



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS IN THE IDENTITY
OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts to the Faculty of Social
Sciences at the University of Cape Town. Under the
supervision of Professor J.S. Cumpsty.

by

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JONATHAN MIRVIS

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INTRODUCTION

When the Jews were in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century, their way of life seemed to have been homogenous. Most Jews, especially those who lived in the Shtetl, observed a religious way of life adhering to the precepts of the Torah. This widely accepted value system enabled the communities to function harmoniously.

Upon emigrating to the Western World, the Jew found himself confronted by forces which challenged the very principles upon which he had based his life for centuries. He was confronted by an industrial capitalist secular and accepting world, radically different from that in which he had grown up.

In coping with this new reality, Jews reacted differently. There were those who chose to assimilate totally into their new adopted cultures, obliterating all signs of their Jewishness. There were those who chose to culturally and nationally assimilate, yet to retain some of the religious symbols of Judaism (Reform). There were those who chose to try to find a synthesis between the new culture and their Jewishness, compromising where necessary in their Jewishness, yet maintaining some form of adherence to Halachah (Conservative). Finally, there were those who believed in adhering to the Halachah at all costs, only adopting Western values and symbols where the Halachah was silent or could be re-interpreted (Orthodox). This divergence in reaction led to a polarisation of the Jewish community in many Western countries, and has divided these communities.

In Cape Town, the Jewish community is harmonious in nature. As in other

communities, the Jew selected certain religious symbols for retention, and rejected others. Whilst this selection has varied, the fabric of the community has been maintained and the harmony which prevailed in Eastern Europe has also been retained.

In this thesis, we shall identify those religious symbols which have come to be significant in Jewish identity, and seek to explain both the choice and the significance thereof.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, the folk religion of the Cape Town Jew is analysed, focusing on the significance of religious symbols in his Jewish identity.

A brief account of the arrival of the Jew in Cape Town and the organisation of the Jewish community are given. A description is made of the adaptation of the Jew to his new environment, and to the issues of Zionism and education which divided the community.

A discussion ensues concerning three basic characteristics of the Cape Town Jew, i.e. his being a traditionalist/non-traditionalist; his being a Zionist, and his being different from the classical Orthodox and Reform modes.

The distinction between elite religion and folk religion is made on the basis of Liebman's model, and its relevance to Cape Town is discussed. The nature of the relationship between the elite and folk religions and their functions in the preservation of the community and traditions, are also discussed.

In order to ascertain the nature of folk religion in Cape Town, and its religious symbols, the author chose to survey the parents of Nursery School children. An exhaustive questionnaire was distributed to the respondents, and dealt with the following types of questions:

1. General background.
2. Jewish background.

3. Life attitudes.
4. The respondent's definition of a good Jew.
5. Prayer.
6. The respondent's perception of God's relationship with him personally, with the Jewish people, and with those of other faiths.
7. The respondent's celebration of the Shabbat.
8. Kashrut.
9. The celebration and commemoration of Jewish life cycle rituals.
10. The relationship between the respondent and the State of Israel.
11. The respondent's involvement in Jewish organisations and sports clubs.
12. Jewish culture.

100 respondents replied to the questionnaire and their responses are discussed and analysed.

The respondents are grouped graphically, according to the proportion between their level of religious observance and intensity of Jewish identity. Different groupings are then discussed.

Finally, a comparison is made between this survey and surveys done in Johannesburg, Greater Providence, and Boston. Similarities and differences are analysed and factors which affect the nature of the community are identified.

CHAPTER 1

AN OVERVIEW OF EARLY SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENTS

WITHIN THE CAPE TOWN JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community commenced its existence as an organised body on the 26th September, 1841, with the founding of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. Prior to that date, Jews had lived in Cape Town, arriving under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company as merchants from England and Europe, and as settlers amongst the 1820 settlers who colonised the Eastern Frontier, but had not as yet formed a congregation.¹

Long before 1840, there were enough Jews in Cape Town to hold a service; however, attempts at organising this proved to be unsuccessful. It was only after Benjamin Norden organised sixteen others to join him at his house on the evening of Yom Kippur in 1841 that Jews gathered for the first time for Divine Service.²

By 1849 the congregation had grown large enough to warrant the appointment of a minister, and through the services of the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, Dr Nathan Adler, the congregation appointed a British Minister, Reverend Isaac Puller, to minister to the congregation. The Shull was consecrated in September 1849, a month after the minister's arrival.³

The congregation was British in its character, with the services being held in a very dignified manner. If a person was caught talking in Shull during the service after being forewarned, he was liable to a fine of two shillings and sixpence! Members of the congregation were lax with the upkeep of mitzvot and thus when Reverend Puller resigned in 1851 he declared that, amongst other things, he could not bring up his children where "so little regard is paid to our holy religion".⁴

From 1851 to 1871 the growth in the congregation was almost static, and with many of the older members having left, the threat of the congregation

becoming dissolved became real. From 1872 to 1882, the Cape received a new wave of immigrants from England and Germany, who were attracted by the discovery of diamonds.⁵ Those who did come from Russia had already settled in Britain, and were thus anglicised.

In 1881, Alexander III ascended to the Russian Imperial throne and this brought in its wake anti-semitism, economic pressure and mob violence, reducing hundreds of thousands of Jews to starvation. These events led to a mass Jewish immigration.⁶ It was during this period that Lithuanian Jewry commenced its large scale immigration to South Africa, ultimately resulting in Sokolow calling it "a colony of Lithuanian Jewry".⁷ While the mass European immigration was predominantly Lithuanian, it was not exclusively so. According to an analysis of a register of those who applied for naturalisation through the Jewish Board of Deputies from 1904 to 1906, of those who were immigrants, 69% were born in Lithuania, 18% in Poland, 11% in Latvia and 12% elsewhere in Russia.⁸

While the magnitude of East European immigration is not exactly known, according to Shimoni,⁹ prior to the Anglo Boer War (1899) half of the estimated 24 000 Jews in the whole of South Africa were East European. There were some 7 000 Anglo Jews and about 3 000 who came from Germany, having lived in England for a period of time before coming to South Africa.

The influx of East European Jewry into Cape Town led to tensions within the local Jewish community. Until 1885 the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation was the only congregation in the Peninsula, and had maintained its British character, putting itself under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi of the British Empire.¹⁰ Many of the "foreigners" would not join the congregation,

but preferred to form a separate association. In 1885, a member of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation was expelled, and sympathisers joined him to hold separate services. This body caused a rift in the community, by engaging a shochet (ritual slaughterer) who did not have the approval of the Chief Rabbi. A further rift occurred when the secessionists were granted a cemetery in Maitland, by the local council. The minister of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation vehemently opposed such a move.¹¹ The rift became complete when, with the encouragement of their Transvaal counterparts who were temporary refugees in Cape Town, the new immigrants established the New Hebrew Congregation. Two years later a synagogue was built in Roeland Street, to house the new congregation.

The religious state of the community at the close of the nineteenth century is well summed up by the following remarks made by a visitor from London:

Of Jüdishkeit there is very little to be found; one notes a general disregard of the dietary laws and often violation of the Sabbath. Apart from the poor classes of Russian Jews of whose religious practices I cannot speak from experience, the everyday ceremonial observances of Judaism are in general abeyance."¹²

These remarks seem to describe the religious nature of the congregants of the Cape Town Hebrew congregation at that time.

Amongst the new immigrants there seems to have been three groups. There were those who were not observant, having absorbed so-called liberal ideas under the influence of the Haskalah movement;¹³ there were those who did not strictly adhere to religious law and custom, yet who retained a strong feeling of Jewish nationalism, observed Kashrut and some of the festival ceremonies; and the third group were composed of an ultra-Orthodox element, who were drawn from the ranks of the most recent arrivals and financially the poorest.¹⁴

While the first group could probably have integrated into the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation and the second group formed the New Hebrew Congregation, the third group formed the Beth Hamedrash Hechadash in Constitution Street, and the Ponevez Bet Hamedrash.¹⁵ According to Geffen:

.... on entering the Beth Hamedrash, one became conscious of a pervading atmosphere totally alien to that of the other synagogues. Heavy thumbed tomes of the Talmud lay strewn along the long tables. To be clean-shaven was almost as serious a breach of decorum as to enter a synagogue with the head uncovered.¹⁶

A fourth type of congregation, which was quite insignificant in its impact, was that of Chabad. It catered for the Lithuanian Chabad Hassidin who made their way to Cape Town.¹⁷ Its insignificance is attributed to its small numerical strength.

The differences between the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, the New Hebrew Congregation and the Beth Hamedrash Hechadash are highlighted by their approach to Zionism.

Until the Balfour Declaration, the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, under Bender's influence, was predominantly anti-Zionist. According to Shimoni, Bender's opposition to Zionism was based on the belief that Zionism was

.... a misleading illusion since the revival of a Jewish homeland was, in his view, a matter for God, not men."¹⁸

He had unlimited faith in British democracy and justice, and was convinced that true emancipation and equality were assured under the British flag, and thus he devoted himself to the task of anglicising the East European immigrants and their children. In 1917, following the Balfour Declaration, Bender succumbed to joining the Zionist movement. By 1926, the Zionist

record could refer to him as a veritable pillar of strength to the movement throughout the country.¹⁹ In that year, the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation became affiliated to the Zionist Federation.

In contrast to the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, the New Hebrew Congregation was led by people who were deeply imbued with Zionist ideals.²⁰ These leaders were the same body of men who lead the Dorshei Zion organisation. Geffen maintains that they were more in touch with, and more representative of, the trends of thought of the majority of the community than the leaders of the older congregation.²¹ Geffen further maintains that no Rabbi was appointed to the congregation because the Rabbis of the day were notoriously anti-Zionist.²²

The Beth Hamedrash Hechadash opposed Zionism as a body.²³ Their opposition to Zionism was indicative of the large-scale opposition to Zionism by the ultra-Orthodox Aggudah movement. They viewed Zionism as a threat to Orthodoxy because of its secularist following. It is indeed paradoxical that their spiritual leader, Rabbi Mirvish, was himself a confirmed Zionist. He pioneered the establishment of the Zionist religious movement, "Mizrachi", in South Africa in 1919.²⁴

It was the variant attitudes to Zionism which lead to tension between the congregations over educational policy to be followed in the Talmud Torah in 1905. The principal of the Talmud Torah, encouraged by the Zionist New Hebrew Congregation, urged the introduction of Ivrit b'Ivrit (Hebrew through Hebrew).²⁵ This move was vehemently opposed by the adherents of the Bith Hamedrash Hechadash, who feared the disappearance of Orthodoxy in South Africa if such a course were to be pursued. They enlisted the

support of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, who feared to encourage the training of the young in Zionist ideology. When the Ivrit b'Ivrit system was finally adopted, a Cheder was opened by its opponents where the old method was continued.

In 1912, this experiment in Hebrew education was abandoned and the two schools were again amalgamated.²⁶

Between 1891 and 1904 the Cape Town Jewish community grew dramatically. Whereas the 1891 census of the Cape Province gives the total number of Jews as 3 009 in 1899, excluding the Transvaal refugees there were between 5 000 to 6 000 Jews and, according to the 1909 census, there were 8 114 Jews in Cape Town proper.²⁷ From 1904 to 1926, growth in Cape Town's Jewry slowed down, rising to 11 700, according to the 1926 census.²⁸

With the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation joining the Zionist Federation in 1926, the Cape Town Jewish community, by and large, became a replica of the New Hebrew Congregation, maintaining a strong Zionist and traditional outlook. It is probable that the British character of the community became minimised, due to the overwhelming influx of East Europeans.

Of particular interest is the fact that the Beth Hamedrash Hechadash lost its distinctive ultra-Orthodox character, and became similar to the other congregations of the New Hebrew Congregation type. This process meant the disappearance of a strictly Orthodox community in Cape Town, whereas in other overseas communities such congregations maintained themselves, and resisted assimilation, in Cape Town this did not happen. This could be attributed to the following factors:

- (a) While amongst the earlier immigrants from Lithuania there were ultra-Orthodox elements, those immigrants after 1920 reflected the new forces influencing Lithuanian Jewish life, such as increased secularism and modern education in Tarbut schools, where study was through the medium of Hebrew and where pupils were exposed to an intensified modern Zionist ideology.
- (b) Cape Town is an isolated community. Whereas in Europe, Jewish communities are linked and influenced by one another, Cape Town has always been distant and has maintained an isolated existence. This isolation played an important role in pressurising the local Jew to align himself with the mainstream of the community, and not to align himself with overseas communities, whose support could not be felt locally.
- (c) The congregation of the Beth Hamedrah Hechadash was essentially comprised of the new, poorer immigrants. Their changes of counter-acting the influences of their more affluent and sophisticated compatriots were limited. Once the new immigrants became acculturated, they adopted the values of the wider community.
- (d) The ultra-Orthodox community did not establish an educational system to inculcate its values. While a Talmud Torah existed, it was an afternoon school only - a far cry from the Yeshivot k'tanot in Europe. Furthermore, there was no institute of Higher Jewish Learning (Yeshivah Gevohah) established in Cape Town to ensure for the youth a similar quality of education which the parents received in Lithuania.

In 1939 the Beth Hamedrah Hechadash moved from Constitution Street to Vredehoek Avenue. This move marked the end of the ghetto-like existence which prevailed in Constitution Street.²⁹

In 1929, the United Council of Synagogues was formed.³⁰ This body co-ordinated religious communal matters in Cape Town. In 1933 it successfully established an ecclesiastical court, the Bet Din. The formation of the United Council and its universal membership reflected the harmony which then prevailed within the community.

Efforts were made to amalgamate the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation with the New Hebrew Congregation.³¹ From 1929 onwards, meetings of special committees representing the two bodies were held, with the desirability of such an amalgamation being widely expressed in private, year after year. However, negotiations broke down. Despite this, the committee of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation reported in 1937 that:

.... the deliberations were so cordial that the Committee hope that unification will be an accomplished fact in the not too distant future.

The unification, however, never took place.

The influence of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation in Cape Town continued to be quite considerable, with its minister, Rabbi Abrahams, serving as both Chief Rabbi and Av Beth Din from 1937 to 1968.

The present picture of Cape Town Jewry became complete with the formation of the Cape Town Jewish Reform Congregation in 1944. Reform Judaism in South Africa differed from its sister communities in the United States of America, in that it adopted a far more traditional life than was adopted in

the United States. This was because most of its followers had just come over from Orthodoxy.³²

Despite the fact that most of Cape Town Jewry were not strictly practising Jews, Reform Judaism was greeted with stiff opposition. The Dorshei Zion denied the congregation the use of its hall for the High Holy Day Services in 1946,³³ and Chief Rabbi Abrahams declared a boycott of the newly-built Temple hall, forbidding rabbis, ministers, cantors and leaders under his jurisdiction to attend functions in the hall.³⁴

When Rabbi E Duschinsky succeeded Rabbi Abrahams as Av Beth Din in 1968, the boycott of Reform was allowed to lapse.³⁵ This paved the way to an understanding between the Reform and Orthodox communities and tacit mutual recognition. Of particular importance was the agreement of Reform not to remarry people who had not yet obtained a religious divorce (Get) from the Orthodox Beth Din. While areas of dispute and political bargaining still arose between Orthodox and Reform ministers, there is little tension today between the two communities.

In Cape Town today, there are approximately 22 000 Jews. The United Council has continued to function, as has the Beth Din. There are at present eighteen Orthodox congregations (including the northern suburbs) which are affiliated to the United Council. All these hold services on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Congregations hold services on Sabbaths and Festivals as well, while ten congregations also hold daily services. The Jewish Reform Community has a congregation and they hold services on Sabbath and Festivals.

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CHAPTER 2

SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CAPE TOWN JEW

2.1. THE CAPE TOWN JEW : A TRADITIONALIST AND NON-TRADITIONALIST

According to Liebman, Judaism until the period of Enlightenment can be defined as "traditional Judaism".¹ It was, in essence, a religious civilization. It made no distinction between ethnicity, nationality, culture and religion. The particular characteristics delineating each of these concepts: ethnicity : family : nationality - territory; culture : language : literature and art; and religious beliefs about ultimate reality; the nature of man and the need to communicate with the "totally other;" were all intertwined and interrelated.²

During the period of the Enlightenment, traditional Judaism declined in Western and Central Europe. Liebman states that:

A new Jew arose, to whom the interrelationship of ethnicity, nationality, culture and religion had lost resonance.³

The Enlightenment provided the possibility for the Jew to live in a truly open society, in which anti-semitism would be unknown, and Jews could be almost indistinguishable from Non-Jews. In the wake of this possibility, the Jew adopted the values of the Enlightenment, admired Non-Jewish culture and judged himself and his institutions by Non-Jewish standards. He sought as well social and political equality,⁴ which culminated in the political emancipation of the Jews.

