondents. This is especially discernible in spheres that have a political connotation: Democracy and Justice. The ethnocentric group is smaller when the question refers to humanitarian needs of non-Jews. Nevertheless it is clear that a firm Jewish identity is compatible with a liberal orientation to life and society.

5.1.4 COMMITMENT TO JUDAISM

Two questions designed to examine the valence of being Jewish revealed a high attraction towards Judaism, as can be seen from the results in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5 COMMITMENT TO JUDAISM

	PERCENT
V.I./I to bring up children as Jews	96.3 *
Would like to be born Jewish	86.6
Being Jewish plays an important part in life	94.9
Influences plans for future	45.9
E/V.D. : Proud of being Jewish	96.8 **
Maintain Jewishness	95.6
Close to Jewish life	92.6

* V.I./I Very important/Important

** E/V.D. : Accepting Jewishness

The response was overwhelmingly positive, proving that belonging to the Jewish group has strong positive valence for the pupils.

The respondents were also asked how close they felt 'Jewish life', which was not defined, and each respondent could interpret it as he understood it. The general meaning refers to being close to things which are Jewish: the people, the culture and heritage, the religion, the institutions etc. 92.6% felt a subjective feeling of affiliation to the phenomenon called Jewishness. (Mean 1.669 S.E. .052 S.D. .609)

Being Jewish influences the plans for the future of less than 50% of the pupils. This may be due to the fact that "the future" is a vague, unknown factor for pupils in the lower standards. On the other hand, "being Jewish" has an impact on everyday life -with whom you associate, where you live, your whole outlook.

TABLE 5.6 ATTITUDE OF PUPILS TOWARDS JEWISH KNOWLEDGE

	PERCENT
Like to receive more Jewish education	20
S.A./A important to know fundamentals	97.8 *
E/V.D. to know fundamentals of Judaism	88.1 **

S.A./A - Strongly agree/Agree

E/V.D. - Essential/Very Desirable

All in all it can be seen that the pupils have a high regard for Jewish education and its function in fulfilling the role of "being Jewish".

TABLE 5.7 "Are you satisfied with the Jewish education you are receiving?" / by standard

standard	No, I would like more	Yes, I'm reasonably satisfied	No, I would like less
6	5.9	94.1	
7	7.4	92.6	
8	4.8	90.5	4.8
9	22.9	77.1	
10	42.9	51.4	5.7

Chi-Square 24.751 D.F. 8 Sig .0017 Kendall's Tau -.210 Sig .0003

The results highlight the fact that the older pupils are conscious of the paucity of their knowledge and feel an urge to know more. This should not be taken as a failure of the Jewish school but as a sign of success. The school cannot impart infinite knowledge, but rather a thirst for knowledge.

5.1.5 COMMITMENT TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE

The results reveal a decisive commitment to the Jewish People and a subjective feeling of being part of this entity. The feeling of belonging and ascription to the Jewish people influences and has an effect on the pupils' life, plans and self-definition.

In order to ascertain the extent of the respondents' feeling of affiliation with the Jewish community they were asked how close they felt to South Afrikan Jewry, the amorphous body of all the Jews, as well as how close they felt to the local Jewish community - the people they meet and associate with in their everyday life. The results can be found in Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.8 COMMITMENT TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE

	PERCENT
A.A/A: Problems of Jews your problems	72.6
A.A/A: Fate and future bound up with Jews	86.7
Close to South African Jewry	61.3
Close to local Jewish community	82.4
E/V.D.: Help other Jews in South Africa	63.7
E/V.D.: to take interest in fate of Jews	80.5
kinship to Jewish People	90.4

A.A./Al - Almost Always/Always
 E/V.D. - Essential/Very Desirable
 S.A./agree - Strongly agree/agree

This is substantiated by the responses to the questions "I feel a close kinship to the Jewish People throughout the world." and "Takes an interest in the fate of Jews in the world". It appears that although the pupil has some

contact with other Jews in South Africa, the concept 'Jewish People throughout the world' is a vague, amorphous, unknown, unidentifiable entity.

5.1.6 JEWS AND THE NON-JEWISH MILIEU

The attitude towards the dominant environment was ambivalent. On the one hand the respondents tended to down-pedal the anti-Semitism of non-Jews (only 11.8% regarded a large proportion while 33.8% considered only a small minority as being anti-Semitic). In contrast 87.5% agreed that discrimination against non-whites can be directed against the Jews and 88.2% believe that anti-Semitism is likely to endanger the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. There seems to be extra-sensitivity to the possibility of the phenomenon. The pupils were more likely to be insulted by a newspaper (75%) than praised (44.1%).

The general tendency is to create a homogeneous social network of Jewish friends as can be seen from Table 5.9.

TABLE 5.9 RELATIONS WITH THE NON-JEWISH ENVIRONMENT

Have mainly Jewish friends	72.8%
Feel more comfortable with Jews	69.9%
Being Jewish plays a role in their relations with non-Jews	63.2%
Identify themselves as Jews	92.5%

This verifies the general impression that Jews do not really have to fear denigration or ostracism in the South African society and it also accentuates that the Jew is proud of being Jewish.

5.1.7 ASSIMILATION AND INTERMARRIAGE

The pupils overwhelmingly espouse marrying within the Jewish faith: 79.4% agree that it is important to marry within the Jewish faith and 86.5% dismiss the possibility of rejecting their Judaism, even for love. The majority of the

respondents who are prepared to marry a non-Jew expect conversion to Judaism as a prerequisite to marriage.

TABLE 5.10 It is important to marry within the Jewish faith

value label	Value	Frequency	Percent
strongly agree	1	65	47.8
agree	2	43	31.6
disagree	3	22	16.2
strongly disagree	4	6	4.4
Mean	1.772	S.E. .075	S.D. .877

TABLE 5.11 ATTITUDE TOWARDS ASSIMILATION AND INTERMARRIAGE

	PERCENT
Should maintain Jewishness	95.6
Reject the adoption of non-Jewish customs	51
Reject change distinctively Jewish name	76.4
Essen/Very Desir to be proud of Jewishness	96.8
Essen/Very Desir to be proud of Jewish Heritage	94.8
Essen/Very Desir to accept Jewishness	91.3

The overwhelming majority categorically rejected assimilation and espouse differentiation, as can be seen from Table 5.11

5.1.8 ATTITUDE TOWARDS ISRAEL

A strong attachment to Israel is considered to be an important element in the Jewish identity of the pupils and reflect the stress placed on Israel in the syllabus for Jewish studies.

TABLE 5.12 Our continued survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel.

value label	Value	Frequency	Percent
strongly agree	1	67	49.6
agree	2	47	34.8
disagree	3	20	14.8
strongly disagree	4	1	0.7
Mean	1.667	S.E. .065	S.D. .753

TABLE 5.13 To what extent is it important to feel attached to Israel in order to be a good Jew?

value label	Value	Frequency	Percent
essential	1	45	32.4
very desirable	2	50	36.8
desirable	3	33	24.3
irrelevant	4	8	5.9
Missing			0.7
Mean 2.037	S.E. .078	S.D. .901	

5.1.9 Differentiation by Standards

The heterogeneity of the pupils' social network increases with standard pointing to a greater involvement with non-Jews with age.

TABLE 5.14 What proportion of your friends are Jewish/by standard

standard	above 70%	between 25 - 70%	less than 25%
6	82.4%	17.6%	
7	74.1	25.9	
8	90.5	4.8	4.8
9	68.6	14.3	17.1
10	60.0	40.0	

Chi-Square 24.931 D.F.8 Sig .0016 Kendall's tau .1282*

As the pupils get older they have more activities out of the school, come into contact with non-Jewish children and become friends. The results refute the claim that children who attend Jewish school are isolated, aloof, and cannot get along with children of other religions and races.

Tables 5.15 and 5.16 provide support for the contention that a tendency towards intromarriage dominates in standards 9 and 10.

TABLE 5.15 It is important to marry within the Jewish faith./by standard

standard	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
6	47.1	52.9		
7	40.7	11.1	37.0	11.1
8	33.3	52.4	9.5	4.8
9	45.7	37.1	14.3	2.9
10	65.7	20.0	11.4	2.9

Chi-square 29.62703 D.F. 12 significance .0032

The respondents are in an age group when dating and the possibility of meeting a prospective spouse are a daily reality. This raises the awareness of the possibility of falling in love with a non-Jew, rendering the problem more immediate and less vague and amorphous. It is at these ages that the pupils have intensified their opposition to intermarriage.

TABLE 5.16 Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew?/by standard

standard	I would not agree	Yes, if he/she would convert	Yes, just as with a Jew
6	11.8	88.2	
7	14.8	59.3	25.9
8	9.5	66.7	23.8
9	29.4	47.1	23.5
10	41.2	44.1	14.7

Chi-square 18.17547 D.F. 8 Significance .0199

There are fluctuations in religious beliefs between the standards as can be seen from Table 5.17. The general trend is a "leap in faith" from standard 6, and then growing "atheism".

TABLE 5.17 God is the Creator of the universe/by standard

standard	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
6	47.1	47.1	5.9	
7	77.8	11.1	11.1	
8	28.6	52.4	19.0	
9	42.4	36.4	18.2	3.0
10	39.4	45.5	9.1	6.1

Kendall's Tau .1319 Significance .029

Table 5.18 examines to what extent the different standards regard espousing universalistic attitudes as important in order to be a "good Jew". The dominant trend is to temper expectations of Jewish involvement in the changes in South African society.

The urge to be involved is less compelling as the pupils advance in standard. This is reflected in the growing awareness of being Jewish and what it entails for plans for the future as well as closer ties with the Jewish community, its institutions, and the Jews in the world.

TABLE 5.18 UNIVERSALISTIC ATTITUDES / by standards

standard	Democracy		Justice		humanitarian	
	E.+ V.D.	D.+ irr	E.+ V.D.	D.+irr	E.+V.D.	D.+irr *
6	68.8	31.2	58.9	41.1	76.4	23.6
7	37.0	63.0	66.6	33.3	59.3	40.7
8	33.3	66.7	23.8	76.2	52.4	47.6
9	54.2	55.8	38.2	41.8	51.4	48.6
10	35.5	64.5	50.0	50.0	55.9	44.1

* E = Essential V.D. = Very Desirable D. = Desirable
Irr = irrelevant

5.1.10 Comparison between standards 6 to 9 versus standard 10

Matric pupils are on the verge of entering the world as a person and as a Jew outside the cocoon of a Jewish school. Were there significant differences between them the younger pupils?

Significant differences between standards were found indicating that the students undergo a maturation process which modifies their attitudes and perceptions. Practical observance was significantly lower ($T=-2.18$, significant at the .05 level) among the older pupils, as was Pietism ($T= -1.83$, just below significance at .05 level), indicating a modified religious orientation. On the other hand the Assimilation dimension ($T=2.61$) was significant at the .02 level, and pointed to a stronger tendency, with age, towards ascription to the Jewish People and demarcation from non-Jews.

The picture which crystallizes in standard 10 is of a firm orientation and ascription to the Jewish People. This is of special importance to the Jewish community because by standard ten the youth are more in contact with non-Jews and have more non-Jewish friends. Moreover, the association with non-Jews in Durban becomes more intensive at the tertiary education level where the Jews form a small minority of the school body. At Natal University and the Technikon in Durban only approximately 110 students belong to the South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJUS) out of a student population in excess of 10,000.

5.1.11 Differentiation by Affiliation

The Reform movement espouses a "modernised" version of Judaism and categorically rejects any contentions that this would result in an attenuated Jewish Identity. If this is true, there should be no significant differences in responses between those respondents whose families are affiliated to the Temple compared to those whose families are affiliated to the Synagogue.

There were significant differences between Synagogue and Temple affiliated pupils in Religious behaviour and Religious beliefs. [Practical religious observance dimension: $T = -2.03$ and Pietism $T = -1.91$ which was just below the 0.05 significance level.]. the There were no significant differences in

the other dimensions. 18% of Synagogue affiliated strongly disagreed with the statement that it is not necessary to observe all the Mitzvot, but only 8.3% of Temple strongly disagreed. Nevertheless, in general there were no statistically significant differences between these two groups in the attitudes towards observing Mitzvot.

Contrary to expectations the differences in religious beliefs did not encompass all questions; nevertheless belief in God was significantly lower in Temple affiliated (Tau=.13562 Sig. 0059). Synagogue affiliated youth tend to profess more Pietism than Temple but these differences were not significant statistically.

TABLE 5.19 God is the Creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny/by affiliation

	strongly agree	strongly disagree
Synagogue	50.8%	1.7%
Temple	16.7%	8.3%

Chi-Square 7.01005 D.F. 3 Significance .0716

Tables 5.20 and 5.21 demonstrate that there are no significant differences between the Synagogue affiliated and the Temple affiliated as regards to the valence of Judaism, but the Synagogue affiliated are consistently more firm in their pride in their Judaism and Jewish heritage.

TABLE 5.20 VALENCE OF JUDAISM : To what extent are the following essential in order to be a good Jew?/by affiliation

	Synagogue	Temple
Proud to be a Jew	86%	75%
Proud of Jewish heritage	70.2	58.3%
Accepts his being Jewish	74.4	72.7%
Importance of children being Jewish	72	50%

TABLE 5.21 RELEVANCE OF JEWISHNESS TO LIFE-SPACE

	Synagogue	Temple
A.A influences plans for future	16.5	0
Often influences plans for future	31.4	33.3
Jewishness plays an important part	53.3	50
Want to be born Jewish	86.7	83.3
More Jewish education	21.3	8.3

Despite the results not being statistically significant, there were differences in stance between Synagogue and Temple.

TABLE 5.22 DIFFERENCES IN ASCRIPTION TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE:
SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATED VERSUS TEMPLE AFFILIATED

	Synagogue	Temple
E/V.D. to marry in Jewish faith	40.5	25
would never marry non-Jew	25.8	8.3
S.D. to abandoning Judaism for love	33.2	16.7 *
V.I./I to marry in Jewish faith	51	25 **
E/V.D. to marry in Jewish faith	40.5	25 ***

* S.D. Strongly disagree

** V.I./I Very important/Important

*** Essential/Very Desirable

The social network of the Temple affiliated is more heterogeneous than that of the Synagogue affiliated. This is mirrored in their being more comfortable with non-Jews as can be seen in Table 5.23

TABLE 5.23 RELATIONSHIPS WITH NON-JEWS/by affiliation

	Synagogue	Temple
above 70% of friends Jewish	75.4%	41.8%
S.A. feel more at home with Jews	38%	8.3%
S.D. feel more at home with Jews	23.1	58%

Tables 5.23 reflects the relationships with non-Jews Jewish society. Temple pupils tend to associate more with non-Jews than Synagogue pupils. While 13.1% of the Synagogue pupils believed a large proportion of non-Jews are anti-Semitic, not one Temple pupils gave the same response, suggesting that they are more optimistic regarding the prevalence of anti-Semitism.