With the breakdown of traditional Judaism, the Jew in Western Europe redefined his Judaism as a religion, while in Central Europe and, in some instances, in Eastern Europe, the Jew redefined his Judaism as a nationality or culture. The common denominator is that both in Western and Central Europe, isolated aspects of traditional Judaism were accentuated at the expense of the totality.

In Western Europe, Jewry split on Orthodox-Reform lines, with adherence to halachic authority being the vital issue. Both Orthodox and Reform Jews were often culturally integrated into Western European culture, and identified themselves as Frenchmen or Germans who were Jewish by religion.

In Central Europe and in parts of Eastern Europe, the national or cultural definition manifested itself in Jewish Socialism, Zionism and cultural autonomy.⁵ In most of Eastern Europe, traditionalists and non-traditionalists were in harmony, as long as the non-traditionalists did not challenge religious authority or legitimacy of the traditionalist. While in Germany Orthodox and Reform established their own communities, in Poland traditionalists Zionists and Socialists vied for the control of one community.

Thus the Eastern European Jew who came to South Africa was either a traditionalist or non-traditionalist, but one who had had a harmonious relationship with the other.

Upon arrival in South Africa, the Jew found himself in the midst of a very complex political situation. Whereas in the United States of America the Jew felt himself under pressure to integrate and become Americanised;⁶ in South Africa, there was no real local culture which could be termed "South African". There was a split between the Whites and Blacks, and within the White culture between the Boer and the British. In the Boer Republics, foreigners were not only discouraged to integrate, but as "uitlanders" they were denied political rights as well.⁷

The relationship between the Jew and the local culture in South Africa was not very different from the relationship between the Jew and the local

culture in Europe. In both instances he felt estranged, and thus strongly motivated to maintain a strong Jewish community. The lack of pressure asserted upon him to integrate enabled him to maintain the same mode of traditional or non-traditional Judaism as he had maintained in Eastern Europe.

To this very day, second and third generation South African Jews still do not feel pressurised to totally integrate into the wider, non-Jewish society. Despite their political rights and the important economic and professional role which they play within South African society, any desire to totally integrate is hampered by the following factors:

- (a) South Africa is a pluralistic society, in which different ethnic groups are encouraged to maintain their own ethnic identity. This is not only an attempt to prevent inter-racial assimilation - within each race, ethnic identity is actively encouraged, e.g. amongst the Blacks, the Black is encouraged to assert his tribal identity and not to see himself as a "Black" man. Amongst the White populace, the Afrikaner does not strive for the formation of a single White culture; for him, the survival of the Afrikaner as a cultural group is paramount. Thus the Afrikaner has perpetuated the system of two official languages (English and Afrikaans), of Afrikaans-medium schools and institutions which perpetuate Afrikaans culture.

Thus, in South Africa, the Jew's wish to maintain his ethnic identity is seen as "normal", and does not have to be disguised in any manner.

An extension of this is that, by being a Jewish South African, from an ethnic point of view the Jew is not fulfilling contradictory roles,

but rather complementary roles. In the same way as there are South Africans who are Afrikaners, or Indians, or Xhosas, so too are there South Africans who are Jewish.

- (b) South Africa is a religious country. Contrary to the United States of America, where there is an absolute division between religion and state, in South Africa the state is concerned very much with the propagation of religion.

This is highlighted by the New Constitution of South Africa (1984) which commences as follows:

In Humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of peoples and nations

We declare that we: are conscious of our responsibility between God and man; are convinced of the necessity of standing united and pursuing the following national goals:

To uphold Christian values and civilized norms with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship.⁸

In schools, religious instruction is very much part of the curriculum. In the Defence Force, the chaplain has a very powerful role. In the political arena, the Dutch Reformed Church is highly influential, with its adherents holding on to the reins of political power.

The Jew is expected and encouraged to uphold his religion in the same manner as every other person is. Jewish religious holidays are officially recognised and Jewish pupils are expected, by their non-Jewish teachers and counterparts, to absent themselves from school and to observe their festivals in the traditional manner.

The Jew in the Defence Force is forced to declare his being Jewish, since every Defence Force soldier must declare his belonging to an organised religion. In the Defence Force, which is a vehicle for the inculcation of those values which are deemed important by the Government for the survival of the state, the Jew is encouraged to practise Judaism and carry out Mitzvot. There are many Jews who eat Kosher food on a strict basis, for the first time in their lives, on their conscription to the Defence Force - because it is expected of them to do so. While doing his National Service, the Jew is expected to observe the Shabbat in some manner, even though at home he may refrain from doing so.

It is evident that while in the United States of America the Jew may have to surmount various social and other obstacles to assert his religion, in South Africa he is encouraged to do so.

- (c) South Africa's volatile political situation is very much an obstacle to the South African Jews becoming totally integrated, while in the United States of America the Jew is sure about his personal, and the country's, future. In South Africa, the Jew has always lived in uncertainty regarding the future. For many South Africans, the question of emmigration is not so much an "if" question, but rather a "when" question.

2.2 THE CAPE TOWN JEW : JEW OR ZIONIST?

Reform Rabbi David Sherman, who hails from the United States of America, remarks in a personal memoir that:

From the moment of my arrival (in 1946) I became aware of the strength of local Zionist sentiment. South African Jewry is the most devoutly Zionist community. Indeed, it has been said that the religion of the South African Jew is Zionism.⁹

The East European immigrant, who came to the Cape shores, was very much a Zionist. In fact, according to Shimoni, Zionism was part of the spiritual baggage which the Lithuanian Jews brought with them to South Africa.¹⁰ This is corroborated by the fact that the establishment of the local Zionist Society in many instances preceded the formation of the local congregation.¹¹

According to former Chief Rabbi Rabinowitz, there are two significant factors which account for this phenomenon. The first being that Lithuanian Jewry, together with that of neighbouring Latvia, almost imbibed Zionism with its mother's milk. This was very much due to the indelible stamp left upon Lithuanian Jewry by Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, who claimed to see in his time, just two centuries ago, "the Divine promise of the eventual return of the exiled Jewish people to their land," and regarded its fulfilment as inevitable.¹² The second significant factor is the impressive development of the Hebrew School system in Lithuania and Latvia in the first quarter of this century, establishing a strong spiritual bond between the pupils and the Land of Israel and its language.

In South Africa, Zionism was not only prevalent amongst the Lithuanian Jews but also amongst a number of English-born Jews as well.¹³ That the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation was pressured into entering the Zionist fold in

1926, with Bender dropping his anti-Zionist stance, indicates the strength which Zionism had attained.¹⁴

The continued strength and growth of Zionism in South Africa could be attributed to the following factors:

- (a) The South African Jew found it difficult to develop a national South African identity because of the pluralistic culture. Whereas in the United States a new, over-reaching American identity exerted a powerful magnetism for the foreigner, in South Africa there was no agreed South African national identity equivalent to that provided by the notion of being either British or being American. Shimoni quotes the title of a celebrated lecture in 1966, by Sir Keith Hanock, the biographer of Smuts, as "are these South Africans?" - this being both a provocative and pertinent question.¹⁵

The South African Jew was, therefore, stateless; almost yearning for a territorial-based identity with a Zionist-flavour which Judaism could offer.

- (b) Zionism in South Africa has been fostered by the legitimacy and endorsement of nationalism by the Afrikaner.

In 1924, General Hertzog, during the elections which brought the Nationalist party into power and made him Prime Minister, wrote as follows to a Jew in his constituency:

As to the question of Zionism, you know that we Nationalists look at it as the cornerstone of all true nationalism. I cannot, therefore, but rejoice at the great national movement amongst the Jewish people, which would ensure to them their ancient heritage and inspire them with that national pride to which they are so justly entitled.¹⁶

(c) The Rabbinical leadership was Zionist, with the exception initially of Reverend Bender and Reverend Phillips in Port Elizabeth.¹⁷ In Johannesburg, Rabbi Hertz was an ardent Zionist, supported by others, including Reverend Isaacs and Reverend Wasserzug, while in Cape Town, Rabbi Mirvish was a founder of the Religious Zionist Mizrachi movement.

2.3. THE CAPE TOWN JEW : AN ORTHODOX JEW WHO IS NOT "ORTHODOX" AND A REFORM JEW WHO IS NOT REFORM

An American Jew who visits an Orthodox Shull in Cape Town on the Sabbath, could well be surprised by what he sees. Whereas in the United States of America, most Orthodox Jews do not drive to Shull, on Shabbat in Cape Town they do. Whereas in the United States married women tend to cover their heads in Shull, in South Africa they do not. Whereas a large portion of the synagogue membership frequent the services on the Sabbath in the United States, in Cape Town they do not.

In fact, the trends in Cape Town very much resemble those followed by Conservative Jews in the United States of America.¹⁸ The laws of the Sabbath, Kashrut and family-purity, have become abandoned by many, with kosher-style replacing kosher. Whereas the rites of passage, Brit Milah, Bar Mitzvah, a Jewish marriage, and a Jewish funeral, are widely adhered to, and festivals of Hanukkah and Pesach are celebrated, many halahic aspects of Judaism have disappeared. What then makes a Jew "Orthodox" in South Africa The answer is affiliation to "an Orthodox congregation". An Orthodox congregation does not mean a congregation of laymen who observe Halachah, as it does in the United States of American and in Israel. It

means, in South Africa, a congregation which insists on halachic procedure in matters of ritual, which the congregation performs as a body. Thus there is no mixed seating, neither are women counted in minyan. While one's personal life is not interfered with, all functions on the Shull premises, connected to the Shull, must be catered strictly kosher. An important aspect is that the Rabbi must be a Shomer Mitzvot (an observant Jew) and must carry out Jewish law to the letter.

The Orthodox Jew in Cape Town thus lives in a perpetual state of conflict. He belongs to a congregation which expounds upon and encourages the adherence to certain principles, which he himself does not keep. The Orthodox South African Jew is caught in a dilemma. He does not want to change his life-style which is incompatible, yet he feels that it is sacrilegious to officially change the Halachah.

Judaism has tried to solve this dilemma by holding that one can both be loyal to the Halachah and advocate change.¹⁹ Since conservative Judaism would solve the Orthodox South African Jew's dilemma, why did Conservative Judaism not take root in South Africa?

In examining this question, it must be realised that the situation in South Africa, before the turn of the century, differed radically from that of the United States of America. Whereas in the United States, Reform Judaism had established itself and was very powerful, in South Africa, Reform Judaism was totally non-existent until 1933. In the United States, the Conservative movement was very much a revolt against Reform Judaism,²⁰ which negated important aspects of Jewish ritual and belief. A schism existed in America between two extremes - the Ashkenazim amongst the Reform, who became acculturated Americans, and discarded major parts of their culture

and rituals; and between the Orthodox who rejected integration into the wider American community.²¹ A movement was sought, which would enable the Jew to become absorbed into American culture and society, yet remain faithful to his heritage.

In South Africa, it was this very option which was being offered. There was no Reform who sought ethnic assimilation, and there was only a small ultra-Orthodox community who resisted acculturation. The leading rabbis in South Africa, Reverend Bender and Rabbi Hertz, were both fine examples of committed Jews who had mastered both worlds. Bender had a particularly good command of English literature, which he quoted frequently and effectively, and earned the respect of the Gentile community.²² Hertz was the first graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the driving force behind conservatism, and was thus equipped to lead the community in a direction of acculturation, yet adherence to Torah and its commands.

It is interesting to note that whereas in the United States of America, Conservative Judaism became a movement with a distinct ideology and ideals, and influenced the nature of the adherents to its community, in South Africa many Jews adopted a "Conservative" life-style without belonging to, or consciously adhering to, a Conservative movement.

In the same manner as Orthodox Judaism has a different connotation in Cape Town from Orthodoxy in the United States of America, so too does Reform Judaism differ from its American counterpart. Whereas in the United States there are Reform ministers who marry congregants to non-Jews, without conversion, and participate in inter-denominational weddings, in Cape Town Reform Judaism insists on a Reform conversion. In Cape Town there are no

women rabbis and head-coverings for men are insisted upon when males enter the Temple.

Reform Judaism commenced in Cape Town only in 1944, almost a century after its introduction in the United States of America. Reform Judaism in Cape Town is strongly Zionist, and is made up of congregants who are of the same origin as the Orthodox community. Reform Judaism differs from Orthodoxy in Cape Town in that it includes women in Minyan; has mixed seating; has an organ in the Temple; does not uphold the keeping of Shabbat, Kashrut or family purity, and permits cremation. Many of the prayers are in English, and men do not don Tephillin. While Reform Judaism has enabled many a Cape Town Jew to continue with his secular way of life and live with a "clear conscience", Cape Town Jews have not joined the congregation *en masse*. In fact, they number a mere 10% of the community. In conducting personal interviews, the following reasons were given, by people who do not follow a particularly Orthodox life-style, for not joining the Reform congregation:

- (a) The Reform rabbi who does not observe Mitzvot disturbs them, and they cannot relate to him as such. The Observant rabbi is an important symbol of identification. He represents the Elite religion, and enables the Jew to lead a secular life without worrying about the preservation of Judaism since the rabbi would preserve it. This point will be enlarged upon in the following chapter, when discussing elite religion and folk religion.
- (b) The Reform service is foreign. Despite the fact that many of the prayers are understood because they are in English, they do not evoke the same sentiments which the Hebrew prayers evoke in the Orthodox service.

(c) Reform Judaism has opened the way to anarchy in Judaism. While those who were interviewed did not themselves adhere to basic Halachah, they felt that to change Halachah would be "cheating".

A survey of Cape Town Jewry is important in that, amongst other things, it will enable one to compare a community which has chosen a particular brand of Orthodoxy and Reform, and to compare it with similar communities in the United States of America, which have adherents to American-type Orthodoxy and Reform, as well as Conservatism.

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CHAPTER 3

FOLK RELIGION AND ELITE RELIGION

The Religion of Cape Town Jews : Folk and Elite Religion

In analysing the religion of Cape Town Jewry, it is important to differentiate between the types of religion within a community: folk religion and elite religion.

It is easier to understand "folk religion" if one understands "elite religion" and, therefore, we shall first deal with elite religion. Liebman defines "elite religion" as being:

The symbols and rituals (the cult) and beliefs which the leaders acknowledge as legitimate.¹

It is also:

.... the religious organisation itself, its hierarchial arrangements, the authority of the leaders and their source of authority, and the rights and obligations of the followers to the organization and its leaders.²

In Orthodox Judaism, elite religion would be the mitzvot (precepts) and customs as laid down in the Schulchan Aruch and other Rabbinical legal sources. The leaders are the Rabbis who define legitimate actions and illegitimate actions; they define the obligations of both the community and its leaders.

Folk religion is a kind of subculture within religion which exists with the knowledge of the acknowledged leaders - and which they choose to either ignore or condemn - but in which the majority of the members participate.

folk religion is:

.... not self conscious, it does not articulate its own rituals and beliefs or demand recognition for its informal leaders. As far as folk religion is concerned, folk religion is not a movement but an error or a set of errors shared by many people.³

Folk religion is not organised and thus will have a different content amongst different people and different generations. It is expressed through rituals and symbols. These rituals may be rooted in superstition or the will to maintain traditions.

Folk religion tends to accept the organisational structure of religion, but not necessarily the belief structure. Liebman maintains that

.... the beliefs of the folk religion are self conscious and articulated, they tend to be beliefs about which the elite religion is neutral".⁴

He cites as an example the folk religious belief in America that affirms a belief in the separation of church and state. It is evident from Liebman that folk religious beliefs do not contradict basic religious dogma, but rather contain beliefs on issues where elite religion is "neutral".

This premise is questionable, at least in the South African context. For many South Africans, to be a good Jew means to be a good person; a humanistic point of view. According to this belief, the observance of ritual is peripheral, or of secondary importance. This certainly runs contra to dogma within elite religion.

Another common example of folk religion contradicting elite religion is on the issue of "free will". In elite Judaism, the "free will" is interpreted as the ability of man to choose between right and wrong.⁵ It is this ability which distinguishes him from animal or robot. When it comes to making choices, man must choose the direction of fulfilling Torah and Mitzvot. From this perspective, free choice is not a perogative but rather an attempt to describe a certain reality.

For many South African Jews, "free will" is a Jewish value, according to

which God gives the individual the moral choice to choose between fulfilling Torah and Mitzvot and between other value systems, and would respect such a choice. In this respect, the folk belief derived from Western secular thought, is acknowledged as being "Jewish", yet totally contradicts the view held by elite Judaism.

An important relationship between elite religion and folk religion, which Liebman does not mention, is that they are symbiotic. Judaism can be described as a tradition/community centred religion. The preservation of both the tradition and the community is central to its continued existence. It is the elite religionists who act as guardians of the tradition who ensure its preservation in the wake of a changing reality. In fulfilling this function, the elite religionists delegate the responsibility of preserving the community to the folk religionists who are pragmatists in their outlook. Responsibilities are indeed mutual, because the folk religionists on their part pursue their pragmatic preservation of the community, in the understanding that the elite religionist will guard the tradition.

This point is well illustrated by the relationship between Orthodox communities and their rabbis in South Africa. The layman, the folk religionist, engages a rabbi to guard the tradition and keep the Mitzvot. If the rabbi were to abrogate Jewish law, he would not be fulfilling his contract, and this would be a good reason for his dismissal. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Reform Judaism has failed to attract the South African Jew en masse because, amongst other reasons, the Reform rabbi does not preserve the tradition and is thus not seen as a legitimate partner.

If one accepts the premise that the folk religionist is the preserver of

the community, it is to be expected that those aspects of religion which will be emphasised in the folk religion, will centre around the different levels of community - the family, the immediate community, and the Jewish people and their preservation.

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CHAPTER 4

CONSTRUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF A SURVEY

In order to ascertain the extent and nature of both elite and folk religion in Cape Town, and the significance of their symbols, the author felt it imperative to survey the Jewish populace.

4.1. CHOICE OF A GROUP

In ideal circumstances, Cape Town Jewry as a whole should have been surveyed, as was done in Johannesburg, Greater Providence and Springfield. This would have entailed an extensive project, in which a sample of all age groups of the community, in all areas, would have had to be drawn up. Due to the limits in budget and time, such a project was not considered.

It was, therefore, decided to do a limited group survey. In order to choose a suitable group for the study, the following criteria were evolved:

- (a) The group, despite its limited size, should be able to reflect as far as possible patterns of belief and behaviour within the community.
- (b) The group should represent those likely to remain in Cape Town. This would ensure the use of data gained for long-term projection and prediction.
- (c) The opinion and life-styles within the group should be fairly stable. If these are volatile, the data would only be useful for a limited time period in terms of explanation and prediction. On the other hand:

- (d) If a choice were to be made of one particular age group, this age group should be sufficiently young to enable predictions to be made over a significant period of time.
- (e) The group should be easily accessible.
- (f) The group should have the ability to complete a written questionnaire and be motivated to do so.

In choosing a group, the following alternatives were considered:

- (a) A survey of a suburb or limited zone.

While such a survey would fulfil the criterion of accessibility and, depending upon the zone surveyed, some of the other criteria as well, it would not reflect the heterogeneity of Cape Town's Jewish population in terms of age, family status, and affluence.

- (b) A survey of a zone which would typify Cape Town's heterogeneity.

This alternative was rejected, given the spread of the community and the difficulty in locating such a zone.

- (c) A survey of individual age groups.

- (i) A survey of high school pupils.

An advantage of such a survey would be the easy accessibility of respondents. This alternative was rejected because of the volatile attitudes of pupils. Furthermore, given the mobility of young Jews today, it is difficult to gauge what percentage of these pupils

would in fact remain in Cape Town.

(ii) A survey of university students.

While here as well, accessibility is an advantage, this group is a select group and thus would not necessarily reflect view of their non-student peers. This group was also rejected for reasons similar to those for the rejection of high school pupils.

(c) The final alternative to be considered was that of a survey of parents of pupils who were accessible through Nursery School lists, school lists and Hebrew School lists. Ultimately it was decided to opt for parents of Nursery School children.

Since 90% of all Jewish children of Nursery School age attend Nursery Schools of the Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools,¹ it was decided to use only the parents of these children, as respondents. The Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools, when contacted, agreed to supply the author with Parent Lists consisting of names and addresses. An added bonus was that the Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools agreed to lend its moral support for this project - a factor which served to motivate and encourage respondents to participate.

There were two important factors which finally contributed to the choice of this group:

(i) People in this group had the greatest bearing upon the Cape Town Jewish community's immediate future. They were on the precipice of taking over Jewish communal leadership, and thus formed the establishment of "tomorrow".

- (ii) Since most community members have been, or will be, the parents of nursery school children, the data attained will indicate a set of values and practices which most members of the community have held in the past, or will hold to in the future.
- (iii) While they may be more focused on family life rituals than, for example, upon mourning rites, they are a group who, in facing their responsibilities for their childrens' education, have had to bring their Jewishness to the surface - much of which could have lain dormant since Bar/Batmitzvah days.

4.2. PREPARATORY RESEARCH

Upon deciding on the group, the support of the Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools was enlisted. It soon became apparent from information obtained from the Association that the research would have to be centred around Greater Cape Town, and could not include the more distant communities in the Western Cape because of the process of urbanisation which has taken place, denuding the more distant communities of the Jewish communities. Thus whereas the research was intended to focus on Jews of the Western Cape, in fact the focus is on Greater Cape Town.

The field work commenced with interviews being conducted with parents of nursery school children, and their attitudes and opinions being noted. The author thereby obtained certain "hunches" regarding the nature of the group. The author then researched the Jewish community surveys which were done in Johannesburg,² Greater Providence,³ Springfield,⁴ "Lakeville",⁵ and Boston.⁶

It was immediately apparent that a uniform structure was lacking for community surveys. The limitations of comparing data were inherent in that the questionnaires generally differed. Taking this into account, the author felt free to compose the questions in such a way as to shed maximum light onto the Cape Town Jewish community, whilst different answers could also be "culled" for comparative purposes.

It was also evident that in determining the religiosity of a group, questions of belief were omitted, except for Dobb's Johannesburg survey. Furthermore, since these surveys were general community surveys, with questions relating to religious observance being limited, motivation for the performance of ritual was not queried. If questions regarding motivation for the performance of ritual were to be included in the author's questionnaire, the survey would have an almost unique dimension to it.

Questionnaires from the local Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town were studied. In particular, there was a questionnaire which had been given to Jewish students, both in Cape Town and in Israel, querying beliefs and attitudes, and also a questionnaire which had been given to residents in Athlone, Cape Town, querying their attitudes and beliefs.

4.3. THE SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

A sample questionnaire was then compiled and the following considerations were taken into account:

- (a) The questions must not be ambiguous, nor should answers be suggested.

- (b) Questions should be phrased, using terminology which formed part of local Jewish culture. Thus "Shull" was used, and not "synagogue", and the Hebrew names of the Festivals were listed instead of their English equivalents.
- (c) Questions would be asked pertaining to general background information, as well as feelings, beliefs, religious observance, and motivation for performance of rituals.
- (d) Attention would be given to both the annual cycle and life-cycle rituals.
- (e) The questionnaire would be as exhaustive as possible, yet it would enable the respondents to complete it within an hour.

The sample questionnaire of 100 questions was then completed, and it comprised the following categories:

(a) Questions of a general background nature:

These questions related to the sex and age of the respondent; the age of the respondent's eldest child; how long the respondent had lived in South Africa; whether the respondent grew up in an urban or rural area; place of schooling and place of post school education, and suburb of residence.

(b) Questions relating to background information of a Jewish nature:

These questions queried the following aspects: whether the respondent was born Jewish or not and, if converted, whether by Orthodox Reform

or both; whether the spouse was Jewish; the language of the parental home; the country of parents' birth; membership of shull or temple or both or neither; the situation of the shull or temple; attendance of a Jewish Day School; attendance of a Heder; attendance of a Yeshivah; higher Jewish education at University; membership of a Zionist Youth Movement; a scale (1-7) regarding the religiosity of the parental home and a second scale regarding that of the respondent's home; whether the respondent understands Yiddish or not, and whether the respondent has the ability to read Hebrew, understand spoken Hebrew, and can speak Hebrew.

- (c) Questions relating to life attitudes. These questions also queried the following:

Whether the respondent admires inventors and researchers; or those who maintain, provide and care for the life of the community; the respondent's attitude towards others in the community reprimanding his children; whether one would prefer to develop personal talents or work towards meeting the needs of the community; whether one preferred to sacrifice the present for the future, or vice versa; and general attitudes to life.

- (d) A category relating to one's definition of a good Jew. In this category the respondent was asked two questions : one as to whether a knowledgeable friend would define the respondent as a good Jew and the second relating to the definition of a good Jew.

- (e) A category relating to prayer. In this category, the respondents were asked about their regularity of attendance of shull; their

reasons for attendance; their ability to follow the shull service; their feelings as to whether God answers personal prayers; spontaneous prayer in time of crisis; as to whether a spontaneous prayer accompanies the traditional lighting of candles on Friday night; as to whether the respondent offers a personal prayer before going to sleep at night.

- (f) A category relating to one's perception of God's relationship with the respondent; with the Jewish people and with those of other faiths. In this category, the respondent was asked about the experiences which would draw him closest to God; human activities which please God; God's caring for the respondent; perception of God as the creator and as the giver of the Torah.
- (g) A category relating to the respondent's celebration of the Shabbat and the following festivals: Pesach, Shavuot, Succot, Yom Kippur, Purim and Hanukkah. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their celebration of these festivals and the motivating factors.
- (h) Two questions relating to the respondent's observance of Kashrut - the respondent was asked to indicate his level of observance of Kashrut and the motivating factors.
- (i) A category relating to the celebration and commemoration of Jewish life-cycle rituals. Questions related to the mode and reasons for their celebration of the following rituals: Brit Milah, Bar Mitzvah, traditional wedding, funeral rites and mourning rites.

- (j) A category relating to the relationship between the respondent and the State of Israel. In this category, respondents were asked about the reason (if) the state of Israel is important to them, to rate on a 7-point intensity scale the importance to them for the state of Israel to survive; questions regarding the ideological orientation of Jews which the state of Israel caters for; one's feeling of personal responsibility for the actions of the Israeli Government; whether the respondent intended making aliyah and the primary benefits of such a move; the desirability of visiting Israel and reasons for doing so; the importance of supporting the Israeli United Appeal and a primary reason for doing so.
- (k) Questions relating to the respondent's involvement in Jewish organisations and sports clubs. The respondent was also asked whether his belonging to a shull gave him a communal sense, similar to that of belonging to a Jewish club or organisation.
- (l) A final category regarding Jewish culture. The respondent was asked to indicate the level of his enjoyment of Jewish food, Jewish music and Jewish literature, and the level of significance which these three things have for him.

4.4 DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

At the Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools there were 869 children registered for 1984. According to Mrs Sally Singer, Director of the Association, 69% of these children are Jewish. Thus there were \pm 1 200 parents who constituted the universe.

Lists of parents were obtained from the Association of Hebrew Nursery Schools and the author was confronted with an immediate problem, in that the lists did not specify which children were Jewish and which were not. The only indication of being Jewish was the surnames. In forming a random sample of parents, only "Jewish-sounding" names were taken into account. This method could have led to parents of mixed marriages (Jew to non-Jew) or parents who had converted yet retained their surname, of being excluded from the survey.

A random sample of the parents of 100 children was chosen. The author telephoned each parent and explained to him/her the purpose of the research, hoping to enlist the parent's support. While most parents agreed to assist, there were those who refused - some because of the fact that they were "too busy", but others refused without giving any explanation. These parents may have felt threatened by the nature of the survey, and probably preferred to conceal their being non-committed Jews.

Additional parents were contacted at random and, finally, 200 questionnaires were sent out (to both parents of the 100 children), in self-addressed envelopes. This method ensured anonymity in completing the questionnaire, yet did not ensure that all those who did agree to do so would in fact reply.

A total of 94 replies was received. In instances where there were identical questions for both the sample questionnaire and the final questionnaire, the six sample questionnaires were included, the total number of questionnaires analysed for this study then being 100, consisting of 50 males and 50 females. These replies encompassed 56 households, as in some situations only the husband or the wife replied. In relation to the

universe, this represented a ratio of 1:12.

When analysing the results of the survey, it was important for a circumspectual view to be taken when making generalisations concerning the universe, both because of the limited response to the questionnaire and the method of determining the sample. Both factors might slightly underload the non-committed and assimilated group in favour of those who are more committed.

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CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

5.1 BACKGROUND INFORMATION¹

Most of the target group fell into the 31-40 age group (70%). The vast majority of respondents were South African born (85%) and a similar percentage (88%) grew up in an urban area. At least 91% had received more than 10 years of schooling, whilst at least 63% had completed three years of fulltime post-school education.

The largest group of respondents lived in Sea Point (34%), followed by Claremont/Newlands (23%), the others being scattered amongst Camps Bay (10%), Milnerton (10%), Constantia (7%), Kenilworth (3%), Rondebosch (4%), Northern Suburbs (3%), Vredehoek (2%), Wynberg (2%) and other suburbs (2%). This distribution reflects generally the universe. An area which is under-represented is the Vredehoek/Oranjezicht area, where only two respondents replied.

5.2 JEWISH BACKGROUND INFORMATION

95 of the respondents were born Jewish, while five were converted - two by Reform, one by Orthodox, one by both Reform and Orthodox, while the fifth person did not give details regarding his conversion. There is no source regarding the exact ratio of converts to those born Jewish in the target group. This 5:95 ratio closely resembles figures of the whole of Cape Town Jewry, as measured in 1974 by Della Pergola and Buxbaum,² which estimates the number of converted partners in marriage to be 3,9%.

Two respondents had non-Jewish spouses. According to Della Pergola and

Buxbaum in the previously mentioned report, 3,5% of all spouses in Cape Town's Jewish community are not Jewish.

As indicated previously, when making inferences to the universe, one must take into account that a number of parents refused to fill in the questionnaire. There is reason to believe that parents of mixed marriages may have resisted participating in the survey for fear of social or other reprisals. Thus this figure of 2% of mixed marriages may be underloaded.

63 respondents were at least second-generation South Africans on their mother's side, while only 53 were at least second-generation on their father's side. The majority of those parents who were immigrants came from Eastern Europe.

85 of the respondents reported English to be the language of their parental home, which shows that many new immigrants adopted English as a "home" language - a step which accelerated their becoming "South African". Regarding membership of congregations, 67 belong to Orthodox, 4 belong to the Reform, while 28 reported belonging to neither.

It can be assumed that more parents would join congregations when their children became Bar/Batmizvah age. For parents of young children, membership of a congregation is not vital because one can enjoy the facilities of a Hebrew Nursery School and, in some areas, of a 'Heder, without belonging to a congregation. Most congregants are members of congregations in their present area of residence (75%) while 11% have remained members of congregations of previous areas of residence. The other 14% are members of congregations in other areas.

5.3 JEWISH EDUCATION

If one disregards differences between Jewish Day School education and Heder education, and categorises them together, the following Table reflects the different levels of education:³

TABLE 5.1 Jewish Education

HIGHEST LEVEL ACHIEVED		CUMULATIVE TOTALS
No education	11	0
Std 1 (9 years old)	9	89
Bar/Batmitzvah (12-13 years old)	39	80
Std 8 (15-16 years old)	14	41
Matriculation (17-18 years old)	24	27
Converts - conversion courses	3	3
N = 100		

The reason for the tremendous fall-out at Bar/Batmitzvah level is because their parents felt anxious about the Bar/Batmitzvah, while thereafter there was no motivation for the child to receive further Jewish education. This Table 5.1 very much explains the statistics for ability to read, speak and understand Hebrew, as reflected by answers 24, 25 and 26.

With the growth of Herzlia and the number of pupils who receive Jewish education on a High School level, it will be interesting to note the influence on the religious observance of future parents. From the survey,

there is little evidence to support the contention that the level of religious observance is in proportion to the level of Jewish education.

Regarding post-matriculation Jewish education, one respondent studied at a Yeshivah, while nine respondents took courses in Hebrew or Jewish studies at University. That only one person has studied at a Yeshivah is perhaps due to the non-existence of a Yeshivah in Cape Town and, until a few years ago, in South Africa.

5.4 LIFE ATTITUDES

There were three aspects of life attitudes which were queried. These were chosen to be comparable with four surveys conducted by the faculty of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town. These were of a deliberately chosen cross-section of 100 English-speaking Israelis; a similar sample from the Jewish community of Cape Town, a religiously mixed group of some 400 undergraduates; and some 800 members of Christian churches in Greater Athlone. The aspects surveyed were:

- (a) the sense of community feeling which the individual has;
- (b) as to whether the group is goal-orientated, or is more concerned about the present;
- (c) the degree of happiness and fulfilment which the person has.

(i) The sense of community feeling

The sense of community feeling was gauged from replies to two questions. The first question related to the attitude of the respondent to another member of his community reprimanding (a) a child not his own, yet not linked to the respondent; and (b) a child belonging to the respondent.