5.1.12 Differentiation by Sex

Many of the differences between the sexes derive from the differentiation of the religious functions of the sexes.

TABLE 5.24 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES / by sex

	boys	girls
Essential to light Sabbath candles	43.5%	58.3% *
Essential to have Bar/Bat Mitzvah	76.4%	46.8% *

* Kendall's Tau - significant at the .01 level

The substantial difference in the attitude towards the Bar-Mitzvah can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the Bar-Mitzvah is much more central to the man's function as a Jew and as a result the Bar Mitzvah ceremony and the Bar Mitzvah boy enjoy greater prestige and honor than the Bat Mitzvah girl at the time this "rite de passage" is celebrated.

It is evident from the means obtained by the boys and the girls in the various dimensions that the only T value of significance is the "Universalism" dimension" [T = -2.13] at the 0.05 level (132 D.F.) suggesting that the girls are less universalistically orientated than the boys.

There is substantial disagreement regarding intermarriage between the girls and the boys. This is reflected in a much higher rate of intermarriage of male Jews to non-Jewish girls than Jewish girls marrying non-Jewish males, as seen in the literature. Statistics on intermarriage in South Africa are not available.

TABLE 5.25 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SEXES IN JEWISH IDENTITY

	Male	Female
S.A. important to marry in Jewish faith	43.8	53.2
S.D. to give up Jewishness for love	29.2	36.1
Oppose conversion of Jews	26.0	8.2
Conversion personal affair	46.2	63.9

S.A. - Strongly agree

S.D. - Strongly disagree

5.1.13 Differentiation by Years of Study at Carmel College

The following are the means obtained after dividing the pupils into two homogeneous groups: pupils who have been studying at Carmel for four years or less in one group, and pupils who have been at Carmel five years or more in the other.

TABLE 5.26 DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF DIMENSIONS BY YEARS AT CARMEL COLLEGE

	1 - 4 years		5 > years	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Practical observance	1.7959	.372	1.6446	.345 *
Pietism	1.9753	.417	1.7338	.421 ***
Universalism	2.7153	.715	2.7921	.768
Judaism	1.5559	.337	1.4256	.364 *
Jewish People	2.0068	.407	1.8299	.455 *
Social relations	2.0738	.407	1.9102	.432 *
Assimilation	2.1422	.586	1.8736	.466 **
Israel	1.9583	.740	1.8100	.727

* significant at the .05 level

** significant at the .01 level

*** significant at the .001 level

There were significant differences between those who have accumulated more than 5 years of study at Carmel relative to the newcomers who have studied there less than 5 years.

- a) Practical observance: $T = 2.21$ significant at the .05 level and nearly significant at the .02 level.
- b) Pietism: $T = 2.96$ significant at the 0.001 level. For example, there was a strong association between years at Carmel and the acceptance of the Torah as God's word (Kendall's $Tau = -.13193$ Significance .035)
- c) Universalism: $T = -.52$. There was no significant difference. This in itself is important as it shows that additional years at Carmel do not necessarily intensify the particularism of the Jewish pupils, and he retains a universalistic outlook on the world similar to the government school pupil.
- d) Judaism: $T = 1.88$ nearly significant at the 0.05 level. The association between years at Carmel and commitment to Judaism is evident in the responses to the importance placed on being proud of Jewish heritage ($Tau = -.1103$ Sig. .054).
- e) Jewish People: $T = 2.05$ significant at the 0.05 level. This association is supported by the responses to the question evaluating the feeling of kinship to Jews ($Tau = -.139$ Sig. .028) and the commitment to help other Jews ($Tau = -.1325$ Sig. .048).
- f) Social Relations: $T = 1.98$ significant at the 0.05 level
- g) Assimilation: $T = 2.76$ which is significant at the 0.01 level. A strong association was found in the responses to the question inquiring whether the pupil would be prepared to marry a non-Jew ($Tau = -.14141$ Sig. .032).
- h) Israel - no significant difference.

The difference in Pietism is remarkable as the explicit aim of the Jewish school is to inculcate Jewish religious beliefs. This is achieved through daily prayers, the study of the Bible and religious instruction. The implicit aim of the school is the survival of Judaism and Jews by raising obstacles and restraints to assimilation. The highly significant difference (.01) in the assimilation dimension indicates the cumulative affect of Jewish education as a deterrent to assimilation. The results of this study, on Durban youth, confirm the findings of Cohen (1974), Himmelfarb (1977) and Sigal, Beltempo and August (1982): Jewish education strengthens alignment to the Jewish People.

5.2 DEMARCATIION VERSUS ALIGNMENT :

WE ARE JEWS AND THEY ARE _____

The purpose of this question was to ascertain from whom the pupils demarcate themselves in conjunction with the assumption that they align themselves with the Jewish People.

TABLE 5.27 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES FOR :WE ARE JEWS

AND THEY ARE _____

RESPONSES GIVEN	N	Percent
Non-Jews/Gentiles	60	45
Not	11	8
Christians	5	3
Equal/People/Human Beings	39	30
other	11	8
Did not answer	10	6
Total	136	100

The following are typical answers given by those pupils who were anxious to stress that Jews are no different from anyone else, or more to the point, that Jews are equal to other peoples and religions. The answers were grouped under "other" but all reflect the impetus to accentuate the essential equality of Jews with other peoples and to deny any possibility of difference.

- * Practising their religious beliefs
- * Like us, but not of our religion
- * We should respect their beliefs
- * Exactly the same
- * Also good although they are not Jewish
- * What is the difference? Normal respectable people
- * I don't consider myself different to any other religion
- * We are all human beings no matter race, color or religion.

My impression of these responses was that the pupils felt that the question could be construed to mean that Jews are better or superior to non-Jews and they felt that it was imperative to set the record straight: That Jews are in no way better than anyone else and certainly non-Jews are in no way inferior to Jews.

This is instructive because objectively speaking there is nothing

in the question that can ostensibly be interpreted to mean that Jews are superior; we demarcate ourselves from others on a score of criteria without conveying a relationship of superiority versus inferiority.

In the category of 'other' are included remarks, some of which reflect a sense of superiority towards non-Jews or fear.

- * Against us in everything we do
- * almost Jews
- * definitely not, even if they persist and try to

5.3 MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Table 5.28 presents the correlation matrix of all the dimensions.

Table 5.28 CORRELATION MATRIX OF ALL THE DIMENSIONS

	PRACT	PIETISM	UNIVERS	JUDAISM	JEWISH	SOCIAL	ASSIMIL	ISRAEL
CT	1.000	.654	.118	.682	.524	.465	.418	.366
TISM	.654	1.000	.195	.570	.546	.542	.419	.329
VEPS	.118	.195	1.000	.168	.297	.115	.060	.173
AISM	.682	.570	.168	1.000	.675	.634	.552	.420
ISH	.524	.546	.297	.675	1.000	.641	.417	.484
IAL	.465	.542	.115	.634	.641	1.000	.560	.416
IMIL	.418	.419	.060	.552	.417	.560	1.000	.267
AEL	.366	.329	.173	.420	.484	.416	.267	1.000

Strong relationships exist between all dimensions except universalism, which had a relatively weak association with all the dimensions apart from the dimension of Commitment to the Jewish People. The highest correlation was between Commitment to Judaism and Commitment to the Jewish People.

5.3.1 *Predicting Practical Observance*

The results of the regression analysis are presented in Table 5-29 with the variables entered in order of importance as established by the step-wise programme. It is surprising that Commitment to the Jewish People was not significant, indicating that commitment to the Jewish People is not necessarily conducive to maintaining a level of religious observance. This is compatible with the results obtained from the responses of Standards 9-10 where Practical Observance and Pietism declined, whereas the commitment to the Jewish People and the commitment to marry within the Jewish faith increased.

TABLE 5.29 Stepwise regression analysis: Practical Observance as predicted by Commitment to Judaism and Pietism

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std. Err	T	Sig T
Judaism	.4608	115.5	.000	.453	.068	6.580	.0000
Pietism	.5625	871	.000	.324	.057	5.649	.0000
(constant)				.437	.096	4.525	.0000

The T test calculations for Judaism and for Pietism exceed the positive critical value at the .0000 level, indicating that Judaism and Pietism effect on Religious observance. The F test was also statistically significant.

The existence of a minimum of observance of religious ritual independent of a commitment to Judaism and religious beliefs can be deduced from the fact that the intercept was significant.

It is interesting to note that the slope of the regression function for Judaism is greater than that of Pietism, indicating perhaps that a commitment to Judaism has a stronger effect on religious observance than religious beliefs.

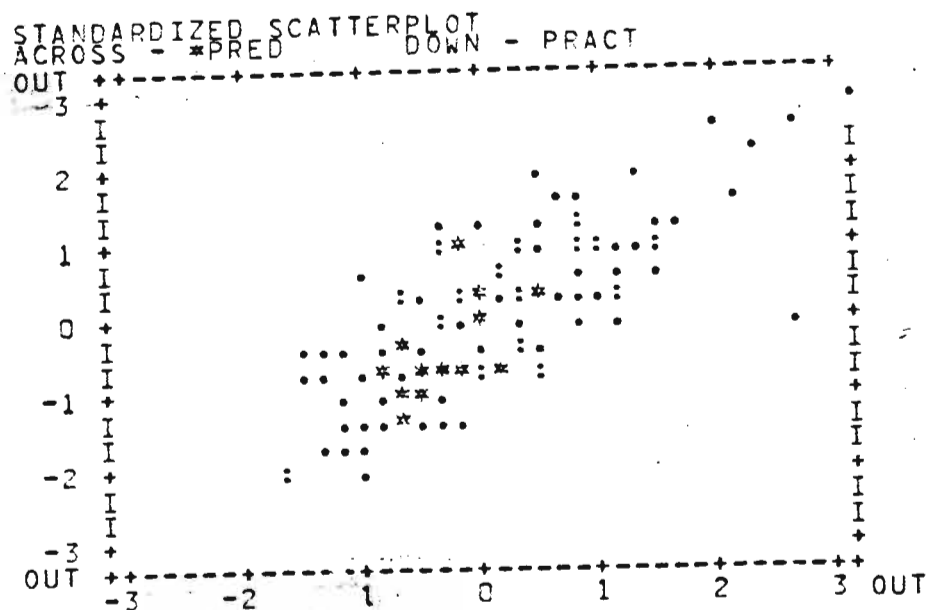


FIGURE 5-1 Scatterplot of Practical Observance with Commitment to Judaism and Pietism

5.3.2 Predicting Pietism

Only the dimensions of Practical Observance and Social Relations with non-Jews were significant and entered into the regression equation. Table 5.30 summarises the results of the analysis:

TABLE 5-30 Stepwise regression analysis: Pietism as predicted by Practical Observance and Social Relations with non-Jews

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std. Err	T	Sig T
Practical	.4233	99.3	.000	.620	.084	7.376	.0000
Social	.4926	66.0	.000	.305	.069	4.379	.0000
(constant)				.158	.146	1.08	.2814

49.2% of the variance in Pietism can be accounted for by the attitude towards religious observance and the attitude towards, and the expectations from the non-Jewish world. Of special note is the magnitude of the association of Practical Observance.

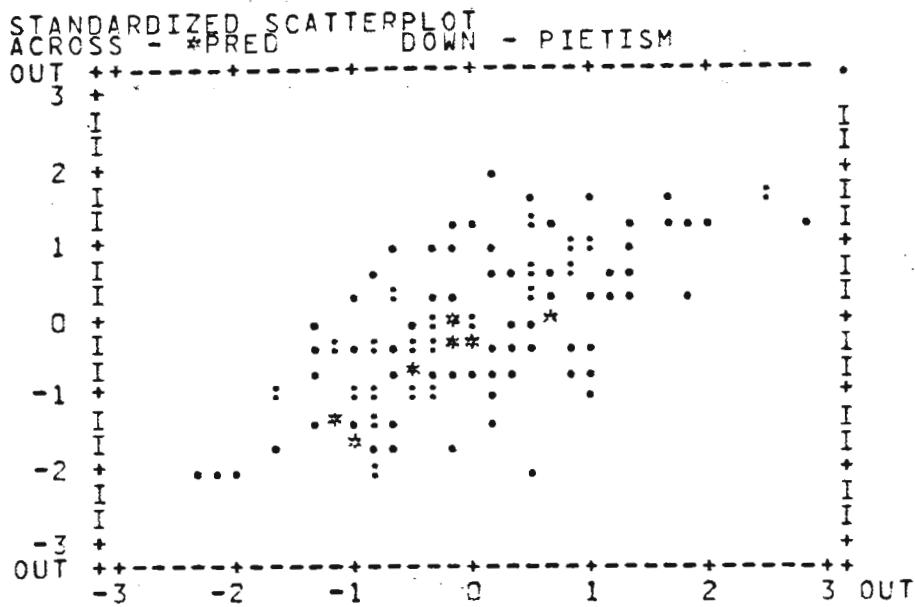


FIGURE 5.2 Scatterplot of Pietism with Practical Observance and Social Relations with non-Jews

5.3.3 Predicting Universalism

Stepwise Regression on the Universalism dimension was carried out; the only dimension meeting requirements and utilised by the stepwise program was Commitment to the Jewish People. The RSQ was relatively low (.0882) compared to the results for the other independent variables. Nevertheless the F test was significant, indicating a relationship between the dependent variable, Universalism, and the independent variable, Jewish Commitment.

5.3.5 Predicting Commitment to the Jewish People

TABLE 5-33 Stepwise regression analysis: Commitment to the Jewish People as predicted from Commitment to Judaism, Social Relations with non-Jews, Universalism and Attachment to Israel.

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std.Err	T	Sig T
Judaism	.4555	111.2	.000	.4721	.0936	5.04	.000
Social	.5312	74.7	.000	.3252	.0779	4.175	.000
Universal	.5648	56.6	.000	.1010	.0344	2.931	.004
Israel	.5863	46.0	.000	.1025	.0394	2.931	.040
(constant)				.0827	.1456	2.599	.010

As can be seen in table 5.33 the Commitment to the Jewish People accounts for nearly 50% of the variance in Commitment to Judaism.

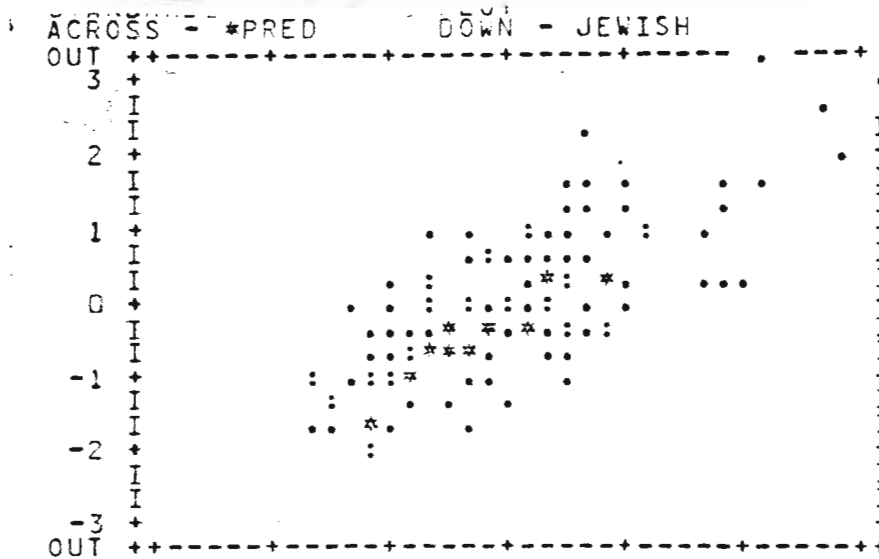


FIGURE 5.5 Scatterplot of Commitment to the Jewish People with Commitment to Judaism, Social Relations with non-Jews, Universalism and Attachment to Israel

5.3.6 Predicting the Attitude Towards Non-Jews

All the dimensions that entered into the equation accounted for 55.26% of the variance as can be seen from Table 5-34.

TABLE 5-34 Stepwise regression analysis: Social Relations with non-Jews as predicted from Commitment to Judaism, Assimilation and Pietism

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std.Err	T	Sig T
Jewish	.4105	92.6	.000	.3118	.0791	3.94	.000
Assimil	.5141	69.8	.000	.2172	.0599	3.623	.000
Judaism	.5386	50.9	.000	.2223	.1073	2.072	.040
Pietism	.5526	40.1	.000	.1499	.0744	2.014	.046
(constant)				.3496	.1306	2.676	.008

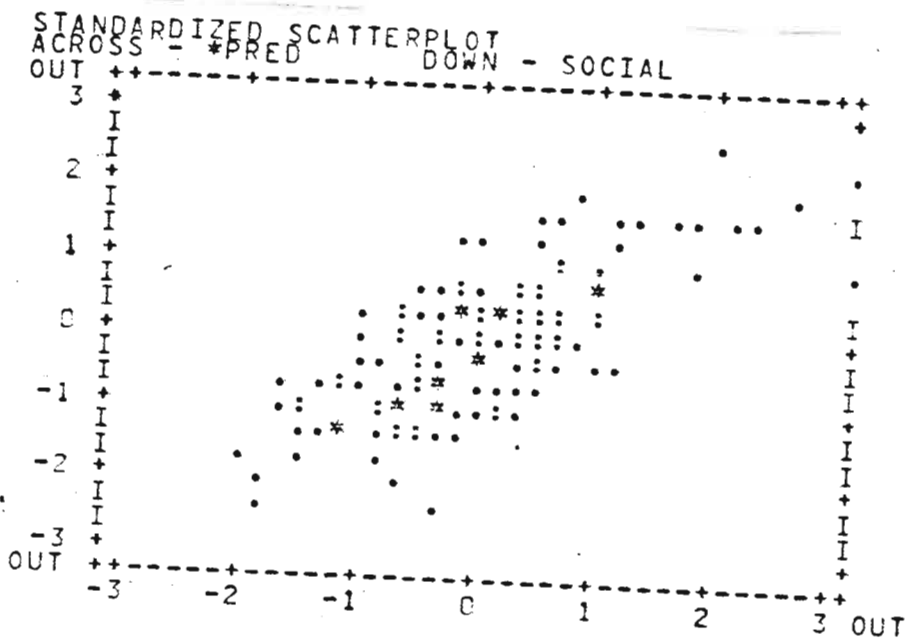


FIGURE 5.6 Scatterplot of Social Relations with non-Jews with Commitment to the Jewish People, Assimilation Commitment to Judaism and Pietism

5.3.7 Predicting Tendency Towards Assimilation

Table 5-35 shows that nearly 38% of the variance can be accounted for by the two dimensions entering the regression equation. The results verify that there is a significant relationship between the tendency towards Assimilation and Relations with non-Jews and Commitment to Judaism. This supports the literature: limited social relations with non-Jews combined with an apprehension of anti-Semitism and a commitment towards the perpetuation of the Jewish religion minimise assimilation.

TABLE 5-35 Stepwise regression analysis : Assimilation as predicted from Social Relations with non-Jews and Commitment to Judaism

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std.Err	T	Sig T
Social	.3131	60.6	.000	.4157	.1054	3.94	.000
Judaism	.3784	40.1	.000	.4688	.1259	3.724	.000
(constant)				.4526	.1713	2.641	.009

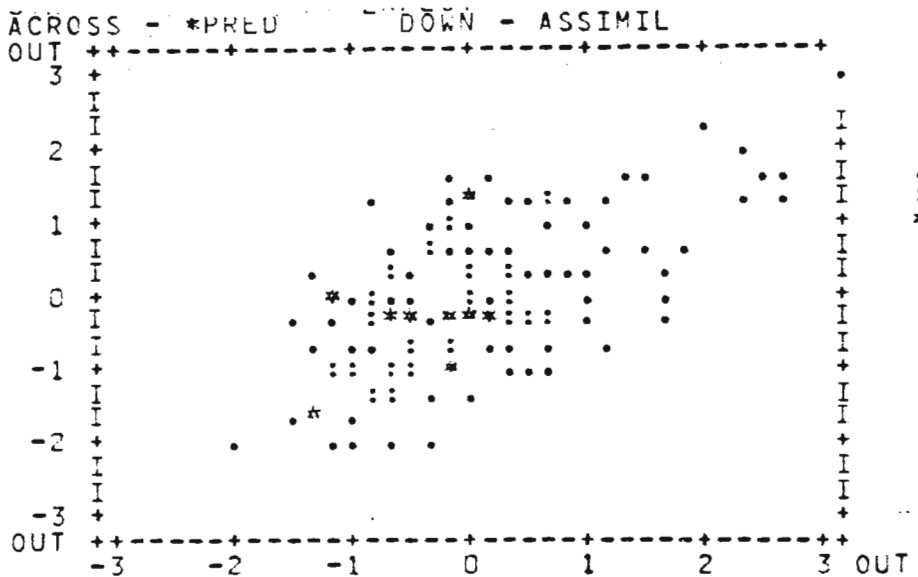


Figure 5-7 Scatterplot of Assimilation with Social Relations with non-Jews and Commitment to Judaism

5.3.8 Predicting Attitude Towards the State of Israel

The only dimension which entered the regression was Commitment to the Jewish People, as can be seen in Table 5-36 and even this dimension accounted for only 23.4% of the variance. Nevertheless the magnitude of B (.7854) demonstrates the strong effect this dimension has on the orientation to the State of Israel.

TABLE 5-36 Stepwise regression analysis :Attachment to Israel as predicted from Commitment to the Jewish People

Variable	R Square	F	Sig	B	Std.Err	T	Sig T
Jewish	.2345	40.7	.000	.7854	.1230	6.38	.000
(constant)				.3814	.2374	1.607	.110

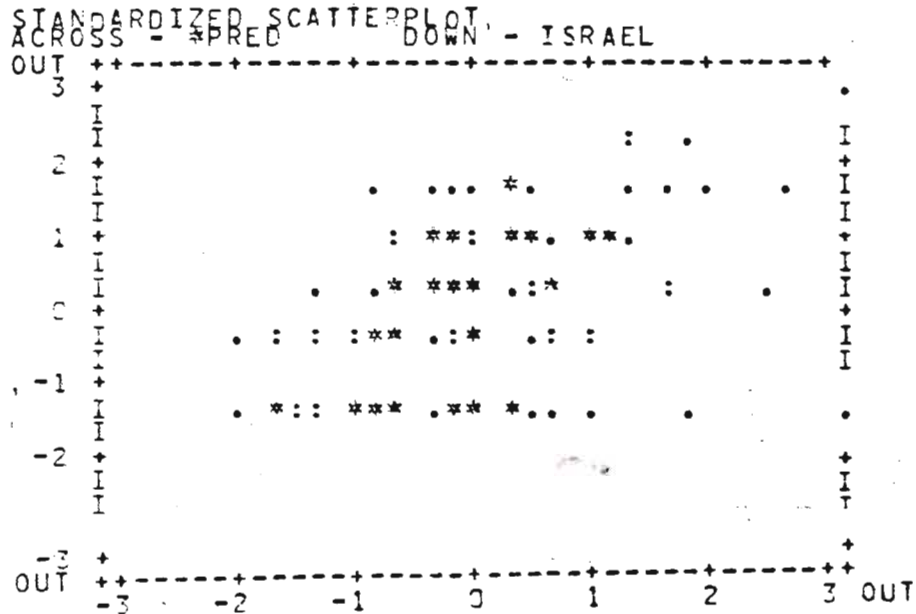


FIGURE 5.8 Scatterplot for Attachment to Israel with Commitment to the Jewish People

5.4 SUMMARY

The dominant dimensions which emerge from the Stepwise regression analysis are: Commitment to the Jewish People, Commitment to Judaism and Social Relations with non-Jews. All three entered into four regression models, indicative of their importance in accounting for the variance in Jewish identity.

There is a direct relationship between Pietism and Commitment to Judaism and Religious Observance. This finding is compatible with theory, corroborating that the devout and the committed actualise their beliefs in the practical ritual observance. It is of interest that the dimensions of Social Relations with non-Jews is significantly related to Pietism. It is possible that the more pious tend to isolate themselves more from non-Jews.

The relationship between commitment to the Jewish People and universalism is evident from the regression model. It is clear that being concerned about the fate of the Jews has a definitive role in stimulating concern and activism for other peoples.

External and internal forces have a bearing on the commitment to Judaism. Externally, a homogeneous social network and avoiding situations conducive to assimilation minimise the valence of other alternative belief systems. Internally, practice of the Mitzvot and the Commitment to the Jewish People reinforce the valence of the Jewish religion. Together these forces consolidate the commitment to Judaism.

As the commitment to the Jewish People is decisive in the adherence to the Jewish religion, so is the dedication to the Jewish religion decisive in the commitment to the Jewish People. The model also suggests that the committed tend to limit their social relations with non-Jews but not their concern for

non-Jewish society. A reciprocal relationship exists between the commitment to the Jewish People and attachment to and support for the State of Israel. Support and attachment to Israel is the concretisation of commitment to the Jewish People which in turn presupposes support of Israel, the homeland of the Jewish People. Israel epitomises the concern and interest in the fate of Jews and the kinship of all Jews throughout the world.

The regression models shows clearly that Social relations with non-Jews and Assimilation are associated with the magnitude of the valence of all things Jewish and the avoidance of non-Jewish circumstances. More Jewish is operationally translated into less involvement in non-Jewish society and activities.

The regression analysis has shown that stronger attachment to the Jewish religion, with its belief system and rituals, commitment to the Jewish People and to the state of Israel all have a strong relationship with limiting relations with non-Jews and minimizing Assimilation. The obvious conclusion is that Jewish input constitutes a strong barrier to Assimilation.

5.5 THE PROFILE OF THE "GOOD JEW"

The profile which emerges from the questionnaire is radically different than that depicted in the Sklare (1967) and Dubb (1971) research, and more compatible with the aims of Jewish education.

Table 5.37 delineates the profile of "the good Jew" as envisaged by the pupils of Carmel, which highlights uniquely Jewish facets.

TABLE 5.37 THE ESSENTIAL AND VERY DESIRABLE QUALITIES
OF THE "GOOD JEW"

quality	Percentage Essential + Very Desirable
Proud to be a Jew	95.6
Proud of Jewish Heritage	94.1
Accepts his being Jewish	90.4
Knows the fundamentals of Judaism	87.5
Takes an interest in Jews	80.1
Celebrates Bar/Bat-Mitzvah	80.1
Leads an ethical life	78.7
Helps other Jews	77.9
Observes traditional customs	75
Feels attached to Israel	69.1
Marries within the Jewish faith	65.4
Lights Sabbath candles	77.2
Attends Synagogue	61.8
Supports all humanitarian causes	56.6
Active in obtaining justice	47.1
Active in making S.A. Democratic	43.4
Loyal citizen of S.A.	16.2

What can be easily discerned is the importance placed upon being proud of Judaism and not ashamed of being Jewish and belonging to the Jewish people.

Emphasis is placed on the bond with the Jewish People in the world. Inasmuch as the Bar-Mitzvah is very prominent in the religious life of the Durban Jewish community and the Synagogue and the Temple it is not surprising that due importance is attributed to the Bar/Bat -Mitzvah ceremonies. The important status and function of the woman is recognised and highlighted by the importance attached to lighting Sabbath candles.

At the tail end of the list are the activities devoted to the non-Jewish environment with all its problematics. It is noteworthy that these activities are considered to be relatively important for a concerned individual but are relegated to secondary position. Lastly, being a loyal citizen of S.A. is a political option and not a humanitarian decision; therefore a low percentage of respondents regarded it as Very Desirable.

5.6 COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JEWISH IDENTITY: JEWISH PUPILS AT CARMEL COLLEGE VERSUS JEWISH PUPILS AT GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

5.6.1 OVERVIEW

The Jewish Identity questionnaire was administered to 34 Jewish pupils at government schools. A comparison was made between all the non-Carmel pupils and Carmel pupils, and then between Carmel pupils and the two subgroups. The findings indicate that non-Carmel pupils have a strong sense of Jewish Identity and proud to be Jews. Although the majority of the pupils did not want to assimilate nor lose their Jewish identity, they seem to lack a feeling of alignment with the Jewish People. The results suggest that the dimension most affected by the lack of Jewish schooling is the commitment to the Jewish People. Pupils who had attended Carmel in the past for more than two years were less affected.

5.6.2 Comparison between Carmel Pupils and Non-Carmel Pupils

There is no ambiguity as to the aims of the Jewish school: to impart a love and an involvement with the Jewish religion, the Jewish People, and an attachment to the State of Israel. Another method of assessing the impact of Jewish schooling is to analyse the magnitude of Jewish identity of the Jewish pupils attending government schools, and to compare it with those attending Carmel College. The effectiveness of achieving the goals of the Jewish Day School can then, perhaps, be more realistically evaluated in light of the results.

In the preceding chapters I have presented findings which suggest that Jewish Identity increases with longer exposure to Jewish education. Carmel pupils who had spent more than four years at Carmel expressed a stronger Jewish Identity than their counterparts who have had fewer years of Jewish schooling.

In this chapter the question of the connection between exposure to Jewish schooling and Jewish identity will be approached from a different aspect: analysing the Jewish Identity of non-Carmel pupils. The Jewish Identity questionnaire was administered to 34 Jewish pupils at DHS, Girls High School, Woodlands and Northwood in May to June 1991. The sample encompassed nearly 100% of the Jewish pupils attending these government schools.