The second question had a 7-point scale, with developing one's own talents and meeting the needs of the community at opposite ends of a self-investment scale.

Regarding the first question, the present group scored similarly to the other groups when the case dealt with another's child; however, when dealing with the respondent's own child, the reactions of displeasure were very high. This could well be attributed to the fact that such incidents are very much a reality for this group as, having young children, they could be confronted with this problem, yet it also suggests a high level of individualism and, taking into account the closely-knit fabric of the Jewish community, one would have expected a far more positive response to this question. The negativity could be due to the fact that "Your Community", rather than "Jewish Community" was mentioned in the questions, and that the respondents interpreted it as relating to the general community. Nevertheless, it remains as a possible indication of a high level of individualism which is supported in the second question - that of the scale - where this group proved to be the most individually-orientated of all groups. Whereas the student mean of 4,23 in 1984 was typical, this group had a mean of 3,97.

Part of the reason for this may well be that this group, being a group of young parents, has a natural tendency to individuality because they are at the stage of trying to establish themselves, yet their lack of community involvement is highlighted by the responses to Question 108, where 61% of all respondents revealed that they are not active in any Jewish organisations.

(ii) Goal/texture orientation of the group

In this question, the two different approaches to life - those of goal orientation and texture orientation - were pitted against each other on different sides of a scale.

Goal orientation involves the quest for achievement. It is rooted in the Mosaic tradition in which the striving for a better world is constantly stressed. As in the Mosaic tradition, Western culture has perpetuated goal orientation, with the goals being redefined. Today, Western man is under pressure to fulfil these goals and, in doing so, may have to sacrifice the present for the future.

Texture orientation involves the enjoyment of the "now" - concentration on the present quality of life - even if this is at the expense of the future. Those who are texture orientated are likely to be people who are pessimistic about the future, and feel that if they do not enjoy what they have at present, they may be permanently bereft of fulfilment. Such an approach may well lead to the sacrificing of the future for the present.

In pitting goal orientation and texture orientation against each other, the preparedness to sacrifice the present for the future, and the future for the present, were put at each end of the scale.

TABLE 5.2 Goal/texture orientation

GROUP	SCORES
Israeli group	4,33
Jewish community	3,90
General students (1983)	4,40
General students (1984)	4,46
Jewish parents	3,85
Mean: Future goals = 1 Present quality = 1	
NB The mean for Jewish parents has been adjusted from a 6-point scale to a 7-point scale.	

It is evident from Table 5.2 that the Jewish parents are very similar to the cross-section of the Jewish community in their goal orientation. That they are slightly more goal orientated than the Jewish community is indicative of their being at that stage of life when caring about the future is important.

In comparison with the general student group, the Cape Town Jewish community is very much goal orientated. Indeed, this reflects the pioneering spirit which the Jewish immigrants had in establishing themselves and their children on a sound economic footing, having entered the country virtually penniless.

The texture orientation of the Israeli group is probably due to the economic political and military uncertainty which prevails in the country. When talking to Israelis, it became evident that their approach to life was to enjoy what they have at present, because the future for them is such an unknown factor.

If the political and economic situation does deteriorate in South Africa as well, it will be interesting to see how the Jewish community will react in terms of goal/texture orientation.

(c) The degree of happiness and fulfilment which the group has

The majority of respondents found life to be meaningful (70%); enjoyable/a great joy (74%); and a challenge (71%). No respondents found life disjointed, but 20% found life to be confusing. Only 5% (the lowest of all the groups suggested) reported it to be suffering. In terms of coping with life, 24% found it to be a struggle, while only 6% reported that it was a sacrifice.

In Chapter 7 the religious ramifications of the degree of fulfilment and happiness amongst the group will be discussed.

5.5 THE RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTION OF GOD AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM

Belief

When personally supervising the completion of questionnaires in the testing stage of the questionnaire, it became apparent that the series of questions

relating to one's perception of God and His relationship with that person were most confounding. Many respondents had never grappled consciously with these issues, or sought for themselves clear-cut answers. This may be due to the stress Judaism lays on actions, with beliefs playing a more latent role. Furthermore, these issues are rarely part of Jewish educational curriculae - the stress there also is usually on ritual and ethics.

In order to obtain a clear picture regarding the differences in the group in their belief in a personal God and of having a relationship with him, three questions were grouped together. The three questions were: (a) Do you have a strong sense that God answers personal prayers? (b) Do you pray spontaneously in times of crisis? and (c) Do you feel that God cares about you? These questions were weighted according to the various possible answers.

Each respondent could have scored a possible seven points. Only 89% of respondents had complete answers to all three questions, and thus only their answers could be considered.

TABLE 5.3 Belief in a personal God

SCORE	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% RESPONDENTS	CUMULATIVE
0	19	21	100
1	6	7	79
2	2	2	72
3	9	10	70
4	15	17	60
5	10	11	43
6	12	15	32
7	15	17	17
N = 89			

It is evident from Table 5.3 that the majority of respondents (60%) scored four points or more. This indicates that the majority of respondents do have a medium to high sense of belief in a personal God.

Of interest is the fact that while the total atheists comprised the highest number of any category (21%), a substantial 43% place themselves at 5 and above.

5.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF AND THE PERFORMANCE OF MITZVOT

Sklare,⁴ made the following observation concerning "Lakeville", a fictitious name for a suburb of a large mid-West city in the United States of America:

They (the residents of "Lakeville") were aware that their faith had many aspects besides its traditional sacramentalism or emphasis on ritual acts. They were chiefly attracted by these other aspects' values and meanings. Today the chief alternative to sacramentalism is moralism - the belief that the religious man is distinguished from the irreligious simply by his ethical behaviour For him (the moralist) the fine purpose of religion is to teach man how to deal justly with his fellow man.

This idea is similarly expressed by Cumpsty, who says:

We believe that generally speaking, and we are conscious of how sweeping a statement this is, that the Jew who has been most involved in his local community's affairs probably including religious practice to the extent that his major sense of belonging emanates from there, has been little conscious of the affairs of humanity as a whole. Whereas the Jew who was little involved with the community and probably, therefore, with perhaps greater singleness of mind than other Westerners, at the level of a universal human ethic.⁵

The description of "Lakeville" residents, as well as Cumpsty's evaluation,

may well apply to our target group. Here, too, the ethical precepts certainly take precedence over the rituals.

While belief in God in the elite religion is a pre-requisite for the performance of Mitzvot, in the folk religion belief is not necessarily a central factor. Thus there are Jews who have a strong sense of belief, yet refrain from doing the rituals, while there are others who perform the rituals regularly, yet are not firm believers in God. Those who believe, yet do not perform the rituals regularly, are among the moralists. For them, the purpose of religion is to teach man how to deal with his fellowmen. This is reflected in the answers to the question concerning the human activities which please God most (Question No 51).

In answer to this question, only 13% of the respondents listed rituals which are particular to Judaism, i.e. prayers, Torah study, attendance of Shull and observance of Shabbat and festivals, as their priority choice, while at least 62% chose being a good father/mother, or doing one's job in life honestly, or the giving of charity, as a human activity which pleases God most of all. What is the basis for the strength of moralism which exists amongst the target group?

As in "Lakeville", moralism amongst this group is, probably, largely an alternative for sacramentalism, which became eroded with the Jews' arrival in South Africa. At first the Jew made compromises regarding his religious observance, in order to acclimatise to his surroundings. While he compromised and desecrated the Shabbat, and did not totally keep Kashrut, he still felt himself bound by the precepts.

What commenced as a compromise became a way of life and, thus, the Jew ceased to be troubled by his non-observance of rituals which his father, through compromise, did not observe. In order to obtain legitimacy from the religion for this new hierarchy of values, the Jew in many instances resorted to moralism, which removed from him all ritual demands with which he may have felt uncomfortable.

It seems to be that with moralism being so strong, there should be a tremendous collapse of the observance of rituals, since the primary motive of ritual in elite religion, i.e. the fulfilment of the Divine Will, is not very much endorsed. However, in practice, ritual is very much being practised. The burning question is - what are the reasons and motivating factors for the performance of the rituals? A full discussion thereon will ensue in the forthcoming sections, which deal with details of levels of observance and motivation for observance.

5.7 REVELATION

The belief in Relevation is strong within the group, as is evident from the replies to the following two questions:

- (a) Do you believe that God made himself known to Christians and Moslems as well as Jews? (Question 62).

Yes	:	62
No	:	12
Maybe	:	25
No reply	:	1
N	:	100

(b) Do you perceive of God as the giver of the Torah? (Question 54).

Yes	:	48
No	:	19
Maybe	:	31
No reply	:	1
N	:	100

From Question 62 it is evident that at least 62% of respondents believe in revelation. This is not a total indicator since amongst the responses to Question 54 there are eleven who affirmed the perception of God as the giver of the Torah, yet did not affirm the belief that God revealed himself to Christians and Moslems as well as Jews, giving a total of 73 who affirmed revelation in some sense.

A further examination of the answers to these two questions reveals that 21 respondents affirmed their belief in revelation, yet rejected the notion of God being the giver of the Torah. This group would be able to align themselves with the non-Orthodox theologies currently in the United States of America, which do accept the belief in revelation but do not necessarily connect Torah in its traditional meaning to this phenomenon.

5.8 GOD'S UNIVERSAL RELATIONSHIP

It is evident that the group strongly perceives of God as a universal God. As is evident from the answers to Question 62 above, 62% affirm their belief in revelation to Christians and Moslems as well, while only 12% reject this notion.

God's universal nature is further accentuated by comparing the following two questions:

(a) Is God's relationship with the Jewish people unique? (Question 60).

Yes	:	42
No	:	34
Maybe	:	22
No reply	:	2
N	:	100

(b) Does God have a purpose for all nations? (Question 61).

Yes	:	43
No	:	16
Maybe	:	38
No reply	:	3
N	:	100

While it is possible to accept both premises, a slightly higher percentage of respondents affirmed the second premise (b), and a sharply higher percentage of respondents totally negated the first premise (a).

There is a core of approaching 45% who do perceive of God having a special relationship with the Jewish people; who perceive of the Jews as being elect and who perceive of God's relationship with the Jewish people as being unique.⁶

The perception of God as as being a universal God is closely related to the stress laid on moralism, as mentioned earlier. Since moralism is a value system which is not necessarily related to the Jewish people, there is reason to believe that, in the same way as God revealed himself to the Jewish people and demanded of them an ethical way of life, so too did he reveal himself to other nations and demand of them an ethical way of life.

5.9 ATTENDANCE OF SHULL⁷

Attendance of Shull is one of the public monitors of the observance of Mitzvot.

TABLE 5.4 Shull attendance

QUESTION	%	CUMULATIVE TOTAL IN EACH CATEGORY
I do not attend Shull at all.	15	
I attend Shull on Yom Kipper only.	5	84
I attend Shull on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	24	79
I attend Shull on festivals (includes above).	39	55
I attend Shull on festivals and regularly on Shabbat.	11	16
I attend Shull on festivals, regularly on Shabbat, and occasionally during the week.	3	5
I attend Shull daily.	2	2
N = 99		

It is significant from Table 5.4 that 15% do not attend Shull at all, not even on Yom Kippur. The highest group is that of people who attend on festivals, while the lowest group consists of those who attend daily. It must be taken into account that women do not attend the daily services and, therefore, the last two levels would apply to only half the sample group, but the figure is still low.

It is significant that only a mere 16% of the group attend Shabbat services. This is despite the fact that the vast majority of families do have a traditional Friday night supper.

Amongst those who attend Shull, only 55% cited as their reason that Shull serves as a house of prayer. This contrasts very strongly with the Shull

situation in Israel, which is usually understood to be merely a house of prayer, attracting only those who want to pray. Other major reasons given were community identification (70%), its educational value for the children (58%), and enjoyment of the service (31%). That at least 70% see Shull as a means of identifying with the Jewish people, indicates its vital role in keeping the community together.

The importance for parents of the educational value of Shull attendance for their children (58%), is no doubt due to the overall parental concern for their children's education, especially at a young age, and is probably related to their future ability to identify, rather than to piety.

5.10 SABBATH OBSERVANCE

The observance of the Sabbath is marked by, amongst others, the following important rituals:

1. The lighting of candles prior to sunset.
2. The "Kiddush", a special blessing on the wine, in which the Sabbath is sanctified.
3. The eating of traditional Sabbath meals. In these meals, a special bread - a kitzke - is used, and traditional fixed menus are served.

The Sabbath is also marked by the refraining from desecrating the Sabbath by doing forbidden labours, as prescribed by Jewish Law. Sabbath services

are a focal point, attracting more congregants, especially women, than the daily services.

According to the survey, the most observed ritual is that of the lighting of candles.⁸ At least 90% of respondents light candles on Friday nights, 85% recite the Kiddush, while 71% have a traditional Friday night meal. While 24% refrain in one way or another from desecrating the Sabbath, only 16% regularly attend Sabbath services.

Regarding the importance of Sabbath rituals, there is a tremendous disparity between the elite religion and the folk religion. According to the elite religion, the non-desecration of the Sabbath is of paramount importance. This would be followed by the making of Kiddush, the attendance of Shull and, finally, by being with one's family. It is thus more important not to desecrate the Sabbath than for the family to be together.

According to the folk religion, the hierarchy of values is totally different. In reply to the question, "Arrange the following in order of importance: on Shabbat (Sabbath) evening it is important to attend Shull/be with the family/make Kiddish/refrain from breaking the Shabbat", the overwhelming majority (74%) listed being with the family as being of supreme importance. This supports the dictum in Cape Town Jewish circles that "Friday night is family night". The making of kiddish is given second preference, while the attendance of Shull is in third place, with refraining from the "breaking" of the Sabbath in fourth place.

If only first preferences are considered, refraining from the breaking of the Sabbath is in third place, while Shull attendance is fourth.

This tremendous change of values, revealed in our sample, has widened the gap considerably between the experience of the Sabbath in the elite religion, and the Sabbath experience in the folk religion. In the elite religion, the Jew is predominantly concerned on the Sabbath with fulfilling the Divine command, prohibiting creative work. The focus on the Sabbath is the fulfilment of Divine precepts: the study of Torah and of spiritual upliftment.

In the folk religion, the Jew is predominantly concerned on the Sabbath with the maintenance of family ties and preservation of cultural heritage. It is the traditional family Friday night dinner which serves to cement the bonds of the Jew with his family and his culture. In the face of a tendency towards family disintegration and assimilation, this weekly Jewish orientated family get-together very much serves as a spiritual anchor.

While it is understandable why the importance of the family being together has been elevated, it is more difficult to understand why the non-desecration of the Sabbath has been relegated to a matter of minor importance. This could be explained by the fact that when the devout Jew came to South Africa, he desecrated the Sabbath for commercial reasons, in order to be able to compete with his non-Jewish compatriots who traded during the Sabbath. What was perceived of as an economic necessity became a way of life. Once the Jew began to trade on the Sabbath, his private observance of the laws pertaining to the sanctity of the Sabbath became eroded as well. This is due to Friday night being a night when business in the general community was not conducted - Friday night became the focal point of the Shabbat.

It is not only this Sabbath "day" observance which became eroded, due to the Jew's working on the Sabbath. Whereas the Sabbath officially commences prior to sunset on Friday evening and terminates after dark on Saturday evening, in the folk religion the Sabbath terminates on Friday night after the traditional Friday evening dinner. Almost 92% of the respondents do not do anything of religious significance during the "day" of the Sabbath.

5.11 THE OBSERVANCE OF YOM KIPPUR

In the folk religion, Yom Kippur observance is the antithesis of Sabbath observances. Whereas Sabbath observance is food centred and family orientated, with minimal Shull attendance, Yom Kipper is marked by abstinence from food or drink, a feeling of community and Shull attendance. 82% of all respondents replied that they fast for the complete day, while 84% attend at least one of the synagogue services during Yom Kippur.⁹

In motivating their reasons for fasting, respondents were asked to choose three motivating factors. From the survey, it is evident that the supreme motivating factor is the need to atone (53%). This coincides with the elite religious viewpoint, which perceives of atonement as the central theme regarding the other two most popular motivating factors. 51% of the respondents noted that they fast as a form of identifying with the Jewish people, while 49% fast because it is a Mitzvah (Divine precept). This particularly high score of people who are motivated because of it being a Mitzvah indicates a very selective attitude to what constitutes Divine Law.

While on the Sabbath Jews traded and thus the elite type of observance of Judaism eroded, on Yom Kippur Jews have abstained from working. In the folk religion, a Jew who works on Yom Kippur is seen in a negative light. In many aspects, therefore, an elite-type observance of Yom Kippur has been maintained.