My basic hypothesis is that there is a cumulative effect of Jewish schooling. This is in line with the findings of Himmelfarb (1977) and Cohen (1974). In order to test this hypothesis all the respondents were divided into three groups, as follows:

- 1) Jewish pupils in the sample from Carmel : N = 136
- 2) Non-Carmel pupils who are attending government schools N = 34.

This group is subdivided into two subgroups:

- a) pupils currently attending a government school who have attended Carmel in the past for more than 2 years: N = 16
- b) pupils attending a government school who have attended Carmel in the past for less than 2 years. N = 18.

(included only 1 pupil who had attended Carmel one year.)

The T test was conducted on the six dimensions identified (1) comparing the three groups.

- 1) Carmel Pupils versus Non-Carmel pupils (NON)
- 2) Carmel Pupils versus Non-Carmel Pupils (NON) who had attended Carmel more than two years in the past.
- 3) Carmel Pupils versus Non-Carmel Pupils who had attended Carmel for less than two years or had never attended Carmel.

Table 5.38 presents the results.

TABLE 5.38 COMPARISON OF CARMEL PUPILS AND NON-CARMEL PUPILS

Dimension of Jewish Identity	Carmel vs NON N=136		Carmel vs NON + Carmel >2 yrs N=136		Carmel vs NON + Carmel < 2yrs N=136	
	t prob	2-tailed value	t prob	2-tailed value	t prob	2-tailed value
PRACT	-3.68	.000***	-2.59	.010**	-2.94	.004**
PIETISM	-2.20	.029*	-1.68	.095	-1.59	.087
JUDAISM	-2.68	.008**	-1.30	.196	-2.62	.010**
JEWISH	-5.22	.000***	-2.23	.028*	-5.51	.000***
SOCIAL	-3.93	.000***	-1.71	.089	-4.04	.000***
ASSIMIL	-2.93	.004*	-1.19	.234	-3.07	.003*
ISRAEL	-4.09	.000***	-2.57	.011*	-3.50	.001**

* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01
*** significant at the .001 level

1) Practical observance of the Mitzvot, Pietism - religious beliefs about God and His relationship with man, Commitment to the perpetuation of the Judaism, Commitment to the Jewish People, social relations with non-Jews, Assimilating into non-Jewish society and the attitude towards the State of Israel.

The pattern which emerges from Table 5.38 shows the impact of Jewish education. Significant differences were found for all of the dimensions of Jewish Identity when Carmel pupils were compared with non-Carmel pupils. However, when a control was introduced for Jewish schooling there were few significant differences. These findings tentatively suggest that Jewish schooling received in the past continues to affect individual attitudes towards Judaism, commitment to the Jewish People and towards Israel. Thus the findings are supportive of the literature which states that Jewish education has a strong influence on Jewish Identity (Cohen, 1974, Himmelfarb, 1977)

Pupils who had never attended Carmel exhibited a diffused Jewish identity. An unexpected finding was that the attitudes towards Judaism and religious

beliefs were less affected by the lack of Jewish schooling. There were few significant differences between these pupils and Carmel pupils in the desire to be born Jewish, in their pride in being Jewish and in Jewish tradition and in the importance they attach to being Jewish in their life. The dimensions which focus on the social relations between Jews and non-Jews and relations within the Jewish "group" itself showed the greatest variability. For example, both the commitment to the Jewish People and relations with non-Jews are significant at the $P > .001$ level, indicating a tendency to modify alignment to the Jewish People, and to amplify relations with non-Jews.

5.6.3 The Affinity with the Jewish People

One of the most ancient anti-Semitic accusations against the Jews, dating from the time of the Romans, was that the Jews separated themselves from the rest of the community. In the Bible Bilam "cursed" the Jews by saying "they are a nation that lives alone" (Num. 23:9). This separateness is characterised by social cohesiveness which presupposes alignment with the Jewish group and a sense of alienation from the non-Jewish group.

Herman (1970,1977) defined this alignment as being responsible for the welfare of all Jews in time and space: all over the world, and linked to all Jews of all generations. This is expressed in an affinity and kinship with the Jewish People.

Table 5.39 gives an overview of the different reactions obtained from Carmel pupils and non-Carmel pupils which address the sense of alignment and kinship to the Jewish People as measured by the Pearson Coefficient. The response pattern in Table 4.39 indicates that it is precisely this feeling towards the Jewish People which is affected by the lack of Jewish schooling.

Table 5.39 ASPECTS OF ALIGNMENT WITH THE JEWISH PEOPLE:
CARMEL PUPILS VERSUS NON-CARMEL PUPILS

	Carmel versus Non-Carmel		Carmel versus N.C > 2 yrs		Carmel versus N.C. < 2 yrs	
	<i>Pearson signifi.</i>		<i>Pearson signifi.</i>		<i>Pearson signifi.</i>	
Helps other Jews	15.79	.014*	8.87	.030*	7.01	.071
Interest in other Jews	19.22	.003**	5.37	.146	12.6	.005**
Attached to Israel	21.67	.001***	10.14	.017	16.74	.000***
Kinship with J.People	29.58	.000***	.87	.830	29.26	.000***
Problems of Jews—mine	12.05	.000***	6.46	.091	22.52	.000***
Fate/future with J.P	27.12	.000***	9.63	.022	17.73	.000***
Marry in Jewish faith	7.88	.048*	3.20	.355	8.96	.029*
Close to S.A. Jewry	14.38	.006**	1.60	.448	13.85	.000***
Close to Jewish life	14.51	.005**	1.40	.494	13.02	.001***
Close local J.community	17.52	.001***	3.90	.142	14.99	.000***
% non-Jewish friends	66.88	.000***	20.55	.000***	56.53	.000***
Home with non-Jews	23.60	.000***	8.3	.040*	16.31	.000***
S.A. paper insults	15.93	.014*	2.6	.269	13.34	.003**

- * significant at the $P > .05$ level
- ** significant at the $P > .01$ level
- *** significant at the $P > .001$ level

Table 5.39 shows that non-Carmel pupils are more at home with non-Jews than the Carmel pupils. At the same time non-Carmel pupils do not feel a closeness, a kinship, nor a sense of fate with other Jews to the same degree as Carmel pupils. They feel less responsible towards other Jews in general and for the State of Israel in particular. Membership in the Jewish group does not occupy a central role in their lives. Pupils from Carmel have a greater alignment with the Jewish than the Jewish pupils attending government schools.

When a control was introduced for Jewish schooling in the past, there were no significant differences between Carmel Pupils and those who had attended Carmel in the past. Significant differences were found between Carmel pupils and those who had never attended Carmel College.

There were few significant differences in the attitude towards Jewish tradition and heritage: the non-Carmel pupils were proud to be Jewish, would

want to be reborn Jewish and bring their children up Jewish. On the other hand, there were significant differences on questions which relate to the sense of belonging to the Jewish People and the feeling of mutual responsibility.

Nevertheless, Table 5.39 demonstrates that even a few years of Jewish schooling is effective, blurring the differences in attitudes between those the responses of the pupils who had continued to attend Carmel, and those pupils who had transferred to government schools. The major differences in the social sphere between Carmel pupils and non-Carmel pupils who have attended Carmel in the past are inevitable given that they associate with non-Jews every day. The results point to the possibility that it is the Jewish schooling they received in the past which has imparted them with a feeling of alignment with the Jewish People.

In summary, it seems that the lack of Jewish schooling does not undermine the subjective feeling of being proud to be Jewish and of being proud of Jewish heritage and beliefs. However, the fulfillment of pride in Jewishness by actively identifying with other Jews is lacking when it is not supported by Jewish schooling which gives concrete expression to 'being Jewish'.

5.7 THE ROLE OF THE HOME IN THE FORMATION OF JEWISH IDENTITY

5.7.1 OVERVIEW

A second questionnaire was administered to a samples of pupils at Carmel College in order to ascertain the "Jewishness" of the home environment and its impact on Jewish Identity. The results showed that there is a common basis of Jewishness in the home, but children from homes with a higher level of observance showed a stronger Jewish Identity, as did the children whose parents were more knowledgeable about Judaism and Jewish history. Other factors of the home did not differentiate between varying levels of Jewish Identity. The findings tend to support the literature which contends that Jewish schooling strengthens Jewish Identity, but is more effective in cases of pupils who come from homes with a high level of Judaism.

5.7.2 The Research Question

"...throughout Jewish history the family had been the key agency of socialization, in many respects more vital than the synagogue and the school; but in modern times the latter gained greater influence. Assimilation has generally been attributed to the weakening of Jewish content in American Jewish family life, which in turn made the task of the Jewish school more difficult. The only real exception to this phenomenon has been within the confines of Orthodox Jewish family life, in which the affective domain of Jewish education finds its strongest expression." (Steinberg, 1979:28) Are there significant differences in the Jewish Identity of the pupils at Carmel College who come from families varying in the Jewish content in the home?

Research into the formation of Jewish Identity has highlighted the crucial role of the family. The literature refers to the necessity of reciprocal relations between the family and the school (Sigal, August, Beltempo ,1981;

Cohen, 1974; Herman 1967). The school reinforces what the home provides. If there is no "Jewishness" in the home, the school operates in a vacuum and its effect is mitigated. If there is little "Jewishness" in the home, the impact of Jewish schooling is lessened. The school cannot be a substitute for the home in creating a Jewish Identity; it can only work in tandem with it. As C. Lewis of the Jewish schools in South Africa: *They can never replace the influence of the home. Where the Jewish teaching at school stands in conflict with the practice at home, it is usually the home environment that has the last word.*" (quoted Mazabow, 1985:6)

Dina Hatchuel, a social worker at Hertzlia in Cape Town writes:

"The Jewish religion and culture has always emphasised the importance and value of health, education, charity, justice and normal behaviour towards oneself and others and the Jewish religion has traditions, rituals and laws which promote these values...When we look at our current pupils population we find a large number of children from understimulating and deprived homes, overindulgent homes, single parent families...many Jewish parents are providing poor models for their children who in turn are displaying socially unacceptable traits or modes of conduct. This in turn places the Jewish Day School and its aspirations in direct conflict with some Jewish families who fail to provide the necessary family milieu for healthy and stable growth and development" (Hatchuel, 1985:26)

The Jewish family is in crisis and the demands on the Jewish Day School from the parents and from the Jewish community, are great.

At the outset it is possible to state, a priori, that the parents who send their children to Carmel attribute importance to their "Jewishness" by the fact that they send their child to "Carmel College" in preference to a government school. Reasons for subsequently transferring the child to a

government school vary, the most common focusing on the social sphere. One of the most common reasons is the perennial claim that the child must not be brought up in a "Jewish" cocoon and must become integrated with children from all kinds of social backgrounds, religions and races. If a child has social problems the solution is usually to transfer him or her to another school. Although Carmel maintains a very high standard, some parents claim there is more academic and/or sport competition in the large government schools. Tuition fees at Carmel are never a substantial problem as parents who are unable to meet the high tuition are awarded bursaries.

The parents represent a wide spectrum in the intensity of their Jewish Identity, involvement in their Jewishness and in the Jewish community, and the degree to which they realize their Jewishness in their everyday life. In an attempt to evaluate the "Jewishness" of the home and the extent that the home contributes to the variations in Jewish Identity among the Carmel pupils, a questionnaire was administered to 56 pupils in 5 randomly selected classes on September 23, 1992. (Appendix B)

5.7.3 Findings

The picture that emerges from the findings is that the great majority of the parents observe the major Jewish festivals, attend synagogue during the High Holidays, fast on Yom Kippur, have a fair knowledge of Judaism, and have a modicum of Jewish content in the house, such as books on Jewish topics, records and decorations with Jewish content and discussions on Jewish topics.

TABLE 5.40 INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY BACKGROUND AND JEWISH IDENTITY

	Jewish Important part of life	Essential-proud Jewish Heritage	Essential-Proud to be a Jew
Strictly			
Orthodox	100%	100%	100%
Orthodox	69%	86%	91%
Reform	20%	80%	80%
Gamma	.88*	.49	.60
Pearson	19.74***	9.19*	1.13
* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level			

Table 5.40 shows that it is possible to distinguish differences in Jewish Identity which are related to differences in Jewish religious observance in the home.

Table 5.41 demonstrates that those families who observe religious ritual tend to exhibit greater concern for scholarship in the Jewish subjects.

TABLE 5.41 INTERACTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE AND CONCERN FOR ACHIEVEMENT IN JEWISH STUDIES AND HEBREW

	Concern for J. studies			Concern for Hebrew		
	more percent	same percent	less	more percent	same percent	less
Keep Kosher						
almost al/always	75	25	-	67	33	-
sometimes/never	18	70	12	25	59	16
Gamma	.86*			.73*		
Pearson	13.02*			7.17*		
Observe Sabbath						
almost al/always	86	13	-	75	25	-
sometimes/never	22	68	10	28	59	14
Gamma	.92*			.78*		
Pearson	12.88**			6.51*		
Celebrate Sukkot						
almost al/always	36	61	4	47	46	7
never/sometimes	30	53	18	19	63	19
Gamma	.26			.52*		
Pearson	2.59			3.85		

*

significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level

Table 5.42 shows that despite religiosity being a crucial factor in Jewish Identity, there is still some ambiguity in the interaction between religiosity and Jewish Identity. Religious observance by the family did not inevitably differentiate between varying degrees of magnitude of Jewish Identity. Families who were less observant also succeeded in shaping a strong Jewish Identity in their children.

TABLE 5.42 INTERACTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE,ACTIVITY AND JEWISH IDENTITY

	Jewish import.part	Essential-J.Herit	Essential-Proud
Keep Kosher			
almost al/always	83%	83%	92%
sometimes/never	57%	84%	88%
Gamma	.58	.03	.20
Pearson	2.73	.50	.12
Level Observance			
very obser/observ	76%	86%	89%
not obser/somewhat	44%	81%	88%
Gamma	.62	.13	.08
Pearson	6.54*	1.07	.03
Celebrate Sukkot			
almost al/always	79%	93%	96%
never/sometimes	41%	71%	77%
Gamma	.63*	.69	.78*
Pearson	6.60*	4.39	4.26*

* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level

Nevertheless, the results tend to support the contention that the Orthodox are the most highly identified Jews (Lazerwitz and Harrison,1979). As can be seen from Tables 4.40, 4.41, 4.42 the overall findings show that only religious observance and knowledge of Judaism distinguished between the respondents with regard to the intensity of Jewish Identity, although children from families with a low level of "Jewishness" also exhibited a relatively strong sense Jewish Identity. This suggests that the school is able to exert its influence on pupils even in a home with attenuated Jewish content and observance, but only to a limited degree.

While being active and attending functions in the Jewish community had a limited effect on Jewish Identity, religious observances proved to have a stronger impact. The importance of being Jewish and its centrality in the pupils' life-space was significantly greater for pupils from families who keep kosher, are more observant and celebrate Sukkot. Not only were the parents who

were knowledgeable more concerned with their children's achievements in Jewish topics, but their children had a strong Jewish Identity as reflected to their responses to questions concerning the importance of accepting your Jewishness, being proud of being Jewish and of Jewish heritage.