What seems to have happened is that, because the Jew now has fewer links with his heritage than he had in Eastern Europe, those links which remain must be strengthened at all costs.

5.12 OBSERVANCE OF THE THREE PILGRIM FESTIVALS

Of all the festival rituals (of Pesach, Shavuot and Succot), the Pesach Seder has the highest level of observance. The Pesach Seder consists of a festive meal at which special symbols are eaten. The meal is preceded and succeeded by readings from the "Haggadah", a book outlining the story of the exodus from Egypt; rabbinical thoughts and commentaries; appropriate blessings and prayers; Psalms of thanks and traditional poems. In the diaspora, the Pesach Seder takes place on both the first and second nights of Pesach. A mere 2% of the respondents reported not attending a Seder at all, while 29% indicated that they have a Seder on the first night only. Thus the observance of the Seder is strong and almost universal.

The nature of the Seder varies. 40% of the respondents do the Seder as prescribed by the elite religion, 29% suffice themselves with doing the symbolic acts and selective readings from the Haggadah. A further 28% do

the Seder as prescribed at least until the meal. Three popular motivating factors for the observance of the Seder are:

1. It is an important educational experience for the children. The Seder is orientated to holding the children's attention and to augmenting their participation. This motivating factor coincides with the centrality of the Seder as an instrument of education in the elite religion. Over 60% of respondents indicated their choice of the educational aspect as a motivating factor.
2. It is a way of identifying with the Jewish people. 51% of respondents indicated this to be an important reason for the observance of the Seder.
3. It is a family tradition. 75% of respondents spend the Seder night with their parents or in-laws. This again reflects the influence of family bonds.

Of the three pilgrim festivals, Sukkot is the next in order of popular celebration. This festival is celebrated by the building of "Sukkot" - temporary structures, with tree-branches and leaves serving as a roof, of the taking of the four species - Willow, Myrtle, Citron and Palm branches - and of the eating of festive meals.

While only 17% of the respondents build Sukkot, 42% indicated that they observe the festival in one way or another.

Sukkot's comparative lack of "popularity" may stem from any of, or a combination of, the following reasons:

- (a) It follows immediately after the High holy days. Whereas Pesach is isolated from the other festivals and people have an "appetite" for celebration, by the time they reach Sukkot, which directly follows Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, they may feel saturated.
- (b) The rituals on Sukkot are not easy to perform. In order to build a Sukkah, one must have suitable out-door premises - a difficulty for apartment dwellers. The four species of branches are an expensive commodity to acquire and thus the custom in Cape Town is for Shulls to purchase them. Thus the person who is not a Shull attender is almost unaware of these central symbols on Sukkot.
- (c) Whereas during the eight days of Pesach the Pesach Seder is a one or two evening highlight, Sukkot is ongoing for seven days, without any highlight. In many centres, Hashana Rabba, the last day of Sukkot, is a day of popular celebration. However, in Cape Town, this is not the case. Simchat Torah, which did not feature in the survey, does have a more popular pull. This is largely because of the chocolates and flags which the children receive, following the Shull service. Thus the eagerness of the children to attend the Shull services puts pressure on their parents.

Shavuot is the least popular of the three Pilgrim festivals. Only 32% of the respondents indicated celebration thereof.

Shavuot is celebrated by having an evening of Torah, study and the eating of "milk" festive meals. The lack of celebration of Shavuot could be

explained by either of the following two reasons:

- (a) The central theme of Shavuot is the acceptance of the Torah and the study thereof. Both these values are foreign to the folk religion and thus the festival which stresses them cannot be meaningful.
- (b) Shavuot does not have tangible symbols, or household rituals. Whereas Pesach has the Matzah and the Seder, and Sukkot has the Sukkah, the spirit of Shavuot is difficult to convey if one does not participate in Torah study.

5.13 CELEBRATION OF 'HANUKKAH AND PURIM

5.13.1 'Hanukkah

The celebration of 'Hanukkah is marked by, amongst other rituals, the lighting of candles nightly for the eight festive days, the eating of traditional foods and the giving of presents to children.

'Hanukkah is celebrated by a relatively high percentage of the target group (77%). Of those who do celebrate, 82% light candles, 41% eat traditional foods and 24% give presents to their children. Every person who celebrates 'Hanukkah cited this celebration as being motivated by its being educational for the children. Other strong motivating factors were that it is enjoyable and the aspect of it is family tradition.

Dr Sydney Goldstein,¹⁰ in explaining the widespread celebration of

'Hanukkah in Providence, especially amongst family units who have a high proportion of young children, sees Hanukkah as being used by the parents as a substitute for Christmas. Only 5% of the local survey were prepared to admit that this is the case here. While it is evident from the replies that 'Hanukkah, as a substitute for Christmas, does not feature strongly on the conscious level, it may certainly be a latent reason.

5.13.2 Purim

Purim is marked by the following rituals, amongst others:

- (a) listening to the reading of Megillat Esther - the book of Esther;
- (b) presents are given to friends;
- (c) money is given to charity;
- (d) children dress up in fancy-dress.

The following Table indicates the level of observance:

TABLE 5.5 Observance of Purim

QUESTION	NO. IN EACH CATEGORY OF SAMPLE	%
No observance of Purim	31	33
Listen to the reading of the Megillah	17	18
Children dress up in fancy-dress	59	63
Eat a festival meal	10	11
Give presents to friends	5	5
Give charity to the poor	12	11
N = 94		

It is evident from Table 5.5 that the most widely observed custom is for children to dress up in fancy-dress. This is probably due to the Purim parties at Nursery School, where dress-up is all but mandatory. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, parents being concerned about their children's education expose them to child-centred rituals. Besides children dressing up, Purim is hardly celebrated. None of the other rituals have become deeply entrenched in the folk religion, and a mere 25% of the respondents reported celebrating Purim in one or more ways, other than dressing up their children.

5.14 OBSERVANCE OF KASHRUT

In Judaism, the observance of Kashrut is characterised by the eating of Kosher foods only - of foods which contain ingredients which, if being meat, come from certain types of animals only, and which have been slaughtered by a Sochet, in the proper manner. Furthermore, meat and milk are eaten separately.

In the folk religion, the strict adherence to Kashrut is low. 22% of the respondents reported adhering strictly to the rules as prescribed by the elite religion. A total of 36% purchase Kosher meat only, while 26% refrain from eating pig. 37% indicated no observance of Kashrut at all. Whilst when the Jew came to this country he promised Kosher foods only, and at other homes and at restaurants a *lassaire faire* situation prevailed, today it seems to be an either/or situation.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the observance of Kashrut is on the increase or not. Today, certainly, it is much easier to observe Kashrut,

since Kosher meat is today salted and soaked by the butcheries - a process which formerly had to be done by the housewife. Furthermore, Kosher butcheries today are situated in the main supermarkets, and thus the housewife is not inconvenienced by having to purchase Kosher meat.

5.15 OBSERVANCE OF LIFE CYCLE RITUALS

5.15.1 Brit Milah

The observance of Brit Milah is marked by the act of circumcision by a Mohel, who recites, together with the father, the appropriate blessings. Contrary to halachic practices, there are those who prefer a doctor to do the circumcision. There are doctors who perform the rituals as well, and most people who opt for a doctor prefer the rituals to be done as well.

According to the results of the survey, Brit Milah is practised without exception. 76% prefer the strict halachic procedure, 23% prefer a doctor with rituals and 2% prefer a doctor without the rituals.

Amongst the reasons given for observing Brit Milah, 48% felt motivated to perform this ritual because it is part of the Jewish heritage, while 90% felt obliged to do so because it is prescribed in the Halachah. That 90% felt motivated to perform Brit Milah for halachic reasons is interesting because, in essence, the Brit is an act of initiating the boy into the covenant which God made with Abraham. Whether those who are halachically motivated are motivated as such because of the importance which they attach to the covenant, or the importance of acquiescence to the Divine Law, or because they believe that in such circumstances it is important to obey religious authority, is an unknown factor. It will be shown that in all

life-cycle associated rituals, the motivation for observing halachah (for doing things the "proper way"), is very strong.

5.15.2 Bar/Batmitzvah (Barmitzvah for boys and Batmitzvah for girls)

The celebration differs from the other life-cycle rituals in that the other rituals have a permanent effect regarding the person's status within Judaism and the non-fulfilment thereof has halachic repercussion. However, the celebration of Bar/Batmitzvah is not a halachically vital ceremony, in that the person's status is not affected if he does not observe the ceremony. It could be expected, therefore, that the celebration of Bar/Batmitzvah would be less observed than that of Brit Milah or Chupah. However, this is not so - probably because people are not aware of its being of less significance than Brit Milah, Chupah and burial. It is of course child-centred, so there is social pressure to observe the ceremony.

The statistics show that the celebration of Bar/Batmitzvah is almost as widespread as the celebration of Brit Milah. A mere 2% of the respondents indicated that the ritual is not important. It is interesting to note that the two respondents who did not feel this celebration to be important are not adherents to elite Orthodox religion - one is a Reform convert, while the other is married to a Reform convert.

In selecting reasons for the importance of a Bar/Batmitzvah, 55% indicated that "A Barmitzvah is a vital stage in the Jewish life cycle". While this statement does not explain why it is a vital stage, it does reflect the feeling that Bar/Batmitzvah is an important link in the Jewish life-cycle, even though tangibly it does not change the status of the person at all.

5.15.3 Marriage Ceremony

To have a religious wedding, whether it be in Shull under a Chupah or outside under a Chupah is almost as universally acceptable as a Bar/Batmitzvah and Brit Milah. A mere 3% of the respondents indicated that it is not important to them.

The desire to have a "proper" ceremony, to have a wedding according to correct halachic procedure, is the prime motive for wanting a religious wedding. 75% of respondents who feel the religious ceremony to be important indicated that for them this is the prime motivation. At least 14% expressed the feeling that "any other way would be foreign to them", probably indicating that a religious ceremony is part of their culture - a culture with which they feel at home.

5.15.4 Burial in a Jewish Cemetery

According to the Halachah, a Jew should not be cremated but rather buried, the place of burial being a Jewish cemetery.

While support for the halachic procedure is still strong, as with the other life-cycle rituals, 20% of the surveyed populace did not feel it important to be buried. Of these, 5% opted for cremation, while 15% felt it made no difference to them. None of the respondents indicated a preference for burial in a civil cemetery.

As with the other life-cycle rituals, those who actually chose to deviate from halactic procedure are either converts, married to converts, or

married to a non-Jewish spouse. In this instance, all those who desire to be cremated fall into this category.

The predominant motivation for burial in a Jewish Cemetery is the need to conform with Halachah. 75% of those who prefer burial in a Jewish cemetery cite this reason. The other reason of significance given is the need for a Jew to be buried amongst his people. 59% of the respondents indicated this preference.

As in the observance of Brit Milah and of a religious wedding, in this instance also the need to conform with Halachah is predominant. A possible reason for the lower level of commitment to a Jewish burial amongst the group, in comparison with its commitment to Brit Milah, Bar/Batmitzvah and Jewish marriage, is that for many of the respondents, burial and death are hopefully a long time off, and thus they do not feel faced with this decision at their young age. Attitudes could very well change once they are confronted by the deaths of near and dear ones.

5.16 CONCLUSION

Observance of the life-cycle rituals is almost universal and, in this respect, the folk religion very much resembles the elite religion. It is not only the performance of the ritual which is elite-like but also the motivation given for performance is very elite-like, in that observing the Halachah is a predominant motivating factor. Those who do not feel the need to fulfil these rituals are almost exclusively converts, spouses of converts or spouses of non-Jews. A less conscious reason for the performance of these rituals could be the feeling of peoplehood which they

invoke. Indeed, for many, Halachah and peoplehood are virtually synonymous. Since converts, their spouses or those married to non-Jewish spouse may have a weak feeling of peoplehood, they may not feel the need to perform these rituals.

It is evident from the survey that the Cape Town Nursery School parent is very much selective in his observance of Halachah. When involved in the annual rituals and Kashrut, his observance is often scant and differs in content to a great extent from that of the elite religion. He is motivated to do the rituals he performs by a need to identify with the Jewish people, and a need to continue with family and national traditions, with the motivation to fulfil Halachah showing little support. However, when observing rituals associated with the life-cycle, his observance very much resembles that of the elite religion. Furthermore, his motivation to fulfil Halachah is dominant amongst other motivating factors.

Liebman,¹¹ sees the life cycle rituals as rituals which integrate the Jew into the community of fellow-Jews. In fact, he sees the pattern of all rituals amongst Jews (in context he is referring to conservative Jews in the United States of America) as supportive of Jewish communalism and ethnicity. Liebman sees these rituals as maintaining the ethnic identity of the Jew in the wake of the will to survive as a Jew yet integrate into American society. While the converse is not necessarily correct, those Jews who prefer total integration and assimilation into the general American society may reject these rituals.

There is strong evidence to show that Liebman's premise for the American Conservative Jew is as valid for the Cape Town Jewish Nursery School parent. As stated previously, the South African Jew does not have a will

to integrate into a larger culture because of the cultural and ethnic pluralism, coupled with the complex political situation in South Africa. Thus his observance of those rituals which bond him to his people and strengthen his ethnic ties should be almost total, which is indeed the case. Furthermore, those who have a low sense of peoplehood, e.g. converts, spouses of converts or spouses with a partner of another faith, must be expected to display a lesser motivation for the performance of the life-cycle rituals and, indeed, it has been shown that this situation prevails amongst the target group.

5.17 RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL

In Chapter 2, the Zionistic aspect of the South African Jew was emphasised.

It is thus small wonder that, in answer to the question: "How important is it to you for the State of Israel to survive", on a 7-point scale ranging from unimportant to important, 85% indicated their preference for point No 7. The mean for the scale was 6,6%. This is high, when taking into account that the mean for the question of "How Jewish do you feel?" (on a 7-point scale), was only 5,7%. In answering that question, only 35% of the respondents expressed their preference for No "7". While the importance of the survival of the State of Israel is largely due to a strong Jewish identity, it is strange that the respondents were more able to totally commit themselves to the importance of the survival of the State of Israel than to their feeling Jewish.

While the survival of the State of Israel is important to the parent in the target group and, furthermore, 76% feel it important to donate more to the

Israeli United Appeal, only 23% are prepared to commit themselves to immigration to Israel.

The State of Israel is, thus, not so much an envisaged haven but rather a symbol which evokes strong feeling of identity. The Jew who finds it difficult to see the Republic of South Africa as a national symbol with which he can identify, embraces the State of Israel to fill this void more enthusiastically perhaps, than he might in other circumstances.

The feeling of identification which the State of Israel provokes is so strong that 50% of the parents feel seriously troubled when the Israeli Government does something morally wrong. Only 11% feel totally indifferent to the actions of the Israeli Government.

The majority of parents (61%) believe that the State of Israel ensures the survival of the Jewish people, and it is probably with this in mind that most parents feel so strongly about the importance of its survival. As with the life-cycle rituals, identity with the State of Israel is very strong, except among the group who are not Jewishly acculturised.

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7. For comparative statistics for Cape Town, see S. Della Pergola & D. Tal, "Religion and Religious Observance", Advance Report No 11, Division of Jewish Demography, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, p 9.
8. For comparative statistics for Johannesburg, see A. Dubb, Op Cit, p 59.
9. For comparative data for South Africa, see S. Della Pergola & D. Tal, "Religion and Religious Observance", Op Cit, p 11.

Similarly, for comparative data for Johannesburg, see A. Dubb, Op Cit, p 118.
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11. SYDNEY GOLDSTEIN.
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CHAPTER 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE
AND JEWISH IDENTITY

Upon analysing the results of the survey, it became evident that certain patterns were formed. Of particular interest is the relationship between religious observance and Jewish commitment.