It appears that not all types of involvement lead inevitably to a stronger Jewish Identity. Attending functions at the Jewish Club did not differentiate on any of the responses, whereas there was a correlation between being active in a Jewish or a Zionist organization and the attitudes towards Jewish heritage and in being Jewish, as can be seen from Table 5.43.

TABLE 5.43 IMPACT OF KNOWLEDGE AND INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY ON JEWISH IDENTITY

	Jewish Knowledge		Active involv		attends funct	
	Pearson	Sig.	Pearson	Sig.	Pearson	Sig.
Achievement J. Studies	10.01	.040*	8.23	.083	11.39	.022*
Achievement Hebrew	11.07	.025*	8.10	.087	19.19	.000***
Bring up children J.	4.28	.117	.51	.774	1.94	.377
Knowledge Judaism	1.96	.743	.65	.956	4.40	.354
Importance J. heritage	8.73	.060	3.32	.505	5.84	.211
Proud to be Jew	11.17	.003**	.23	.888	5.82	.054*
Accepts being Jewish	17.17	.008**	5.01	.542	6.91	.328
Born anew -Jewish	11.37	.003**	1.84	.396	11.49	.003**
Jewish part of in life	5.05	.281	15.44	.003**	6.23	.182

* significant at the .05 level ** significant at the .01 level

Table 5.44 demonstrates that attending Carmel is a critical factor in the formation of the pupil's Jewish Identity. There is a consistently large disparity in response to question on Jewish Identity between those who have attended Carmel less than four years, and those who have attended more than four years. For example, while 83% of those who have attended Carmel more than 4 years would like to be reborn Jewish, would like their children to be Jewish, believe that being proud of their Jewish heritage and of being Jewish are essential for a good Jew, only 18% of those who attended less than 4 years responded in a similar fashion.

TABLE 5.44 INTERACTION BETWEEN JEWISH IDENTITY AND YEARS IN CARMEL

Years in Carmel	being Jewish important in life	yes-want reborn Jewish	parents' knowledge good	Essential Proud of J. heritage	Essent Proud to be Jewish	V. import children Jewish
1 to 4	17%	18%	13%	18%	18%	18%
5 to 1	84%	83%	88%	82%	83%	83%
Gamma	.27	.52	.57	.25	.52	.40
Pearson	1.36	1.40	12.90*	.97	1.40	.83

5.7.4 Home Environment and Jewish Identity

A Varimax **factor analysis** was conducted in order to explore possible links between the home environment and Jewish Identity. Three underlying factors, linking parental home background and Jewish identity, were found:

The first factor seems to have been loaded with aspects of family activities related to Jewishness. This factor included religious observance and active involvement in Jewish organisations and in the Jewish community. The second factor reflected different facets of Jewish Identity, such as pride in being Jewish and in Jewish heritage, and wanting to be Jewish if one had a choice. The third factor seems to have been loaded with more passive elements of Jewishness, such as having Jewish friends, books/decorations, and concern for Hebrew. Linkage between home environment and Jewish Identity can be discerned from the pattern of loading on the different factors, as can be seen in Appendix D.

From the factor analysis we can see that those who are more orthodox tend to be associated with have more Jewish content in their house and are also more involved in communal activities. It seems that involvement in the Jewish community interacts with the level of observance and has a limited effect on Jewish Identity of the children as an independent variable.

Factors 2 and 3 support the contention that the home makes an important contribution to the Jewish Identity of the offspring. However, observant and

involved families do not have a monopoly on imparting strong Jewish Identity to their children.

In conclusion, the findings suggest that differences in Jewish Identity cannot be unqualifiably attributed to the family nor to the Jewish school, but rather there is an interaction between the school and the home. The school has an impact, but has a greater impact on families who are more observant of religious ritual, and/or knowledgeable of Judaism. Involvement in the community alone does not have the same correlative effect. This coincides with the findings of Sigal, August Beltempo (1981), Cohen (1974) Praeger and Telushkin (1988) and Etzioni-Halevy and Shapira (1975). This is also consonant with Levine (1986): Involvement in community activities is not sufficient to assure the continuity of the Jewish People; religious observance was important.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 The Role of Carmel College in the Durban Jewish Community

The Jewish Day School in Durban, Carmel College, was established in a relatively small community characterised by a low level of religious observance and high motivation for assimilation into the non-Jewish environment. Nevertheless there was a strong nucleus of committed and affiliated Jews who succeeded in putting this project on its feet and making Carmel College an intrinsic and inseparable part of the Jewish Community (Cohen 1982) An observer who goes to the Synagogue or the Temple during the year would usually see them relatively empty; however, if he should come during the High Holidays, Rosh Hashana or Yom Kippur, he would encounter a "packed house" and standing room only. He would wonder where all these Jews come from.

This, generally, depicts the Durban Jewish community: Jews whose commitment to Judaism is constrained but who, nevertheless, do not entertain the thought of abandoning their Judaism and assimilating or converting. This also conveys the paucity of Jewishness and Judaism the children receive in the home. The onus lies on the Jewish Day School to impart knowledge of what Judaism is and the Jewish People are, and to motivate the pupils to love their religion and People sufficiently that they will remain committed Jews. A great many parents send their children to the school to socialise them into Judaism.

By failing to fulfil this function the school would be remiss and would be abusing the trust placed in it. The school constitutes a heavy financial burden on the Jewish community and the question is whether the results justify the expense.

This was precisely the aim of this study: to gauge the success of the school in imparting a commitment to Judaism, to the Jewish People and to the State of Israel.

6.2 The Jewish Identity of Carmel Pupils

To the pupils of Carmel College, being Jewish meant both a commitment to the Jewish People and Judaism and a concern for society. It meant being proud to be a Jew and of Jewish heritage. The overwhelmingly majority would want to be born Jewish if they were born anew, and would consciously bring up their children as Jews, thus demonstrating the high valence that being a member of the Jewish group has for the pupils.

The home is the main vehicle for the transmission of Jewish attachment. The parents, on the whole, maintain a semblance of religious ritual (Candles, Kiddush and Seder) but attendance at services is poor. Jewish education was more effective for pupils who came from homes where there was a higher level of religious observance and/or knowledge of Judaism and Jewish history.

The pupils in the lower standards plan to maintain the same level of religious observance of their parents, but the percentage of those who intend to raise the level of observance rises in the higher standards, reflecting a tendency to intensify affiliation. This trend of heightened attraction for the Jewish People was accompanied by the trend towards greater religious skepticism. This ostensible contradiction demonstrates one of the great characteristics of Judaism: it is possible to be a loyal and dedicated Jew without being religious.

Two strong trends become evident as we advance in the standards: on the one hand the pupils have more non-Jewish friends and on the other they are interested in knowing more about their religion and are more adamant about not marrying outside the religion.

One of the principal manifestations of alignment with the Jewish People is the feeling of "Am Achad" (one people), a mutual guarantee (Arvut Haddadit) between all parts. If one part of the body is suffering, then the entire body suffers.

Each Jew has a subjective obligation to other Jews in the world. It is one of the most important values of Judaism; it has guaranteed Jewish survival for generations. The success of the school is reflected in the feeling of interdependence with other Jews, expressed in a willingness to provide help and support to Jews who are in need. It is precisely this feeling of kinship which is effected by the absence of Jewish schooling.

A definitive symbol of this "Arvut Haddadit" is the State of Israel. Attachment to and support for the State of Israel is the epitome of the mutual responsibility which moulds all the Jews into one people, because it incorporates the concern for Jews and concern for the "Jewish People" as an entity. The task of creating this conscious emotion falls upon the school. The lack of Jewish schooling diminishes the bond to Israel. It seems that it is precisely this feeling of "Arvut Haddadit" which is weak in pupils who have had little or no Jewish schooling.

There is a tendency to associate with Jews but not exclusively. A definite fear of the possibility of anti-Semitism exists but it is perceived vaguely as being in the future. It has no concrete connection to non-Jews in South Africa who are perceived as not being very anti-Semitic.

The study also showed that the Jewish child does not limit his obligation to aiding Jews exclusively but feels it is incumbent upon a Jew to be responsible towards mankind. The pupils showed a pronounced particularistic orientation, which is essential to assure the continuity of the survival and the bond between all parts of the Jewish People, but at the same time demonstrated a universalistic orientation.

The rejection of assimilation by the pupils testifies to the fact that they see their future, and that of their children, within the corpus of the Jewish People. Conversion of the Jew as the antecedent of intermarriage, even for love, was

universally rejected; conversion of the non-Jew as the antecedent of intermarriage was wholeheartedly supported.

The great majority of the pupils ascribed importance in their life to the fact that they were Jewish, but this Jewishness was a minor factor in formulating their plans for the future. This is probably because plans for the future are usually career plans and in South Africa being Jewish is no obstacle to choosing and advancing in your chosen profession. Only a very small percentage make an Aliyah to Israel and for these isolated individuals being Jewish is a major force in this life-decision.

Reinforcing the impression of the centrality of Jewishness in the life of the pupils is the prominence attributed to Jewish knowledge and the stress placed on the knowledge of the fundamentals of Judaism. An accident of birth and a superficial ascription to the Jewish People was not considered sufficient.

Subtle differences were apparent between the pupils affiliated to the Synagogue relative to those affiliated to the Temple, but on the whole they were not significant, but mainly differences in emphasis. Similarly, the differences between the sexes did not reflect inherent differences in the intensity of Jewish Identity.

The achievement of the school's goals can be measured in the gap between those pupils who have attended Carmel College for a considerable number of years in comparison with those who have had the benefit of a Jewish education for only a limited number of years. The attachment to the Jewish People and Judaism, the repudiation of the option of assimilation, as well as religious observance and beliefs were significant, indicating that Carmel has substantially enhanced the commitment to the Jewish People and the Jewish religion of its pupils.

These findings were supported by the comparative study with non-Carmel pupils, which pinpointed the commitment to the Jewish People and the State of Israel as being especially effected in by the lack of identification with

In conclusion Judaism and Jewishness are of crucial importance in the life-space of the pupils and their self-image, but have not detracted from their comprehensive view of the world. Attending Carmel has made them better Jews and better human beings.

6.3 Assimilation versus Separateness

Two opposing forces vie for domination over the Jew in contemporary society. On the one hand the Jew is part and parcel of modern civilisation and it is incumbent upon him to unconditionally integrate into society. These forces towards integration are activated externally, by society's expectations and demands on all citizens, and are activated internally by the Jew's strong motivation to merge within the dominant society and to accentuate the similarity between himself and non-Jews.

On the other hand, the Jewish religion and the Jewish community, with all its variegated institutions, propel the Jew towards more involvement in Jewish activities, Jewish organisations, and more Jewish consciousness, which is eminently differentiated from secular, modern perceptions and ideology.

The literature demonstrated that integration, translated into assimilation, presages the extinction of the Jewish People. Inter-marriage, marginality to the Jewish community and indifference to the Jewish religion accelerate this process.

Pride in being a Jew, knowledge of Judaism and what it means to be a Jew, a positive attitude towards Mitzvot, and a feeling of closeness with Jews and the Jewish community impede the process.

The study of the Jewish Identity of Jewish scholars at the Jewish Day School in Durban was supportive of the literature. The pupils at Carmel College affirmed their ascription to the Jewish People, their commitment to Judaism and their

approval of intermarriage was qualified by the proviso that the non-Jew convert to Judaism. The family provided the foundation for Jewish ascription; the school implemented it. The children come from families who maintain some Jewish ritual; the school builds upon this foundation.

6.4 Some qualifications

The findings suggest that Jewish education has a positive impact on the formation of Jewish Identity, but only under certain limitations. There is no magic formula that will create a Jewish Identity overnight. It is a gradual and cumulative process over years. One or two years of Jewish schooling has a very limited effect on the Jewish Identity of the child. Furthermore, a home that maintains a very low-profile Judaism is sending a clear message to the children regarding the marginal importance the parents attach to Judaism. Sending a child to a Jewish school may even be detrimental as it will place him/her in a dilemma because of conflicting messages from the home and the school. Schools without the backing of Jewishly committed homes are no guarantee against spiritual erosion.

The role of the Jewish school is not only to ensure a committed Jew, but a moral and responsible Jew. By viewing the world through "Jewish-coloured glasses" the pupil, and later as an adult, will sense that whatever difficulties he encounters in life as a Jew and as a human being, his Jewish civilisation can help him face.

The study focused on attitudes. Whether these attitudes will translate into a Jewish life-style and a commitment to the Jewish People, the Jewish community and to Israel is a matter of speculation. The goal of the Jewish Day School is that the years spent at the school should influence the lives of graduates after leaving high school.

The long term influence of Jewish education is especially relevant in South African society which is currently undergoing vast changes. The curriculum of Jewish studies must be relevant to the every day life of the pupils. Values, such

as social justice, compassion, brotherhood, freedom, the importance and the divine potential of the individual, the sanctity of life itself and the sense of identification with all Jews, should be more than subjects to be learnt for an examination and subsequently forgotten. The hope is that they are lessons learnt for life. Only when the lessons are translated into lifestyles will Jewish education really make a difference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Adar, Zvi, Jewish Education in South Africa: A Report, under the auspicious of the S.A. Board of Jewish Education, Jerusalem, 1965
- Arkin, Marcus, South African Jewry, ed.. Oxford University Press, Capetown, 1984
- Backhouse, Michael, A., A Study of Some Factors Influencing the Individual-Organization Interface and Their Effects on Job Satisfaction and Human Performance Among Some Agencies in the Durban Customs Clearing and Forwarding Industry, M.A. Thesis, University of Natal, Durban, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, 1986
- Capolovitz, David . Sherrow, Fred, The Religious Drop-Out: Apostasy among College Graduates, Sage Library of Social Research, U.S.A., 1977
- Cohen, Stephen. A History of Jews of Durban 1919 - 1961, Doctoral thesis submitted to the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, University of Natal, 1982, vol 1-2
- Cohen, Stephen. N. American Modernity and Jewish Identity, Tavistock Publications, N.Y., 1980
- Dashevsky A. Shapiro H., Ethnic Identification among American Jews, Lexington Books, Lexington Mass. , 1974
- De Vos George and Romanucci-Ross. Ethnic Identity, Mayfield Publishing Co., California, 1975.

Dubb, Allie, Jewish South Africans, Occasional Paper Number Twenty One, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 1977

Glazer, Nathan and Moyinham, Daniel, Beyond the Melting Pot, the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the M.I.T., 2nd edition, 1970

Glazer N and Moyinhan N, Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975

Goldstein, S. Goldscheider, C., Jewish Americans : Three Generations in a Jewish Community, Prentice-Hall, N.J., 1968

Goldscheider, C., Zuckerman, Alan S., The Transformation of the Jews, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984

Gordon, Milton M, Human Nature, Class, Ethnicity, Oxford University Press, 1978, N.Y.

Francis, E.K. Interethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory, Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co. Inc., New, York, 1975

Gordon, M.M., Assimilation in America, OUP, N.Y., 1964

Hamburg, Morris, Statistical Analysis for Decision Making, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, N.Y., 1983

Hayman, Jeremy, A Case Study of the Modern Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox sectors of Johannesburg Jewry, with Special Reference to their Educational Institutions, M.Ed Thesis, Witwatersrand University, 1988

- Herman, Simon, Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, 1977
- Himmelfarb, Milton, The Jews of Modernity, Basic Books Inc. New York, 1973
- Kark, E., The Jewish Matriculate, M.A. degree at the Witwatersrand University, 1973
- Leibman, Charles and Don Yehiya, Eliezer, Religion and Politics in Israel, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984
- Neusner, Jacob, American Judaism, Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1972
- Praefer Dennis and Telushkin, Joseph, Eight Questions People Ask, Tze Ulemad, New York, 1975
- Reisman, Bernard, The Jewish Experiential Book: The Quest for Jewish Identity, Ktav Publishing House Inc. N.Y., 1979
- Runyon, Richard and Haber, Audrey, Fundamentals of Behavioral Statistics, Addison-Wesley, 1984
- Shain, Milton, Antisemitism in South Africa, Doctorate thesis University of Capetown, 1990
- Silberman, Charles, A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today, Summit Books, 1995
- Sklare, Marshall, The Jew in American Society, Benjman, 1974
- Sklare, Marshall, Green, Um, J., Love Lies: Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, AUC and Basic Books, N.Y., 1997

ARTICLES

- Alston, Jon P., McIntosh, Wm. Alex. " An Assessment of Determinants of Religious Participation", The Sociological Quarterly, 20 (winter), 1979, pp 49
- 62
- Brandes, Stanley, " Jewish-American Dialect Jokes and Jewish-American Identity", Jewish Social Studies, Vol. XLV, 1983, pp 233 - 239
- Brodbar-Nemzer, Jay Y., "Marital Relationships and Self-Esteem: How Jewish Families Are Different", Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 48 (1) Feb. 1986, pp 89 - 98
- Clarke, Cynthia, A. , Worthington, Everett L. Jr., and Danser, Donald B., "The Transmission of Religious Beliefs and Practices from Parents to Firstborn Early Adolescent Sons", Journal of Marriage and Family, 50, May 1988, 463-472
- Cohen, Stephen, M., " The American Jewish Community: A Contemporary Evaluation", Zionist Ideas. No. 17, Department of Development and Community Services, Jerusalem, 1988. pp 90-94
- Cohen Stephen, M., "The Impact of Jewish Education on religious Identification and Practice" Jewish Social Studies. Vol. 26, 1974. pp 313 - 326
- Cohen, Stephen, M., "Socioeconomic Determinants of Intraethnic Marriage and Friendship", Social Forces, Vol. 55, June 1977, pp 997 - 1010
- Daniger, Herbert M., "Toward a Redefinition of 'Sect' and 'Cult': Orthodox Judaism in the United States and Israel", Comparative Social Research, Vol. 10, 1967, pp 113 - 123

- DellaPerogola , in Jewish Assimilation in Modern Times, edited by Vago, Bela, Jewish Assimilation in Modern Times, ed. westview Press, Boulder Colorado, 1981
- Dubb, Allie, "Jewish Student Attitudes", Jewish Affairs, July 1970, pp 8 - 11
- Dubb, Allie, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in a South African City", African Studies, Vol. 29, 1970, 111 - 127
- Dubb, Allie, "Changes in Ethnic Attitudes of Jewish Youth in Johannesburg", Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 34, 1972, pp 58 - 72
- Dubb, Allie, "The S.A. Jewish Student and His Jewishness", Jewish Affairs, July 1979, 4 - 7
- Ellman, Yisrael, "Intermarriage in the United States: A Comparative Study of Jews and Other Ethnic Groups", Jewish Social Studies, 1987, pp 1 - 26
- Etzioni-Halevy, Eva and Shapira, Rina. "Jewish Identification of Israeli Students: What Lies Ahead", Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 32, 1975, 251 - 255
- Farber, Bernard, Gordon, Leonard. "Accounting for Jewish Intermarriage: An Assessment of National and Community Studies", Contemporary Judaism, 1982
- Flusser, David, "The Dangers of the New Assimilation", Jewish Identity Today, World Zionist Organization, Department of Information, 1979, pp 64 - 72
- Freidenreich, Pomeranz P., "The Unwritten Curriculum in the Jewish Day School", Jewish Education, 52(1), Spring 1984
- Freidman, Norman L., "On the 'Non-Effects' of Jewish Education on Mass Students: A Critique", Jewish Education, 52(2), Summer, 1984

Freidman, Norman L., "On the 'Non-Effects' of Jewish Education on Most Students: A Critique, Jewish Education, 52(2), Summer, 1984

• Hammond, Phillip E., "Religion and the Persistence of Identity", Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 27(1), 1988, pp 1-11

Hatchuel, Dina, "Why Therapeutic Services in the Jewish Day School?", Chinuch, Vol. 2, No.1, May 1985, pp 25-28

Heilman, Samuel C., "The Sociology of American Jewry: The Last Ten Years", Annual Review of Sociology, 8, 1982 pp 135 - 160

Helig, Jocelyn, "Religious Expression", in South African Jewry, edited by Marcus Arkin, Oxford University Press, Capetown, 1984

Helig, Jocelyn, "The Religious Expression of South African Jewry", Religion in Southern Africa, Vol. 8, No 2, July 1987, pp 2 - 17

Himmelfarb, Harold, S. "Patterns of Assimilation-Identification Among American Jews", Ethnicity 6, 1979, pp 249 - 267

Himmelfarb, Harold S., "The Study of American Jewish Identification: How it is Defined, Measured, Obtained, Sustained and Lost", Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1980, 19(1), pp 48 - 60

Himmelfarb, Harold, S. "The Interaction Effects of Parents, Spouse and Schooling: Comparing the Impact of Jewish and Catholic Schools", The Sociological Quarterly 18, Autumn 1977, pp 463-477

- Himmelfarb, Harold S., "The Non-Linear Impact of Schooling: Comparing Different Types and Amounts of Jewish Education", Sociology of Education, Vol. 50, 1977, pp 114 - 132
- Horowitz Donald, "Ethnic Identity", in Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, in Glazer N and Moyinhan N Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975, 111-140
 - Isaacs Harold R., "Basic Group Identity: The Idols of the Tribe", in Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, in Glazer N and Moyinhan N Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975, 29-52
- Kosmin. Barry ,Waterman, Stanley, "Recent Trends in Anglo-Jewish Marriages", Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXVIII No.1, June 1968, 49 - 58
- Lasker, Arnold. "A Quest for Identity", Forum, 44, 1981 pp 59 - 67
- Lazerwitz, Bernard. "Contrasting the Effects of Generation, Class, Sex and Age on Group Identification in the Jewish and Protestant Communities". Social Forces, Vol. 49, 1970 - 1971, pp 50 - 59
- Lazerwitz, Bernard. "Religious Identification and its ethnic correlates: A Multivariate Model", Social Forces, Vol 52, Dec. 1973, pp 204 - 220
- Lazerwitz, Bernard. "An Estimate of a Rare Population Group: The U.S. Jewish Population", Demography, Vol. 15. No. 3. August 1978, pp 389-394
- Lazerwitz, Bernard, Harrison. Michael. "American Jewish Denominations: A Social and Religious Profile", American Sociological Review, Vol. 44. August 1979. pp 656-666

Leibman, Charles, "Orthodox Judaism Today", Midstream, 25, (August/September) 1979, 19 - 26

Levin, Mark, "Jewish Education in South Africa: A Survey", Jewish Education, Vol 42, 1973, 29-33

Levine, Betty C., "Religious Commitment and Integration Into A Jewish Community in the United States", Review of Religious Research, Vol. 27, No. 4, June 1986, pp 328 - 343

Mazabow, Gerald. "Jewish Educational Goals Must be Formulated in Terms of Present Day Realities", Chinuch, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp 4-6

Medding, Peter Y. "The Politics of Jewry as a Mobilized Diaspora" Culture, Ethnicity, and Identity: Current Issues in Research, Edited by McCready, William, Academic Press, N.Y., 1983, 195 - 207

Mithun, Jacqueline S. "The Role of the Family in Acculturation and Assimilation in America: A Psychocultural Dimension", in Culture, Ethnicity, and Identity: Current Issues in Research, Edited by McCready, William, Academic Press, N.Y., 1983, 209 - 221

Monahan, Thomas P., "The Extent of Intergenominational Marriage in the United States", Review of Religious Research, Vol. 10, 1971, pp 85-92

Monahan, Thomas, "Some Dimensions of Interreligious Marriages in Indiana 1962-1967", Social Forces, Vol. 52, ec. 1973, pp 195-203

Coenreber, Vera. "Patterns of Outmarriage and Inmarriage Among Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors", Journal of Reform Judaism, Winter 1987, Vol. XXXIV No 1 pp 1 -9

Parsons, Talcott, "Some theoretical Considerations of the Nature and Trends of Change in Ethnicity", in Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, in Glazer N and Moynihan N Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975, 53-83

Sanua, Victor ., "Patterns of Identification with the Jewish Community in the U.S.A.", Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol.6, 1964, pp 190 - 212

- Segalman, Ralph, "Jewish Identity Scales: A Report", Jewish Social Studies, Vol 29, 1967

Sigal, John, August, David, and Beltempo, Joseph, "Impact of Jewish Education in a group of Adolescents", Jewish Social Studies, 1981, pp 229 - 236

Shenhar, S., "Anti-Semitism in Contemporary (White) South Africa", Chinuch, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp 7-14

- Steinberg, B., "The Anatomy of Jewish Identification: A Historical and Theoretical Review, Relig. Res. 7(1), pp 45- 53

Steinberg, Bernard, "Jewish Education in the United States: A Study in Religio-Ethnic Response, The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol.21, June 1979, 5-35

- Waintrater, Meir, "Jewish Youth in the Diaspora in its search for Identification", Youth Today, edited by Gattneif Y. . Publication of the World Zionist Movement, Tel Aviv, 1970, pp 142 - 147

Wasserstein, Bernard, "Jewish Identification Among Students at Oxford", Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol.13 Dec.1971, 135-151

West, Vera, "The Influence of Parental Background on Jewish University Students", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10 (2), Dec. 1968, pp 267 -280

Yogev, Abraham and El-Dor, Judith, Attitudes and Tendencies Toward Return to Judaism Among Israeli Adolescents: Seekers or Drifters", The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol.29 No. June 1987, pp 5 - 18

Zisenwine, David and Kraemer, Roberta, "The Impact of a South African Jewish School", Forum, issues 57/58, 1985/1986

Report on a Study of Jewish Day School matriculants in the R.S.A., Jewish Board of Deputies, Social Research Unit, Johannesburg

Newspaper articles

Arkin, Marcus, "Confronting Assimilation in Contemporary Jewish Communities", Jewish Chronicle, Feb. 6, 1980

Zionist Record, February 1, 1991

Zionist Record, August 8, 1991

Zionist Record, February 14, 1992

INTRODUCTION

I am a lecturer at the University of Natal and am currently conducting a study regarding the dimensions of Jewish identity among Jewish youth in Durban.

I would greatly appreciate your assistance in completing the following questionnaire. If the class is interested, I would gladly come to report on the conclusions when the results of the study have been compiled and analysed.

I wish to emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers.

Please give the answer which most closely approximates what you feel and/or believe.

I would also like a few volunteers to participate in personal interviews. Inasmuch as the questionnaire is completely anonymous, please indicate your interest in a personal interview by writing your name on the questionnaire before you hand it in.

If you have any questions while answering the questionnaire, please do not hesitate to call me.

PERSONAL DETAILS

Please fill in the following information :

- a) In which standard are you in ?
- b) How many years have you been a pupil at Carmel College ?

Circle the relevant answer :

- c) sex - male/ female
- d) affiliation - Synagogue / Temple

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

- 1) Compared to your parents, to what extent do you intend to observe the Mitzvot (religious laws)in your own home ?
 - a) more observant
 - b) same as parents
 - c) less observant

 - 2) Are candles usually lit in your home on Friday evenings ?
 - a) yes
 - b) no

 - 3) Is Kiddush over wine usually said in your home on Friday evenings ?
 - a) yes
 - b) no

 - 4) Do you usually participate in a Seder on Passover ?
 - a) yes
 - b) no

 - 5) Is it important to you to bring up your children as Jews ?
 - a) it is very important
 - b) it is important
 - c) it is of little importance
 - d) it is of no importance

 - 6) How often do you attend Synagogue/Temple services?
 - a) almost always
 - b) often
 - c) seldom
 - d) almost never

 - 7) Are you satisfied with the Jewish education you are receiving.
 - a) no, I would like to receive more Jewish education
 - b) yes, I'm reasonably satisfied
 - c) no, I would like to receive less Jewish education

 - 8) Do you regard the problems of Jews in other countries as your problems also ?
 - a) almost always
 - b) often
 - c) seldom
 - d) almost never
- /

- 9) If a non-Jew were to meet me and mistake me as being non-Jewish, I would correct his misperception and tell him that I am a Jew.
- a) I certainly would
 - b) I probably would
 - c) I doubt if I would
 - d) I would not bother
- 10) What proportion of your close friends are Jewish ?
- a) above 70%
 - b) between 25% - 70%
 - c) less than 25%
- 11) When you are in a non-Jewish environment do you consider yourself as representing the Jews?
- a) almost always
 - b) often
 - c) seldom
 - d) almost never
- 12) When a South African newspaper insults the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were insulting you ?
- a) almost always
 - b) often
 - c) seldom
 - d) almost never
- 13) Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of the Jewish people?
- a) almost always
 - b) often
 - c) seldom
 - d) almost never
- 14) Do you think that the behavior of Jews does make some contribution towards anti-Semitism ?
- a) almost never
 - b) seldom
 - c) often
 - d) almost always

15) Does being Jewish influence your plans for the future ?

- a) almost always
- b) often
- c) seldom
- d) almost never

16) Do you think non-Jews are anti-Semitic ?

- a) yes, almost all
- b) a large proportion
- c) a substantial proportion
- d) only a small minority

17) Does the fact that you are Jewish play an important part in your life ?

- a) it plays an important part
- b) it plays a part to a certain extent
- c) it is of little importance
- d) it plays no part

18) When a South African newspaper praises the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were praising you ?

- a) almost always
- b) often
- c) seldom
- d) almost never

19) If you were born anew, would you wish to be born Jewish?

- a) yes, I would
- b) it makes no difference to me
- c) no, I would not

Please indicate in the following question how close you feel to the following:

	very close	close	not so close
20) To South African Jewry	a	b	c
21) To Jewish life.	a	b	c
22) To the local Jewish Community	a	b	c

.../.