Levels of Religious Observance

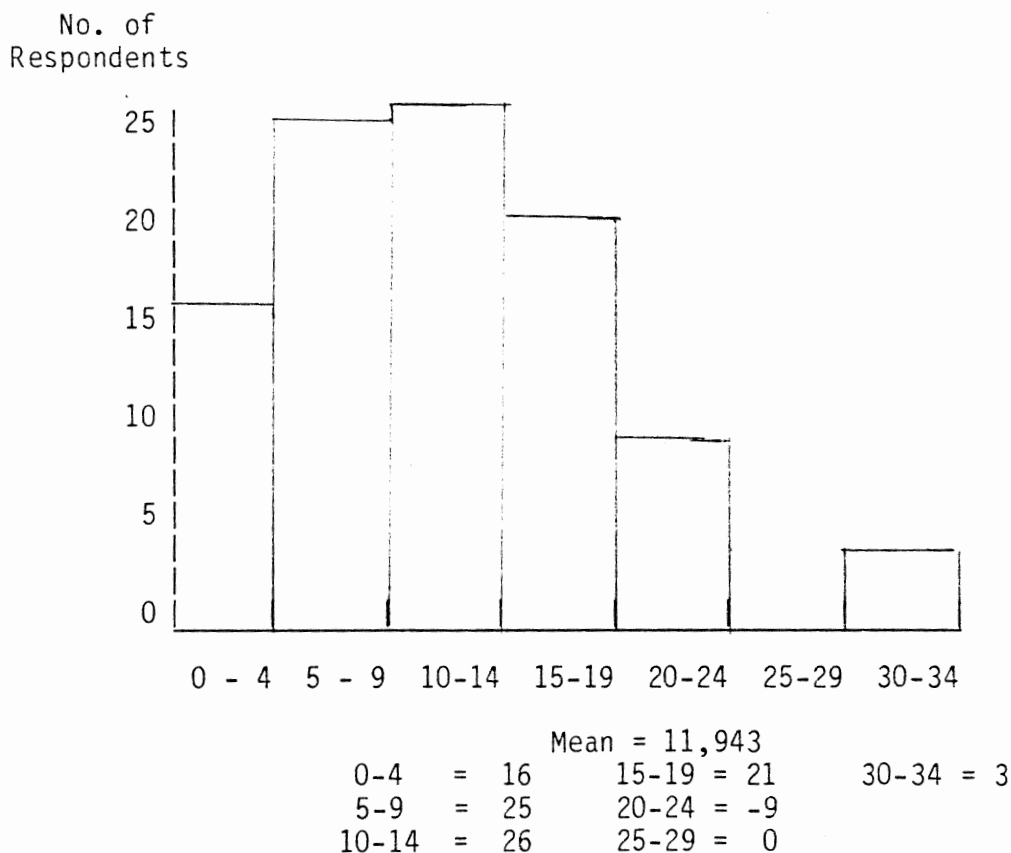
In order to obtain an indication regarding the relative levels of religious observance amongst the target group, scores were allocated to responses to questions which dealt with:

1. Membership of a congregation.
2. Personal rating regarding level of observance.
3. The keeping of Mitzvot as a pre-requisite for being a good Jew.
4. Attendance of Shul.
5. A feeling that God answers prayers.
6. Spontaneous prayer during the Friday Night candle lighting ritual.
7. Perception of God as a creator.
8. Perception of God as the giver of the Torah.
9. Belief in the Jewish people being elect.
10. Acceptance of God having a unique relationship with the Jewish people.
11. A feeling that God cares about one.
12. Refraining from desecration of the Shabbat on Friday Night.

13. Placing of aspects of Shabbat observance in halachic hierachial order.
14. Observance of the Shabbat 'day'.
15. Eating of Kashrut.¹

It will be noted that responses to questions dealing with the life cycle rituals, i.e. Brit Milah, Bar/batmitzvah, Religious Marriage, Burial and Mourning, have not been taken into account for these, as we have seen, are also very much part of folk religion and identification with the community. These questions have been included amongst the criteria for determining Jewish identity, for they are certainly that, but not necessarily indicators of religious commitment in the narrower sense. This factor must be taken into account if one requires an overall picture of the level of Religious Observance.

FIGURE 6.1 Religious observance



It is evident from Figure 6.1 that 72% of all respondents fall between 5 and 19. This indicates a particularly low level of observance amongst the majority of the group. At least 84% of respondents scored more than 4, indicating that there is a bare minimum of observance of some rituals by all respondents. That no respondents fall between 25-29 indicates a gap between the three who are "observant" and those who are closest to them. Indeed, if this gap would become widened, it would indicate a polarisation, the nature of which exists in communities such as Johannesburg.

The observant segment is very small (3%) and seems to be insignificant, while the strongly traditional element (9%) is not very large either. That the vast majority of respondents are centrally and similarly aligned, probably accounts for the harmony in the community and its opinion of itself as observant.

5.1 Jewish Identity

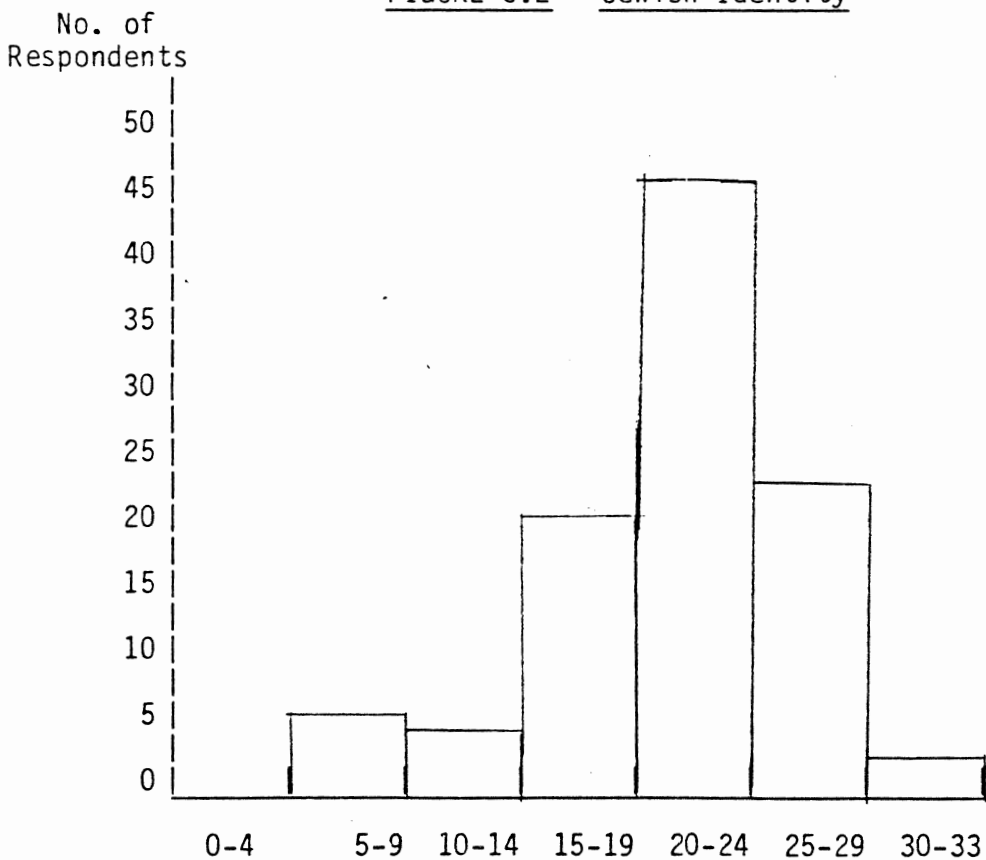
In determining the respondents' level of Jewish identity, the following characteristics were drawn upon:

1. The person's feeling of Jewishness.
2. His closeness to other Jews, be they South African or other nationalities.
3. The person's minimum attendance at Shull.
4. His observance of "accepted" Jewish traditions, i.e. fasting on Yom Kippur and refraining from the eating of pig.

5. His observance of those rituals which cement his links with the community, i.e. Brit Milah, Barmitzvah, Jewish wedding, Jewish burial, and minimal mourning rites.
6. The respondent's commitment to the State of Israel.
7. The respondent's involvement in Jewish sports' clubs and other organisations.
8. The respondent's enjoyment of Jewish food and interest in Jewish literature and music.²

The level of Jewish identity according to the above criteria can be gauged according to the following graph:

FIGURE 6.2 Jewish Identity



Mean = 21,358

0-4 = 0	15-19 = 20	30-33 = 2
5-9 = 5	20-24 = 46	
10-14 = 4	25-29 = 23	

Figure 6.2 indicates, according to the chosen criteria, a strong Jewish identity amongst the group, whereas in the religious observance graph (Figure 6.1) 77% of all respondents fall below the mid-point of the scale, and in the Jewish commitment graph (Figure 6.2) 90% fall above the mid-point of the scale. It is noteworthy also that 89% of all respondents fall between 15 and 29, indicating a homogeneity in terms of our measure of Jewish identity.

This strong level of Jewish identity is not surprising, given the origins of the Cape Town Jew and South Africa's plural society - factors which were examined in Chapter 2.

Additional scales were drawn up: a belief scale and a Zionist scale:

- (a) A belief scale: Respondents were scored in terms of their responses to those questions which dealt with each respondent's perception of God, his intervention in the world and their willingness to pray.
- (b) A Zionist scale: Respondents were scored in terms of their feelings regarding the survival of the state of Israel, of the importance they attached to visiting Israel and supporting the Israeli United Appeal, and whether or not they were contemplating Alyah to Israel.

It was thus possible to gain a total picture of the community, based on the mean scores for Jewish identity, religious observance, Zionism and belief.

TABLE 6.1 Maximum and Mean Scores for the Jewish Identity;

	MAXIMUM SCORE	MEAN SCORE	MEAN AS A PERCENTAGE OF MAXIMUM
Jewish identity	32	21,36	66,75
Religious observance	33	11,95	36,21
Zionism	10	6,69	66,90
Belief	11	6,87	62,45

It is evident from Table 6.1 that the group has a strong Jewish identity, is strongly Zionist, and has a strong sense of belief. This is to counter-balance the evident weakness in Religious Observance. The strong Jewish identity has been discussed in this chapter, as was the pro-Zionism in previous chapters. What is surprising is the strong sense of belief, taking into account the particularly low level of Jewish observance.

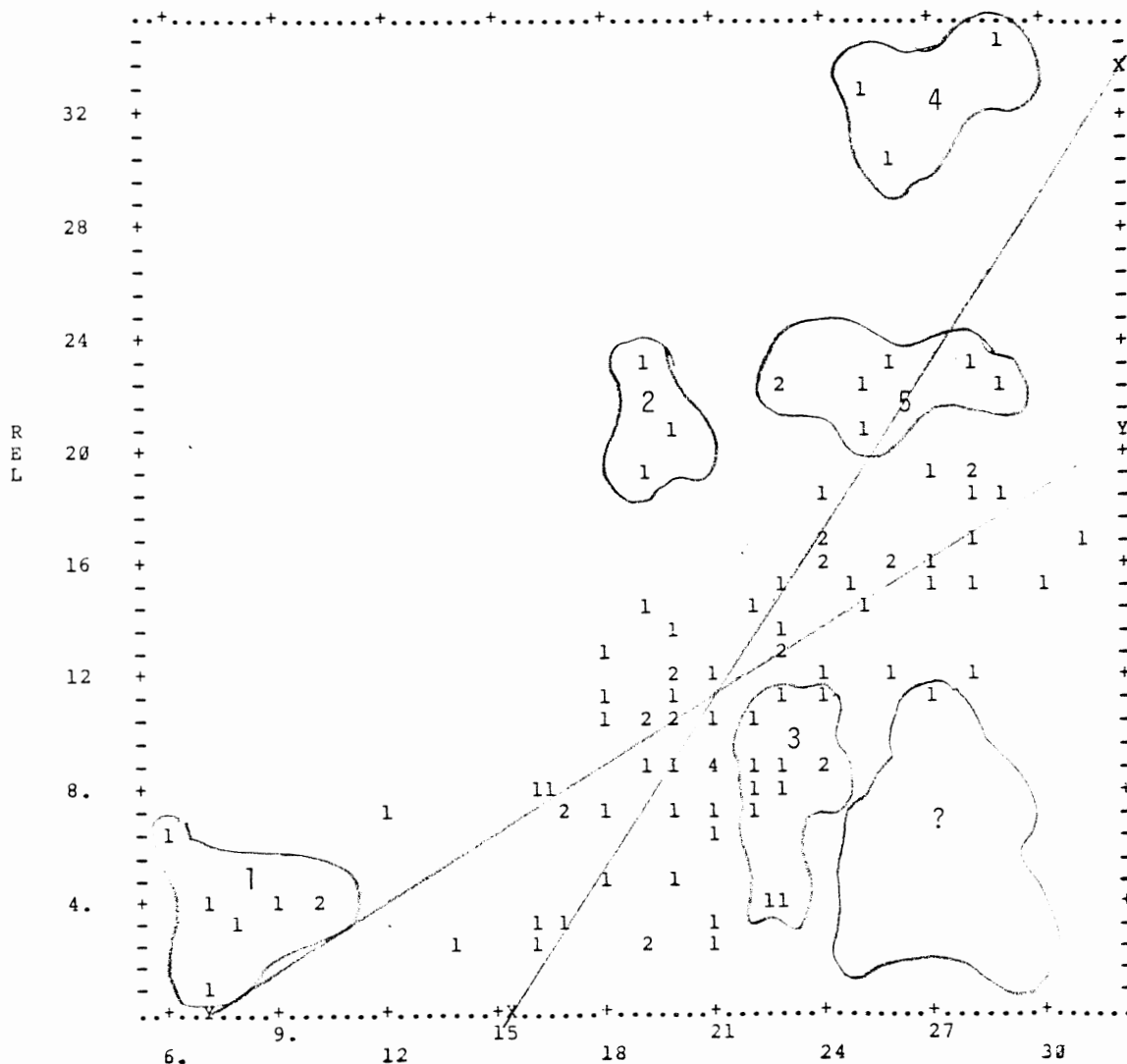
This could be accounted for by the move in the community from a behaviour pattern to a belief one. This correlates with Cumpsty's findings⁴ in Israel, where he found that "Religious journals carrying articles on such themes as orthopraxis is not enough and poor man's prayer, i.e. intention, not quality of performance, is what matters". What Cumpsty saw in Israel as a first-stage in the move from behaviour pattern via "I can only perform what I can accept the reason for", to "The reason is what really matters", i.e. to belief pattern, seems to have reached an advanced stage in Cape Town.

A probable reason for this change of emphasis possibly emanates from the needs of the person to individualise his religion in the face of goal-centred, individualistic Western culture.

That the folk religion has a strong sense of belief indicates his perceiving of the folk religion to be legitimate in the eyes of the Almighty. Thus, as far as he is concerned, he is a good Jew - as is indicated by the positive response to the question regarding Jewish self-image.

The relationship between religious observance and our measure of Jewish identity is indicated in Figure 6.3.

FIGURE 6.3 Relationship between Religious Observance & Jewish Identity



N = 100
R = .6471
P(R) 0.000

	MEAN	ST.DEV.	REGRESSION LINE	RES.MS.
X	21.358	5.2348	X = .49777*Y + 15.413	16.092
Y	11.943	6.8048	Y = .84114*X - 6.0216	27.192

XVAR = JEW VERSUS YVAR = REL

In analysing Figure 6.3, it is evident that a positive relationship exists between religious observance and Jewish commitment. Of interest is the total lack of a secular group with a strong Jewish commitment. This raises the question as to whether one can have a strong Jewish commitment and be secular within the Cape Town environment. While in Israel this is possible, in Cape Town it does not seem to be so. This may be a significant factor for educationists seeking to strengthen Jewish commitment. We have noted elsewhere that the fewer bonds there are for identity, the more strongly they tend to be held.

It is possible to divide the universe into several groups, as they appear on the graph (Figure 6.3). Following is a description and an analysis of these groups.

TABLE 6.2 Low levels of Jewish identity and religious observance

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	6	6	6	4
B.	7	4	3	5
C.	7	1	-	10
D.	8	2	-	2
E.	9	4	1	5
F.	10	4	3	6
G.	10	4	2	1

NB. Blanks have been left in instances where incomplete questionnaires did not allow for a total score or even an adjustment.

GROUP 1: Amongst this group of respondents who have a weak Jewish identity and a low-level of religious observance, as is indicated in Table 6.2, are two converts ("C" and "E"), while one is a spouse of a convert ("F"). There are no Jewish Day School graduates, which suggests a correlation between Jewish Day School education and religious observance/ Jewish identity. Except for respondent "C", who is an Israeli, the group manifests a weak relationship with the State of Israel.

Except for respondent "A", all scored weakly on the belief scale - a factor which corresponds to their low level of religious observance.

TABLE 6.3 Below mean of Jewish identity and well above level of religious observance

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	19	23	10	7
B.	19	19	10	5
C.	20	21	12	9

GROUP 2. In this group the accent on religious observance is much greater in proportion to Jewish identity than amongst other segments of the universe. They manifest their Jewishness primarily in ritual and, as is evident from Table 6.3, they scored very high on the belief scales. This group closely resembles the Orthodoxy of Western Europe, defining Judaism

as a religion,⁴ and neglecting other communal aspects of Judaism. Regarding Zionism, this group's attitudes are mixed.