To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements:

Statements

23) Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa , could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews .

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

24) God is the Creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

25) A young Jew/ess who really loves a gentile should give up his/her Jewishness if this is the only way he/she could marry her/him.

- a) strongly disagree
- b) disagree
- c) agree
- d) strongly agree

26) The Torah (Bible) is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt. Sinai and may not be changed.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

27) I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

28) God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

29) Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

30) God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

31) I think it is understandable when Jews adopt non-Jewish customs.

- a) strongly disagree
- b) disagree
- c) agree
- d) strongly agree

32) Our continual survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

33) Our continual survival as Jews is mainly dependent on our maintaining Jewish beliefs and customs.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

.../.

34) One should try to observe as many of the Mitzvot
(Jewish religious laws) as possible.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

35) It is important to know the fundamentals of Judaism.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

36) I feel a close kinship to the Jewish people throughout
the world.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

37) It is important to marry within the Jewish faith.

- a) strongly agree
- b) agree
- c) disagree
- d) strongly disagree

38) If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his
Jewish-sounding name, he is justified in changing his
name.

- a) strongly disagree
- b) disagree
- c) agree
- d) strongly agree

39) It is not necessary to observe all the Mitzvot
(Jewish religious laws) . One should only observe those
that are personally meaningful.

- a) strongly disagree
- b) disagree
- c) agree
- d) strongly agree

40) Complete the following sentence:

We are Jews but they are _____.

41) In the foreseeable future do you believe anti-Semitism is likely to endanger the existence of the Jewish communities in the diaspora (outside of Israel)?

- a) I am certain it is
- b) I believe it is
- c) I believe it is not
- d) I am certain it is not

42) In the foreseeable future do you believe the Jewish communities in the diaspora (outside of Israel) will retain their Jewish character ?

- a) I am certain they will
- b) I believe they will
- c) I believe they will not
- d) I am certain they will not

43) A youth/young girl living in the diaspora who is not not prepared to settle in Israel - what should he/she do ?

- a) he/she should maintain his/her Jewishness
- b) he/she should assimilate

44) Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew (ess) ?

- a) I would not agree under any circumstances
- b) yes, if he/she converts
- c) yes, just as with a Jew/Jewess

45) What is your opinion of a Jew who converts to another religion?

- a) I am opposed to conversion
- b) Am opposed but may understand him/her
- c) It is each person's private affair'
- d) Have a positive opinion

To what extent are the following important in order to be a good Jew :

- a - essential in order to be a good Jew (essen.)
- b - very desirable in order to be a good Jew (very desi)
- c - desirable in order to be a good Jew (desir.)
- d - irrelevant in regard to being a good Jew (irrel.)

	essen	very desi	desir	irrel
46) attends Synagogue/Temple	a	b	c	d
47) celebrates Bar/Bat Mitzvah	a	b	c	d
48) a loyal citizen of South Africa	a	b	c	d
49) lights Sabbath candles	a	b	c	d
50) helps other Jews in South Africa	a	b	c	d
51) takes an interest in the fate of Jews in the world	a	b	c	d
52) active in making S. Africa into a democratic society	a	b	c	d
53) Proud of Jewish heritage	a	b	c	d
54) Knows the fundamentals of Judaism	a	b	c	d
55) Proud to be a Jew	a	b	c	d
56) Observes traditional Jewish religious customs	a	b	c	d
57) Feels attached to Israel	a	b	c	d
58) Active in obtaining Justice for all groups in S. Africa	a	b	c	d
59) accepts his being Jewish and does not try to hide it	a	b	c	d
50) supports all humanitarian causes	a	b	c	d
51) leads an ethical & moral life	a	b	c	d
52) marries within the Jewish faith	a	b	c	d

THANK YOU

APPENDIX B

1

The following questionnaire contains a number of questions concerning you and your family. Families differ in the extent that they observe the Jewish rituals and participate in Jewish affairs. I would appreciate your honest evaluation of your home background. Please give your own ideas, what you yourself think. Do not answer in a way you think anyone else might answer.

-) How many years have you studied at Carmel College? ____
-) Sex : male/Female
-) Standard ____
-) How would you describe your family background?
 - a) strictly Orthodox
 - b) Orthodox, but not strictly
 - c) Reform
 - d) secular, but observe some religious customs
 - e) secular
-) Does the fact that you are Jewish play an important part in your life
 -) it plays no part
 -) it is of little importance
 -) it plays a part to a certain extent
 -) it plays an important part
-) How active are either of your parents in a Zionist or a Jewish organisation?
 -) not a member of either a Jewish or a Zionist organisation.
 -) a member, but not active at all
 -) mostly inactive
 -) somewhat active
 -) very active
-) How concerned would your parents be if you achieved poor marks in Jewish studies: Would they be less or more concerned than if you were to achieve poor marks in other compulsory subjects?
 -) more concerned
 -) about the same as with other subjects
 -) less concerned

) Is it important to you to bring up your children as Jews

-) it is very important
-) it is important
-) it is of lesser importance
-) it is of no importance

) To what extent are the following true of your family and home?

	YES	NOT SURE	NO
) There are no or few books on Judaism/Jews in my home.	1	2	3
) My parents encourage me to associate primarily with Jewish friends.	1	2	3
) There are no or few pictures/decorations/records of Jewish content in my home.	1	2	3
) I discuss topics relating to Judaism and/or Zionism with my parents.	1	2	3
) My parents encourage me to mix with boys/girls my age regardless of religion	1	2	3
) Most of the friends of our family are non-Jews.	1	2	3
) My parent/s usually attend(s) Synagogue/ Temple services	1	2	3

0) How often do either of your parents attend functions in the Jewish community?

	often	sometimes	seldom	never
) functions at the Jewish club	1	2	3	4
) functions at Carmel College	1	2	3	4
) functions of any other Jewish organisation	1	2	3	4

1) Are the following observances practised in your home

	never	almost never	not sure	almost always	always
) attend Synagogue on High Holidays	1	2	3	4	5
) fast on Yom Kippur	1	2	3	4	5
) celebrate Sukkoth	1	2	3	4	5
) light Channukah candles	1	2	3	4	5
) abstain from bread on Pesach	1	2	3	4	5
) keep kosher	1	2	3	4	5
) abstain from recreation on the Sabbath	1	2	3	4	5

2) To what extent are the following important in order to be a good Jew: a) essential (essen) b) very desirable (very desir) c) desirable (desir) d) irrelevant (irrele)

	essen	very desir	desir	irrele
) knows the fundamentals of Judaism	1	2	3	4
) proud of Jewish heritage	1	2	3	4
) proud to be a Jew	1	2	3	4
) accepts his being Jewish and does not try to hide it	1	2	3	4

3) How concerned would your parents be if you achieved poor marks in Hebrew: Would they be less or more concerned than if you were to achieve poor marks in other compulsory subjects ?

-) more concerned
-) about the same as with other subjects
-) less concerned

4) How would you characterise the level of observance of your family?

- a) not observant
- b) somewhat observant
- c) not sure
- d) observant
- e) very observant

5) If you were born anew, would you wish to be born Jewish

- a) yes, I would
- b) it makes no difference to me
- c) no, I would not*

6) How knowledgeable are your parent/s about Jewish history and/or the Jewish religion?

- a) have no knowledge
- b) have a little knowledge
- c) have a fair knowledge
- d) have a good knowledge

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

136 pupils studying at Carmel College, Durban.

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY STANDARDS:

Standard	Frequency	Percent
6	17	12.5
7	27	19.9
8	21	15.4
9	35	25.7
10	35	25.7

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY YEARS AT CARMEL

Value	Frequency	Percent
1-2	16	11.8
3-4	16	11.7
5-6	5	3.7
7-8	17	12.5
9-10	44	32.3
11-12	34	25.0

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY SEX

Value	Frequency	Percent
Male	73	53.7
Female	63	46.3

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY AFFILIATION

Affiliation	Frequency	Percent
Synagogue	122	89.7
Temple	12	8.8
no affiliation	2	1.5

APPENDIX D

TABLE D.1 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
1	Compared to your parents, to what extent do you intend to observe the Mitzvoth in your own home?	.2223
2	Are candles usually lit in your home on Friday evening?	.1693
3	Is Kiddush over wine usually said in your own home on Friday evening	.3769
4	Do you usually participate in a Seder on Passover ?	.1668
6	How often do you attend Synagogue/ Temple services?	.3663
33	Our continual survival as Jews is mainly dependent on our maintaining Jewish beliefs and customs	.3670
34	One should try to observe as many of the Mitzvoth as possible.	.5626
39	It is not necessary to observe all the Mitzvoth. One should only observe only those that are personally meaningful	.2756
46	Attends Synagogue/Temple	.5284
47	Celebrates Bar/Bat Mitzvah	.2984
49	Lights Sabbath Candles	.5318
56	Observes traditional Jewish religious customs	.5181

Alpha = .7311

Standardized Item Alpha = .7273

TABLE D.2 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - PIETISM

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
24	God is the Creator of the universe and continues to guide its destiny	.4803
26	The Torah is the word of God given to the Jews through Moses on Mt. Sinai and may not be changed	.6117
28	God has chosen the Jewish people as a nation of priests to the rest of mankind.	.4650
29	Jews have higher ethical and moral standards than non-Jews.	.4437
30	God is concerned with each one of us and may be reached through prayer.	.5243

Alpha = 7155

Standardized Item Alpha = 7200

TABLE D.3 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - UNIVERSALISM

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
48	A loyal citizen of South Africa	.2997
52	Active in making South Africa into a democratic society	.5499
58	Active in obtaining justice for all groups in South Africa	.5159
60	Supports all humanitarian causes	.5373

Alpha = 7114

Standardized Item Alpha .7045

TABLE D.5 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - COMMITMENT TO
THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
8	Do you regard the problems of Jews in other countries as your problems also ?	.5306
12	When a South African newspaper insults the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were insulting you?	.6041
13	Do you feel that your fate and future is bound up with the fate and future of the Jewish people?	.5031
18	When a South African newspaper praises the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were praising you?	.4539
20	How close do you feel to South African Jewry ?	.4536
36	I feel a close kinship to the Jewish people throughout the world.	.6880
41	In the foreseeable future do you believe that anti-Semitism is likely to endanger the existence of Jewish communities in the diaspora ?	.2654
50	Helps other Jews in South Africa	.6432
51	Takes an interest in the fate of Jews in the world.	.5106
Alpha =	.8056	Standardized Item Alpha .8107

TABLE D.5 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - SOCIAL RELATIONS WITH NON-JEWS

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
9	If a non-Jew were to meet me and mistake me as being non-Jewish, I would correct his misperception and tell him that I am a Jew.	.2720
10	What proportion of your friends are Jewish?	.4057
11	When you are in a non-Jewish environment do you consider yourself as representing the Jews ?	.5927
16	Do you think non-Jews are anti-Semitic?	.3788
23	Discrimination against non-whites in South Africa could at any time be transferred and directed against Jews.	.2005
27	I feel more at home among Jews than among non-Jews.	.4499
41	In the foreseeable future do you believe anti-Semitism is likely to endanger the existence of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora?	.3555
Alpha =	6660	Standardized Item Alpha .6599

TABLE D.7 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - ASSIMILATION

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
25	A young Jew/ess who really loves a Gentile should give up his/her Jewishness if this is the only way he/she could marry her/him?	.3706
31	I think it is understandable when Jews adopt non-Jewish customs.	.4301
37	It is important to marry within the Jewish faith	.7152
43	A youth/young girl living in the diaspora who is not prepared to settle in Israel - what should he/she do : a) maintain his/her Jewishness b) assimilate	.2868
44	Would you be prepared to marry a non-Jew?	.6556
45	What is your opinion of a Jew who converts to another religion ?	.3773
62	Marryes within the Jewish faith	.6534
Alpha = .7634		Standardized Item Alpha .7685

TABLE D.8 ALPHA RELIABILITY ANALYSIS - ATTACHMENT TO ISRAEL

Variable No.	Variable	Alpha Reliability
32	Our continual survival as Jews is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel.	.5788
57	feels attached to Israel	.5755
Alpha = .7227		Standardized Item Alpha .7330

APPENDIX E

FACTOR 1 Involvement in the Jewish community

1. How would you describe your family background
2. Being Jewish plays an important part in my life
3. How active are your parents in Zionist/Jewish organizations
4. Achievement in Jewish studies
5. Having books/records of Jewish content in the home
6. Attending Synagogue
7. Attending functions at the Jewish club
8. Attending functions at Carmel College
9. Attending functions of other Jewish organizations

Standardized Item Alpha - 8471

FACTOR 2 Aspects of Jewish Identity

1. Important to bring up children as Jews
2. Most of the friends of the family are Jews
3. Jewish heritage essential for a good Jew
4. Being proud to be a Jew essential for a good Jew
5. Accepting the fact you are Jewish essential for a good Jew
6. If born anew would want to be born Jewish
7. Parents are knowledgeable in Judaism and Jewish history

Standardized Item Alpha - 8438

FACTOR 3 Jewishness of the Home

1. Being Jewish plays an important part in life
2. Many books of Jewish content in the home
3. Many decorations of Jewish content in the home
4. Parents encourage to associate only with Jewish friends
5. Parents concerned if achieve poor marks in Hebrew

Standardized Item Alpha - 7399

APPENDIX F

COMMENTS MADE BY THE PUPILS

The following are comments and remarks that the pupils wrote next to their answers. I am presenting them here as they are remarkably illuminating as to their attitudes.

1) God is concerned with each of us

- * "I'm not sure of this statement as my belief in G-d (sic) is not fully confirmed"
- * "I don't know as I have never reached G-d (sic) through prayer."
- * "I Sometimes feel that G-d can reach us through prayers, but other times feel He doesn't." "G-d never helped anyone, even when they pray all the time."

2) God is the Creator of the universe

- * I disagree " because G-d has not been proven to be false neither has he been proven to be real."
- * Not necessarily, not absolutely sure. As a Jew I should say I agree, but I'm being honest."

3) I think it is understandable when Jews adopt non-Jewish customs.

- * "Yes , as some of them are not practicable in today society " (presumably the respondent is referring to adopting non-Jewish customs and abandoning Jewish customs as they are not practical in modern society of today.) "...as Jewish customs are very rigid."
- * "The Jewish customs are very narrow-minded - not practical. It is costly to stick to all Mitzvot " Sometimes it is hard to observe all the Mitzvot. e.g. cost.

4) I feel a close kinship to Jews throughout the world

- * not really. It's hard to feel a bond with people you don't know.

5) Important to marry within Jewish faith

- * "It is a personal option, influenced by your family but love is more important."
- * "depends on one's feelings for the other person, despite religion."
- * "When the time comes to marry I will have to think about it then. One cannot stop one's feelings of love, but if I do marry a non-Jew, I would like my children to be Jewish."
- * "Depends on the person's love for the other person and belief in the religion."