TABLE 6.4 Above mean Jewish identity
below mean religious observance

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	24	11	.8	4
B.	24	9	4	10
C.	24	9	-	6
D.	23	11	8	7
E.	23	9	.11	3
F.	23	8	4	9
G.	23	4	1	7
H.	22	8	.6	11
I.	22	10	4	8
J.	22	7	1	16
K.	22	9	1	6
L.	22	4	1	8

GROUP 3: As reflected in Table 6.4 which represents this group, the group is subdivided into believers and non-believers. The four believers ("A", "D", "F" and "H") probably believe in the universal ethic and thus do not lay stress on ritual. Respondents "A" and "E" are non-Zionists, which seems to confirm their universal approach.

The non-believing group are all Zionists, having adopted statist symbols which have replaced the traditional religious symbols. This sub-group strongly resembles the Israeli secularists, who have a strong Jewish identity yet may well be total atheists.⁵

Whether or not the numerical strength of this group reflects a trend remains to be seen. If this is so, a polarisation of the community could be expected in the future, between this group and the traditional-observant Zionists.

TABLE 6.5 High Jewish identity scores and high religious observance scores

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	29	34	12	10
B.	26	30	12	7
C.	25	33	12	10

GROUP 4: The two important characteristics of this group, which is represented in Table 6.5, are its small size and its Zionist nature. The small size of this elitist-Orthodox group is a contributory factor to the harmony which prevails in the community. The community has thus been spared religious/secular clashes, which are prevalent in Israel.

That all three respondents are Zionist, indicates that there are no non-Zionist elitist-Orthodox groupings as there are in Johannesburg. The high scores on the belief scale are to be expected, given the high levels of religious observance.

TABLE 6.6 Above mean Jewish identity : well above mean religious observance

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	29	22	4	12
B.	28	23	6	8
C.	26	23	11	8
D.	25	22	12	9
E.	25	21	9	6
F.	23	22	10	7
G.	23	22	10	6

GROUP 5: This group, which is listed in Table 6.6, comprises the strongly traditional Orthodox group. All have above mean scores on both the belief and Zionist scales. This group is probable the elitist's group of folk religionists, adhering to the rituals of keeping kosher homes, and attending Shull regularly, yet not observing the Shabbat "day" as is prescribed in the elitest religion.

It is this group which sets the norms of the folk religion and serves as role models, since the elitist Orthodox group seems to be too small and too far removed to exert influence. It is the strength of this group which guarantees the harmony of the community.

That all positive groupings within the community can identify with the constituents, because of their all-round commitment, as is reflected by their scores, enables them to act as a bridgehead between the different groups and as possible mediators in times of conflict.

THE MISSING GROUP: Well above mean Jewish identity/below mean religious observance. It is not entirely correct to label this the "missing group" because there is a solitary member whose score is listed in Table 6.7.

TABLE 6.7 Well above mean Jewish identity/below mean religious observance

	JEWISH IDENTITY	RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE	BELIEF	ZIONISM
A.	27	11	8	8

This group is noteworthy by its absence because the parent group should reflect the strong Jewish identity/universal ethic ideal which characterised many Jewish students in the early 1970s, who were the leaders of organisations which opposed discrimination. That the number of Jewish students actually involved in the organisations was proportionately larger than their percentage of the student body, confirms the existence of a strong group.

It is evident that a process of natural selection has taken place, in that students who fell into this group emigrated to other countries. This factor has undoubtedly led to the continued harmony within the Jewish community, with the virtual disappearance of this element.

If the group would have been in Cape Town, it would probably have resembled the solitary individual in Table 6.7, in terms of belief scores. Regarding Zionism, there would probably have been a polarisation within the group, between the universalists who would have negated all forms of nationalism, including Zionism, and between those who would have seen Israel's importance in terms of it being a haven for the Jewish people in times of stress.

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2. For details of which specific questions were analysed, the loading of the scale and the results, see Appendix II.
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CHAPTER 7

A COMPARISON WITH OTHER SURVEYS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the results of this survey will be compared with surveys which were done in three other communities.

A comparison will first be made with Greater Providence, Rhodes Island, United States of America, which is almost the same size as Cape Town, yet exists in a very different cultural and political climate. Thereafter, a comparison will be made with Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America, which differs not only culturally and politically, but also in the large sizes of both its general and Jewish populations.

Finally, a comparison will be made with Johannesburg, whose general and Jewish populations are dwarfed by that of Boston, yet which is double the size of Cape Town. Furthermore, at the time of the survey, the cultural and political climate was similar to that of Cape Town, which makes the Johannesburg survey different from those of Greater Providence and Boston.

7.2 THE GREATER PROVIDENCE JEWISH COMMUNITY POPULATION SURVEY BY GOLDSTEIN

In 1963, Dr Sydney Goldstein undertook a detailed survey of the Jewish community of Greater Province, in order to obtain a factual basis for the planning of community services.¹ Notwithstanding this twenty year gap, this community survey serves as a useful basis for comparison, for the following reasons:

- (a) The sizes of the Greater Providence community in 1963 and that of Cape Town in 1984 are similar. In Greater Providence there were 19 600 Jews, while in Cape Town, according to Cape Jewish Board of Deputies' estimates, there were 22 000 Jews in Cape Town in 1984. Furthermore, in relation to the greater community, Greater Providence Jews number 3,1% - a figure similar to Cape Town Jewry's numerical strength in relation to Cape Town's European community.
- (b) The Greater Providence Jewish community was founded and grew almost parallel with the Cape Town Jewish community. As in Cape Town, the basis of the Greater Providence Jewish community was established between 1840 and 1880.² Similarly, the years from 1880 to World War I were years of enormous growth and change. Finally, after the first World War, a period of consolidation and maturation set in.
- (c) The immigrants to Greater Providence were, as in Cape Town, overwhelmingly of East-European origin. According to naturalisation records of 1906, which recorded information from 1851 to 1906, 72,9% were born in Russia, 5% in Rumania and 2,3% from Russian Poland. 14,5% were of Austrian origin, with the rest coming from different countries in Western Europe. No mention is made of Lithuania, either because those who originated from Lithuania were born in Russia, or there were indeed no Lithuanian immigrants.
- (d) The Greater Providence survey data highlights the differences between the different age groups. There are two age groups which correlate with the Cape Town young parent group, i.e. the 20-29 and 30-39 age groups. (In the Cape Town survey only five respondents were over the age of 40 years).

While obviously there are those in the 20-39 age group in the Greater Providence survey who are not parents, the similarity of age provides one with a useful basis for comparison, thus the percentages given for Greater Providence are of those who belong to the 20-39 year age group.

TABLE 7.1 Synagogue attendance

GREATER PROVIDENCE		CAPE TOWN	
Not at all	10,0%	Not at all	15,0%
1-3 times per year	32,6%	Yom Kippur and/or Rosh Hashanah	29,0%
4-11 times per year	41,5%	Festivals	39,0%
Occasionally or regularly on Shabbat	12,6%	Regularly on Shabbat	11,0%
Several times per week	2,2%	Occasionally/during the week/daily	4,0%

It is evident from Table 7.1 that, in respect of synagogue attendance, the Greater Providence community closely resembles that of Cape Town. Taking into account the completely different cultural and political climates which prevail in the two areas, this similarity is quite remarkable. It seems to suggest that the symbolic value of synagogue attendance is influenced by factors which are not limited to a specific area. It is evident that as is the situation in Cape Town, in Greater Providence the synagogue is a symbol of Jewish identification and that an expectation of attendance has focused on the festivals, especially during Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

7.2.1 Shabbat and Festival ritual

Regarding the ritual of the lighting of Shabbat candles, of those in the 20-39 year age group in Greater Providence, 33,5% of respondents reported that they did not light candles,¹⁰ while in Cape Town only 11% do not light candles.

Having regard to the strength of the rituals of the lighting of the Chanukkah candles and of the observance of Pesach Seder in Greater Providence, to which we will refer later, we need to understand why the lighting of Shabbat candles was much weaker there than it is in Cape Town.

While in Cape Town the Friday night meal serves as a family unifying experience, and thus the popularity of family Friday night ritual, in Greater Providence this may not be so. Indeed, in those Northern hemisphere countries, where the sun sets very early in winter and very late in summer, the Friday night/Shabbat meal cannot be held at a convenient meeting time for the whole family. That this is possible in Cape Town has probably enabled the Friday night dinner to maintain its symbolic attraction, along with the other Friday night rituals.

A second suggested reason for the focusing of Shabbat ritual on Friday night is because of economic realities which forced the Cape Town Jew to do business on the "day" of Shabbat, the switch to Friday night thus being a pragmatic switch, but this would in all probability have been true for Providence.

As in Cape Town, in Greater Providence the Pesach Seder is the most highly celebrated festival ritual. 92% of those in the 20-39 year age group

reported usually or regularly attending the Pesach Seder.³ This compares with the 99% who reported doing so in Cape Town.

Goldstein found that the popularity of the Pesach Seder has grown stronger amongst these segments of the population since, amongst the older members, only 82% of those households headed by persons over 60 years of age reported having a Seder. Goldstein attributes the increased popularity of the Seder to the higher rate of enrolment of children in programmes of Jewish studies in Providence. Furthermore, he maintains that the Seder is very much an occasion for a family reunion. He also mentions the greater publicity given to the Seder by the mass media.⁴

In Cape Town, household heads aged over 40 years were not surveyed, and thus one cannot confirm or deny a similar trend of increased popularity of the Seder in Cape Town. It is evident, however, that the Seder is almost universally celebrated in Cape Town, and has an important symbolic meaning.

Many of the Cape Town parents who were surveyed recalled scant or no Jewish education themselves, thus it is difficult to attribute the popularity of the Seder to Jewish education. In giving primary reasons for the celebration of the Seder, 56% reported that the Seder is an important educational experience for their children. Thus, in Cape Town it is the need to educate the children which dominates the parents' motivation, rather than pressure from Jewishly-educated children.

As in Greater Providence, in Cape Town the Seder is very much a family reunion. Thus 50% indicated that a prime motivation for holding a Seder is

because it is a family tradition, and 33% felt that it helps to unite the family.

Goldstein's explanation is lacking, in that he overlooks the symbolic meaning which the Seder has taken on today. That this ritual combines unique symbols (matzah, maror, charoset, etc.) with traditional foods, a family unit setting, and reading of descriptions of the birth of the Jewish people, provides the Jew with an outstanding vehicle for strengthening his roots and links with his people, especially in the wake of his discarding other rituals.

7.2.2 Lighting of Chanukkah Candles

In Greater Providence, the lighting of Chanukkah candles is more prevalent amongst the 20-39 year age group than it is in Cape Town amongst the young parents. In Greater Providence over 90% of respondents reported lighting candles, while in Cape Town only 73% reported performing this ritual.⁵

The high percentage of the lighting of Chanukkah candles in Greater Providence can perhaps be attributed to the increased commercialisation of Chanukkah, as a substitute for Christmas in the United States. In Cape Town, such commercialisation is very much in its infancy.

TABLE 7.2 Observance of Kashrut

GREATER PROVIDENCE ⁶		CAPE TOWN	
Never eat kosher meat	42%	Do not keep kosher or do eat pig	65%
Sometimes eat kosher meat	30%	Only eat kosher meat at home, yet eat non- kosher outside	10%
Usually eat kosher meat	3%		
Always eat kosher meat	24%	Only eat kosher meat, both at home and outside	23%
No information	1%	No information	2%

While the statistics of those who always eat kosher meat are almost identical, there is a disparity between the two surveys in relation to those who never eat kosher meat. This disparity could be accounted for by the differences in the phrasing of the question in each survey. The Cape Town statistic is reconcilable with that of Providence because "Do not eat kosher" or "Do eat pig" may also include "and sometimes eat kosher meat". Thus the first two categories of Providence must be seen as parallel to Cape Town's "Do not keep kosher or do eat pig".

In summarising the results for Religious Observance, Goldstein found that while the observance of Shabbat candles and Kashrut is on the decline, the observance of Pesach Seder and Chanukkah candles is on the increase.

Regarding Shabbat candles, it is difficult to draw a parallel with Cape Town because while in Cape Town the focus of Shabbat observance is on Friday night, in Greater Providence it may be during the day of Shabbat - hence the fall in popularity of Shabbat candles. The Boston surveys, which will be dealt with hereunder, seem to disprove Goldstein's theory, because

there it is shown that in fact the lighting of Shabbat candles is on the increase.

7.3 A COMPARISON WITH THE 1965 AND 1975 BOSTON JEWISH COMMUNITY SURVEYS

In 1965, Morris Axelrod and Floyd Fowler were the project directors of a community survey of Boston's Jewish community. They measured, amongst other facets of Jewish life, "the orientation to Judaism and being Jewish".⁷ The survey was repeated in 1975, and a comparative analysis thereof was made by Steven Cohen.⁸

A comparison between the Cape Town Jewish community and that of Boston is useful, in that the Boston community is far larger - numbering 176 000 Jews in 1965.⁹ It becomes evident, in comparing Cape Town Jewry with that of Greater Providence and Boston, that the size of the community may play a significant role in the selection and rejection of Jewish symbols.

Boston also serves as a useful community for comparison with Cape Town in that the two surveys which were performed reveal significant changes over a period of time. The strengthening of some symbols against the weakening of others could point to future developments in Cape Town. Finally, the Boston surveys differentiated between Nursery School parents and others, providing the author with a similar group for comparison.

In the Boston surveys there were five factors related to our survey, which were investigated:

- (a) The observance of Kashrut, i.e. of maintaining a strictly kosher home.
- (b) The lighting of the Shabbat candles.
- (c) The attendance of a Pesach Seder.
- (d) Shull attendance, other than on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.
- (e) Membership of a Shull.¹⁰

TABLE 7.3 Comparison of Rituals between 1984 Cape Town Survey;
1965 Boston Survey and 1975 Boston Survey

RITUALS	CAPE TOWN 1984	BOSTON 1965	BOSTON ¹¹ 1975
Kashrut	23	18	7
Shabbat candles	89	46	53
Pesach Seder	99	85	90
Shull attendance	56	22	36
Membership of Shull	72	14	41

If one excludes membership of a Shull, which is not a ritual, the hierarchy of those rituals observed is identical. The Pesach Seder is the most popular, followed by Shabbat candles, Shull attendance and Kashrut.

It is evident that, in the smaller community of Cape Town, the observance of these rituals is far more prevalent than in Boston.

With the increase in observance of Shabbat candles (15%), the Seder (6%) and Shull attendance (16%), it seems that Boston is experiencing a general swing back to traditional observance. While this is probable, it is possible that it is the opposite which is taking place. While not enough rituals were surveyed to indicate an overall pattern, the tremendous decline in the observance of Kashrut reveals a sharp decline in traditional observance. The reason why observance of the other rituals has increased is because the less the Jew observes, the more likely will the Jew observe religiously that which he has retained, for these are his last links with his Jewish heritage.

If a similar pattern occurs in Cape Town, the Jew will continue to select and strengthen those rituals which can be performed at a minimal economic and social cost, e.g. the lighting of Shabbat candles, and reject the observance of Kashrut and prohibitions of Shabbat which undermine his social and economic framework.

The Boston surveys are not extensive enough to reveal trends of polarisation within the Jewish community and the growth of Ba' alei Teshuvah - those who are returning to Judaism. They do reveal, however, that the observance of traditions is not static and changes in their observance are far greater in a short period of time than might be expected to take place in a small, relatively self-contained community such as Cape Town.

7.4 DUBB'S 1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY

In 1973, Allie Dubb undertook a detailed survey of the Johannesburg Jewish community, the aim of the survey being:

.... to distinguish the various elements of Jewishness and to discover the manner in which they find expression among those who regard themselves as Jewish.¹²

Dubb surveyed 283 respondents, who represented a cross-section of the Johannesburg Jewish community, both age-wise and geographically. Amongst the various aspects which Dubb investigated were those of Religious Observance and Religious Beliefs. Based on responses to questions of this nature, the following comparisons can be made:

7.4.1 Synagogue Affiliation

There is a noteworthy similarity between synagogue affiliation, as revealed in Dubbs' survey and that which is reflected in this survey.

TABLE 7.4 Synagogue affiliation

1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹³		1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY	
Orthodox members	63	Orthodox members	68
Reform members	11	Reform members	4
Non-affiliated	26	Non-affiliated	28

While the ratio of members and non-members is similar, a discrepancy exists regarding the relative strength of Orthodox and Reform affiliation, with Reform in Johannesburg being comparatively stronger.