- * "Not necessarily - if love is involved then yes.
 - * "I would try to keep out of the situation of having to choose whether to marry a non-Jew or not. I would try not to have a very serious relationship with a non-Jew."
 - * "I would regard the person only by "inner" beauty.
- 6) If a Jew is handicapped in getting a job because of his Jewish-sounding name , he is justified in changing his name.
- * "It depends on the situation after all he is only changing his name, not his religion.
- 7) ...helps other Jews in South Africa
- * "Help all people, not only Jews"
- 8) Our continual survival as Jews depends on maintaining Jewish beliefs and customs.
- * Disagree - "depends on how religious the individual is"
- 9) It is not necessary to observe all Mitzvoth
- * "I should say I disagree , but I don't observe these Mitzvot
- 10) A youth/young girl living in the diaspora who is not prepared to settle in Israel - should he/she maintain his/her Jewishness or should he/she assimilate
- * "Depending on if they want to be religious or not."
- 11) What is your opinion of a Jew who converts to another religion
- * "they have a right to whatever religion they want and I have no right to object."
- 12) In the foreseeable future do you believe the Jewish communities in Diaspora will retain their Jewish character
- * " some will , some won't depends on the place."
 - * " I hope so."
- 13) Our continual survival is mainly dependent on maintaining a strong bond to Israel
- * "On G-d's protection."
- 14) One should try to observe as many of the Mitzvot as possible
- * "If one is a Jew, they are a Jew -FINAL (sic)."
 - * "They must observe as many Mitzvot as they want , but should not be forced. "
- 15) If you were born anew, would you wish to be born Jewish
- * " Can't be answered as it depends how I was brought up."

APPENDIX G

MEASURES OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

From the literature I have compiled the most widespread measures used by sociologists of the Jews in measuring and analysing Jewish Identification:

- 1) religious behavior / ritual behavior
- 2) Jewish education
- 3) Activities in and contributions to Jewish organizations / formal organizational participation
- 4) Type of Jewish ideology / doctrinal belief
- 5) Attitudes towards Israel
- 6) Concentration of courtship and friendship among Jews / in formal social ties with other Jews
- 7) The Jewish rearing of one's children
- 8) Jewish home background during childhood
- 9) Encounters with anti-Semitism and anxieties over social interaction with non-Jews
- 10) having or seeking knowledge about Judaism

Different researchers have used different combinations of these measures.

For example, in order to investigate Jewish identification patterns Sanua (1964) isolated areas in which the intensity of participation would be indicative to the intensity of the relationship to Jewish life. He measured the length of religious education, amount of charity contributions to both Jewish and non-Jewish causes, the extent of observance of Jewish practices, the attitude towards Israel and finally the patterns of social interaction with Jews and Gentiles. On the basis of his results he derived conclusions as to the connections between his parameters and the strength of Jewish identification.

Dubb (1968) accepted self-definition as a Jew to be sufficient. Dubb reiterated this definition in his latest research on the Jewish community in South Africa (being collated at the time of writing.) A slightly different view was presented by Steinberg (Anatomy of J.I.) who suggested 5 dimensions :

- a) The Tribal, based on a consciousness of kind or sense of peoplehood.
- b) the Religious, arising out of religious commitment and behavior
- c) the Communal, where being a Jew means being with other Jews socially and in communal organizations
- d) the Secular, one identifies with cultural values of Judaism but not with established organizations or parochial aspects.
- e) the Intellectual, in which being Jewish means keeping informed about Jewish life and affairs.

Himmelfarb (1979) devised an instrument to measure religious involvement which yielded eight orthogonal factors or types of religious involvement :

- a) Devotional - ritual observance
- B) Doctrinal-Experiential - belief in basic tenets of the faith and experience of a supernatural presence
- C) Associational - participation in Jewish organizations
- d) Fraternal - residence in a Jewish neighborhood and mostly Jewish friends
- E) Parental - child rearing practices which encourage children to be involved in Jewish life.
- F) Ideological - attitudes in favor of support for the State of Israel
- g) Intellectual - Aesthetic - reading, studying and accumulating books, art work and music on Jewish topics
- h) Ethical-Moral - charitable attitudes and behavior

These eight scales encompassed four axes :

- 1) God - Devotional and Doctrinal-Experiential
- 2) Community - Associational - Fraternal - Parental - Ideological
- 3) Cultural Systems - Intellectual-Aesthetic
- 4) Individuals - Ethical-Moral

Lazerwitz (1953) established five rankings of Jewishness:

- a) STRONGLY IDENTIFIED - Strongly, active religiously and organizationally and most, but not necessarily all, intimate associates are Jewish. At least four years of Jewish education for children.
- b) MODERATELY IDENTIFIED -Active religiously or organizationally. Most intimate associates are Jewish. Desires some Jewish education for children.
- c) SOMEWHAT IDENTIFIED- Not active religiously or organizationally. Most intimate associates are Jews.Wants sons "Bar-Mitzvahed".
- d) MARGINALLY IDENTIFIED -
 - 1) Inactive religiously and organizationally. Most intimate associates not Jewish. No concern for Jewish education for children.
 - 2) Same as (1) but torn by doubts and confusion over joining distinctly non-Jewish group.
 - 3) Has found acceptance in non-Jewish society, but was pushed back into Jewish groups by anti-Semitism.
- e) THE ASSIMILATED - Converted to some Christian group, or joined a Christian group without baptism or joined some Christian group by attending Church services regularly.

Segalman (1967) presents two scales on the general style of life and on the Jewish style of life. The first is based on religious ritual practices, Synagogue contributions, religious organizational activity.

APPENDIX H

TABLE H.1 DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF DIMENSIONS BY STANDARD

	Standard 1 - 9		Standard 10	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Practical Observance	1.6031	.323	1.7631	.395
Pietism	1.7183	.384	1.8820	.499
Universalism	2.6500	.761	2.8397	.710
Judaism	1.4297	.327	1.4819	.433
Jewish People	1.8571	.436	1.9396	.469
Social relations	1.9560	.402	1.9766	.498
Assimilation	2.0462	.462	1.7701	.579
Israel	1.8385	.719	1.9143	.809

TABLE H.2 DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF DIMENSIONS BY AFFILIATION

	SYNAGOGUE		TEMPLE	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Practical observance	1.6642	.348	1.8319	.415
Pietism	1.7669	.426	2.0119	.402
Universalism	2.7700	.766	2.7917	.673
Judaism	1.4465	.365	1.5944	.323
Jewish People	1.8691	.466	1.9667	.267
Social Relations	1.9377	.443	2.1190	.285
Assimilation	1.9243	.510	2.0823	.529
Israel	1.8361	.726	1.9583	.865

TABLE H.3 DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEANS OF THE DIMENSIONS BY SEX

	Male		Female	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Practical observance	1.6485	.354	1.7221	.360
Pietism	1.7885	.456	1.7972	.399
Universalism	2.6412	.725	2.9153	.765
Judaism	1.5049	.415	1.4057	.281
Jewish	1.8639	.499	1.8914	.389
Social	1.9607	.443	1.9466	.422
Assimilation	1.9364	.511	1.9420	.512
Israel	1.7740	.777	1.9355	.674

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

Mishnah - the Oral Law. Commentary and Law were formulated by the religious leaders (the Sages) for generations. This Oral Law was transmitted orally from generations of teachers to generations of disciples. The Law was finally written down as the Mishnah around 200 C.E. by Rabbi Yehuda HaNasi.

Talmud - incorporates the Mishnah together with the Gemara, which is the elaboration, explanation, clarification and debate focusing on what is written in the Mishnah. There are two Talmudim - the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmud. They were canonised around 500 C.E.

The Talmud is the basis of Jewish Law until today.

Shtetl - The Jewish community in the small towns of Eastern Europe. The Jews lived in accordance to their own unique style of life, separately from the non-Jewish community. The rabbis and the wealthy Jews constituted the ultimate leaders and authorities. The Shtetl became extinct with the destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust in the Second World War.

**STATISTICAL RESULTS OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF CARMEL VERSUS NON-CARMEL PUPILS**

	Carmel Pupils			Non-Carmel Pupils > 2 years Carmel			Less than 2 years at Carmel			Pearson	Carmel and Non-Carmel	Carmel > 2 years	Carmel < 2 years
	More	same	less	more	same	less	More	same	less				
Observance relative to parents	28 (38)	64 (86)	8 (7)	25 (4)	69 (11)	17 (3)	17 (3)	67 (12)	17 (3)	Kendall's tau	.628 1.201	.935 .182	.302 1.405
Importance children be Jewish	70 (95)	27 (36)	4 (5)	63 (10)	38 (6)		47 (8)	36 (6)	18 (3)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.055 1.714	.514 .480	.026 1.795
Problems of Jewish People yours?	Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Pearson Kendall's tau	.0003* 3.6731**	.091 1.492	.000 3.443
	73 (98)	27 (37)		69 (11)	31 (5)		34 (6)	66 (13)					
Proportion of close friends who're Jewish	> 70%	25-70%	< 25%	> 70%	25-70%	< 25%	> 70%	25-70%	< 25%	Pearson Kendall's tau	.000* 5.669***	.000 3.492**	.000 4.060
	73 (99)	22 (30)	5 (2)	19 (3)	56 (9)	25 (4)	17 (3)	17 (3)	67 (12)				
S.A paper insults Jews-you're insulted	Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Pearson Kendall's tau	.014* 2.614**	.269 1.359	.003 2.281
	96 (130)	4 (6)		94 (15)	6 (1)		84 (15)	16 (3)					
Feel fate and future bound with Jewish P.	Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Pearson Kendall's tau	.0001* 3.309**	.022* 1.686	.000 2.879
	87 (118)	13 (18)		62 (10)	38 (6)		53 (9)	47 (8)					
Jews contribute to anti-Semitism	Almost Never + Seldom	Often + Alm. Always		Almost Never + Seldom	Seldom Alm. Always		Almost Never + Seldom	Often + Alm. Always		Pearson Kendall's tau	.589 .711	.784 .977	.338 .223
	66 (89)	34 (46)		57 (9)	43 (7)		61 (11)	39 (7)					
Being Jewish influences plans	Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom Alm. Never		Almost Always + Often	Seldom + Alm. Never		Pearson Kendall's tau	.080 2.503**	.162 1.531	.083 2.055
	46 (62)	54 (73)		19 (3)	81 (13)		22 (4)	78 (14)					

Are Non-Jews anti-Semitic	Almost. all + Larg Prop 12 (16)	Substant + + minorit 124 (84)	Almost all + larg Prop 6 (1)	Substant + + minori 94 (15)	Almost all Larg Prop 1 (2)	Substant+ + minorit 89 (16)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.260 2.023*	.144 2.018	.395 1.104			
Being Jewish plays import. part in life	Important+part 95 (129)	little+No 5 (7)	important+part 94 (15)	little+No 6 (1)	Import+part 84 (15)	little+No 6 (3)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.225 1.816	.834 .233	.074 2.135*			
S.A. paper praises Jews-You're praised	Almost Always + Often 85 (115)	Seldom + Alm. Never 21 (15)	Almost Always + Often 82 (13)	Seldom Alm.Never 18 (3)	Almost Always + Often 61 (11)	Seldom + Alm. Never 39 (7)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.062 3.084**	.228 1.812	.040* 2.590*			
Born Anew Jewish	Yes 87 (116)	No-differ 9 (12)	No 4 (6)	Yes 75 (12)	No-differ 25 (4)	No -	Yes 83 (15)	No-differ 17 (3)	No -	Pearson Kendall's tau	.238 .782	.111 .945	.400 .277
Close to S.A.Jewry	Very Cl. 10 (14)	Close 61 (83)	Not so 29 (39)	Very Cl. 6 (1)	Close 50 (8)	Not so 44 (7)	Very Cl. -	Close 28 (5)	Not so 72 (13)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.0061* 3.3980**	.448 1.178	.000* 3.402*
Close to Jewish life	Very Cl. 40 (55)	Close 52 (71)	Not so 7 (10)	Very Cl. 50 (8)	Close 38 (6)	Not so 12 (2)	Very Cl. 8 (14)	Close 22 (4)	Not so	Pearson Kendall's tau	.0058* 2.5647*	.494 .390	.001* 4.025*
Close to local Jewish community	Very Cl. 35 (48)	Close 47 (64)	Not so 18 (24)	Very Cl. 13 (2)	Close 56 (9)	Not so 31 (5)	Very Cl. 6(1)	Close 39 (7)	Not so 56 (10)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.001* 3.997***	.142 1.957	.000* 3.458**
Give up Jewishness for love	Stron.disagaree + disagree 78 (104)	Agree + Stron.agree 22 (30)	Stron.disagar + disagree 87 (14)	Agree St. agree 13 (2)	Stron.disagar + disagree 61 (11)	Agree St. agree 39 (7)	Stron.disagar + disagree 61 (11)	Agree + Stron.agre 39 (7)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.387 .021	.637 .566	.235 .335	
Feel more at home among Jews	strongly Agree 35 (47)	Agree 36 (48)	Disagr+ St.Disagr 30 (40)	strongly Agree -	Agree 50 (8)	Disagree+ St.Disagr 50 (8)	strongly Agree 17 (3)	Agree 17 (3)	Disagr +St.Dis 66 (12)	Pearson Kendall's tau	.000* 3.771***	.040* 3.002**	.000* 4.060*
Survival dependent on bond with Israel	Strongly Agree Agree	Agree st.Dis	Disagr+ st.Dis Agree	Strongly Agree Agree	Disagr + St.Dis Agree	Strongly Agree Agree	Strongly Agree Agree	Agree st.Dis	Disagr+ st.Dis Kendall's tau	Pearson Kendall's tau	.084 2.772*	.274 1.372	.059* 2.326*

Survival dependent on J.beliefs/customs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr + St.Dis	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Pearson	.014*	.051*	.017*
	60 (81)	34 (46)	6 (0)	31 (9)	69(11)	-	27 (5)	73 (13)	-	Kendall's tau	2.758**	1.846	2.216*
Important to know fundamentals Judaism	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr +	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr	Pearson	.0070*	.299	.006*
	49 (66)	49 (66)	2 (3)	31 (5)	69 (11)	-	56 (10)	28 (5)	17 (3)	Kendall's tau	.6783	1.273	.058
Feel close kinship to Jewish in world	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr + St.Dis	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Pearson	.0000*	.830	.000*
	30 (38)	63 (85)	7 (13)	25 (4)	63 (10)	12 (2)	-	50 (9)	50 (9)	Kendall's tau	3.2923**	.342	3.899*
Important to marry within Jewish faith	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr + St.Dis	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagr+ St.Disr	Pearson	.060	.355	.029*
	48 (65)	32 (43)	20 (28)	25 (4)	50 (8)	25 (4)	2 (4)	28 (8)	50 (9)	Kendall's tau	2.754**	1.516	2.391*