TABLE 7.5 Synagogue attendance (includes unaffiliated)

1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹⁴			1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY		
		ACCUMULA- TIVE			ACCUMULA- TIVE
Do not attend	21		Do not attend	15	
Yom Kippur and/or Rosh Hashanah (only)	36	78	Yom Kippur and/or Rosh Hashanah	29	85
Monthly (only)	19	42	3 Pilgrim Festivals (only)	40	56
Weekly (only)	5	23	Weekly (only)	11	16
Daily (only)	18	18	Daily (only)	5	5

In making a comparison with the above data "monthly", the Johannesburg survey has been equated with "festivals" in the Cape Town survey. This is not exact, in that the festivals fall in only four months of a year (if one includes Purim), and thus those who replied in the Cape Town survey that they attend on festivals do not necessarily attend shall on a monthly basis.

It is evident from the above data that in Johannesburg a greater polarisation exists in this regard than in Cape Town. Both the non-attenders and the daily attenders in Johannesburg exceed their Cape Town counterparts.

This polarisation is also evident in that in Johannesburg 36% choose to attend Shull on Yom Kippur and/or Rosh Hashanah only, with 23% attending weekly, while only 19 fall between. Cape Town, on the other hand, is bunched in the middle.

7.4.2 Observance of Kashrut

When comparing Kashrut observance, one must take into account that the Kashrut question is worded quite differently in each of the two surveys.

TABLE 7.6 Observance of Kashrut

1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹⁵		1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY	
Seldom or not at all	28%	Not at all	38%
		Do not eat pig	27%
Occasionally/partially	58%	Only eat kosher meat at home	10%
Regularly/completely	13%	Eat kosher meat only do not eat milk and meat together and have separate utensils for milk and meat	23%

Whereas in the synagogue attendance comparison, Johannesburg seems to be more polarised than Cape Town, in comparing Kashrut observance, Cape Town seems to be more polarised. Because of the differences in wording between

the two surveys, it is difficult to decide as to whether the abstinence from the eating of pig would be interpreted by the Johannesburg respondents as belonging to the "seldom" category or as belonging to the "occasional/partial" category. If respondents who abstain aligned themselves with the "seldom" category, the differences between Johannesburg and Cape Town would be even more marked.

Perhaps the greater polarisation in the Cape Town survey could be attributed to the differences in nature between the surveyed groups? Whereas in Johannesburg a cross-section of the community was surveyed, and this included older parents and children whose observance of Kashrut was dictated by their being in their parents' homes, in the Cape Town survey only young parents were surveyed, with the social and economic implications of Kashrut observance being quite radical. Thus young parents, when deciding on the establishment of their homes, took an either/or stance.

TABLE 7.7 Shabbat observance

(Dubbs' phraseology has been retained, and thus its awkwardness).

1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹⁶		1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY	
<u>Observance of Sabbath rules and prohibitions:</u>			
Seldom/little/not at all	85%	Do not refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat at all	74%
Occasionally/Partially	1%	Do not refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat on the Shabbat "day" yet do so on Friday night	21%
Regularly/completely	11%	Completely	5%

When comparing the above data, one must take into account, as with the previous question, the differences in the phrasing of the questions, as they are posed in the two surveys.

A tremendous disparity between the two surveys is in the second category amongst the partial observers.

If one does correlate the two questions, as has been done in Table 7.4, one must conclude that the observance of Shabbat prohibitions (Friday night) does form a dominant part of Cape Town's folk religion, while in Johannesburg there seems to be a total division between Elite and Folk religionists, with Elite religionists observing the prohibitions and Folk religionists totally refraining from doing so.

7.4.3 Observance of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur

In this category, Dubb defines the main characteristics of observance as being that the respondents do not work, but attend Shull on the three days concerned. In the Cape Town survey there are two questions relating to Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah observance. The first deals with Shull attendance, while the second deals with fasting on Yom Kippur. When comparing the two surveys, data will be drawn from these two questions.

TABLE 7.8 Observance of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur

1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹⁷		1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY	
Observe Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur		Do not fast or attend services on Yom Kippur	5%
Seldom/little/not at all	13%		
Occasionally/partially	12%	Fast but do not attend services on Yom Kippur	9%
		Attend services but do not fast	10%
Regularly/completely	75%	Attend services on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and fast	76%

It is evident from Table 7.8 that the two surveyed groups are very similar from this aspect. Whereas in the previous Tables there were disparities, in Table 7.8 they are very much alike. The correlation is quite remarkable, given the fact that the Johannesburg survey group is a cross-section of the populace, while the Cape Town survey group consists of young parents only and, furthermore, there is a gap of eleven years between the surveys. It is evident that the symbolic value of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur is very strong. As is the pattern in Boston, those symbols which have been retained tend to become more rigidly observed because they carry the weight of a large portion of the person's identification with Judaism. Thus, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur will probably strengthen amongst those who do not have other strong religious Jewish symbols.

Regarding the life-cycle rituals, there is a remarkable similarity between the two surveys. In both surveys, observance of these rituals is seen to be very much a part of the folk religion.

TABLE 7.9 Observance of life-cycle rituals

	1973 JOHANNESBURG SURVEY ¹⁸		1984 CAPE TOWN SURVEY	
<u>Brit Milah</u>	Regularly	97%	Performed by Mohel or doctor with rituals	98%
	Partially performed by a doctor without rituals	3%	Performed by a doctor without rituals	2%
	Seldom/little/not at all	0%	No Brit Milah	0%
<u>Barmitzvah</u>	Regularly	95%	Important for son to have one	96%
	Seldom/little/not at all	5%	Unimportant	4%
<u>Religious marriage</u>	Jewish religious ceremony	93%	To be married in Shull (or under a chupah) is important	98%
	Civil marriage	7%	Unimportant	2%
<u>Memorial rites</u>	Regularly/partially	88%	It is important to observe a yarzeit (anniversary) of a death of a close relative	90%
	Seldom/little/not at all	12%	Unimportant	10%

That the observance of life-cycle rituals in Johannesburg is as strong as it is in Cape Town, can be attributed to the cultural and political factors which were described in Chapter 2, and which have affected the nature and identity of the South African Jew.

7.5 DEVELOPMENTS IN JOHANNESBURG SINCE DUBB'S 1973 SURVEY

Since Dubb's 1973 survey, changes have taken place in the Johannesburg community, with the establishment of a number of religious communities.¹⁹ These communities were founded by religious leaders from England, the United States of America and Israel, and attracted families who, upon joining these communities, began to lead a religious way of life. While it is difficult to gauge the numerical strength, a strong indication of this strength is reflected in Table 7.10 below:

TABLE 7.10 Attendance at Johannesburg Jewish Day Schools in 1975 and 1983²⁰

	1975	1983
Non-religious Day School pupils	3 190 (85,5%)	3 468 (78,5%)
Religious Day School pupils	543 (14,5%)	950 (21,5%)
Total	3 733 (100%)	4 418 (100%)

The growth in religious school pupils is all the more remarkable considering that the religious schools grew by 75%, while the non-religious schools grew by a mere 9%. The swing to religious education is furthermore accentuated by the growth amongst Nursery School pupils, who attend religious nursery schools. Whereas in 1975 enrolments numbered 139, in 1983 they numbered 514 - a growth of 370% (comparative growth figures for the other Jewish Nursery Schools was unobtainable).

While not all pupils who attend religious day schools come from religious families, the growth of religious observance is evident. This growth has

led to a certain amount of polarisation within the Johannesburg Jewish community, between secular Zionists and religious non-Zionists, and to friction between the religious groups themselves.²¹

Despite attempts to commence a parallel "religious revival" in Cape Town, the effect has been minimal. Despite the presence of full-time Lubavitch workers and Johannesburgers who are periodically "imported", the Cape Town Jewish community has remained relatively unchanged. The two religious institutions which have been established in Cape Town, i.e. the Hebrew Academy, a religious primary school, and The Mercaz for Torah Learning, a centre for the teaching of young adults, have managed to attract interest but not many "converts".

The resistance of Cape Town might be attributed to the following reasons:

- (a) The Johannesburg community is much bigger (almost double) the size of that of Cape Town, while its proportion of the white community is almost identical. It seems to be that the larger the community and the Jewish community, the more secure the Jew feels, and thus he has the confidence to be different from his fellow Jew and, furthermore, he is confident enough to display this difference.
- (b) The dramatic change in the Johannesburg climate seems to have been given impetus by the 1975 Soweto riots. These riots deeply affected the South African Jew and caused him an ontological feeling of insecurity. After this period there was a big Jewish exodus, with 42% of present day South Africans residing in Israel having arrived there in 1977 and 1978 alone.²² Faced with this crisis, there were

those who had chosen a religious way of life which had given them a security.

Since Cape Town is distant from the Black threat, Capetonian Jews have felt less threatened and thus more secure. As was evident from the replies to the questions in the survey, which dealt with personal happiness and fulfilment, the Cape Town Jew seems to be content and happy in his total environment. While a detailed survey would be necessary to prove this, the pace of life in Johannesburg, coupled with the apprehension due to political instability, has probably made the Johannesburg Jew far less tranquil and secure than his Cape Town counterpart.

- (c) It is easier to effect rapid change in a big city than it is in a smaller, more closely-knit one. As in Boston, where change took place between 1965 and 1975, Johannesburg Jews do not fear change; however, in Cape Town, resistance to change is far greater. Whereas in Johannesburg the Reform movement was founded in 1933, in Cape Town it was founded eleven years later, in 1944,²³ and faced large scale resistance from the Jewish community.²⁴

It is evident that the actual size of the Jewish community plays an important role in the selection, retention and changing of religious symbols. This theory calls for similar surveys to be conducted in Jewish communities throughout the world which, if they are similar in size to Cape Town, should reveal a selection of religious symbols which enable the community to retain its sense of unity while larger communities should, other things being equal, indicate a greater willingness to polarise over significant symbols.

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CONCLUSION

In ideal circumstances, a survey of the cross-section of Cape Town's Jewish community should have been undertaken, and thus the fact that the survey had to be confined to a specific group, i.e. the parents of nursery school children, is indeed a disadvantage.

The choice of this specific group is vindicated in that the Boston surveys show that their equivalent group reflected that of the wider Jewish community, save Kashrut, and thus this group probably reflects the attitudes of the wider Jewish community. This is in fact confirmed by the comparative statistics for the general community of Johannesburg for life cycle rituals, which closely resemble the statistics obtained from this group. A further indication of this group reflecting the attitudes of the wider community is the similarity in goal orientation/texture orientation between the parent group and the wider community.

The difference in attitudes of this group to mourning rituals, as opposed to the other life cycle rituals, may reflect the attitudes of the greater community, or it may be that, due to the natural distancing of this group from these rituals, they are probably less disposed to them than is the wider community.

The survey has revealed that the community has a strong sense of belief, yet a weak level of observance. This indicates a change in the nature of folk religion - changing from a behaviour pattern, which characterised the Jewish immigrant who came to South Africa, to a belief pattern, which characterises the Jew today.

Generally, the group has a positive Jewish self image. It lives in harmony with what it perceives to be the demands of the religion and, in choice of religious symbols, it is similar to Greater Providence, yet differs from Boston and Johannesburg, which suggests the importance of size in the choice of symbols constitutes Jewish identity.

The symbols around which harmonious integration has taken place are few, but seriously attended to. In fact it seems to be that the fewer the symbols held to be significant, the stronger they tend to be held. The selection of symbols which have been made has enabled the community to function harmoniously, with a minimum internal division.. Similarly, it has enabled the community to function in harmony with the wider community.

Most of Cape Town's religion is folk religion, which emphasises the maintenance of the Jewish community rather than the observance of Halachah. It is not surprising, therefore, that those symbols which have remained strong are those which have educative value and which link the life of the individual to that of the community.

APPENDIX 1

THE QUESTIONNAIRE & STATISTICS OF RESPONSES

THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND STATISTICS OF REPLIES

N.B. The number of questionnaires total 100, except where otherwise stated.

1. Please tick in appropriate box:

Male Female

2. Age:

21-25 26-30 31-40 40+

3. What is the age of your eldest child?

1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8

9-10 11-12 13+

4. How long have you lived in South Africa?

Born here 20+ years 10+ years

5+ years Less than 5 years

5. Did you grow up in a rural or urban area?

Rural Urban Both

No reply: 2

6. Years at school:

Less than 8 years 8 - 10 years

More than 10 years

7. Years of full-time equivalent post-school education:

1 2 3 4 5

6 7

8. Suburb of residence:

Hout Bay	<input type="text"/>	Rondebosch	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Camps Bay	<input type="text" value="10"/>	Claremont/Newlands	<input type="text" value="23"/>
Sea Point	<input type="text" value="34"/>	Kenilworth	<input type="text" value="3"/>
Oranjezicht/Gardens	<input type="text"/>	Wynberg	<input type="text" value="2"/>
Vredehoek	<input type="text" value="2"/>	Constantia	<input type="text" value="7"/>
Milnerton	<input type="text" value="10"/>	Muizenberg	<input type="text"/>
Parow	<input type="text" value="1"/>	Other	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Bellville	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

9. Were you born Jewish or converted?

Born Jewish Converted

NB: If converted, please answer the following question.

If not, please continue with question No. 11.

10. (a) By whom were you converted?

Reform Orthodox Orthodox & Reform

(b) At what age did you convert?

0-3 5-8 9-12 13-17

18-21 22+

No reply: 1

N = 5

10. (c) Were you exposed to Jewish traditions and customs in your parents' home?

Yes No

No Reply: 2

N = 5

11. Is your spouse Jewish?

Yes No

12. What was the language of your parental home?

Yiddish English Hebrew

Afrikaans Other

No reply: 2

13. Country of parents' birth?

	Mother	Father
South Africa/Zimbabwe	64	54
Lithuania/Poland/Latavia/Russia	19	29
Holland/Germany/Italy/Hungary/Rhodes Island	8	8
Turkey/Iraq	3	2
USA	2	2
Other	1	1
No reply:	3	4

14. Are you a member of a :

Shull	68	Both	0
Temple	4	Neither	28

15. If you are a member of a Shull/temple, is the Shull/temple situated in:

Your present area of residence	55
Your previous area of residence	8
Your parents' area of residence	2
Your parents' previous area of residence	2
Neither your parents nor your area of residence	6

16. Did you attend a Jewish Day School?

No	74
Until Std 1	2
Until Std 8	3
Until Matric	13
High School only	4
No reply:	1

17. Did you attend Heder?

No	27
Until Std 1	13
Until Bar/Barmitzvah	44
Until Std 8	9
Until Matric	6
No reply:	1

18. Did you ever attend a Yeshivah?

Yes No

If yes, please include years of study:

1 2 3 4 5

6 7

19. Have you studied Jewish Studies at a University?

Yes No

If yes, please indicate years of study

1 2 3 4 5 6

20. Were you a member of a Zionist Youth Movement?

No	<input type="text" value="38"/>
In primary school years only	<input type="text" value="22"/>
In high school years only	<input type="text" value="9"/>
In both primary and high school years	<input type="text" value="25"/>
Post-matric	<input type="text" value="4"/>

No reply:

21. How observant (religious) was your parental home?
(Indicate your answer by circling the number which represents the intensity of observance):

non-observant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	totally observant (religious)
	10	13	24	23	12	7	3	

No reply: 2 N = 94 Mean = 3,5 Median = 3

22. How observant are you?
(Indicate your answer on the scale by circling the appropriate number):

non-observant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	totally observant (religious)
	9	16	26	22	15	1	3	

No reply: 2 N = 94 Mean = 3,35 Median = 3

23. Do you understand Yiddish?

Yes 40 No 57 50:50 3

24. Can you read Hebrew?

Choose the correct statement:

I cannot read Hebrew at all	<input type="checkbox"/> 18
I can follow Hebrew in Shull	<input type="checkbox"/> 20
I can read Hebrew aloud	<input type="checkbox"/> 24
I can read and understand Hebrew with the aid of a dictionary	<input type="checkbox"/> 23
I can read and understand Hebrew without the aid of a dictionary	<input type="checkbox"/> 15

25. Can you understand spoken Hebrew?

Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> 57
If spoken slowly	<input type="checkbox"/> 26
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 17

26. Can you speak Hebrew?

Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> 40
A few words	<input type="checkbox"/> 26
Hesitantly	<input type="checkbox"/> 18
Fluently	<input type="checkbox"/> 16

27. Which do you admire most?

Inventors, researchers and those who press forward new possibilities for mankind 47

or

Those who maintain, provide and care for the life of the community 46

No reply : 4 Undecided: 3

28. If you saw an adult in your community for whom you have respect, strongly reprimanding a child not his own, would you be: (tick in Column A) and if the child were yours: (tick in Column B)

	A	B
Very pleased	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Pleased	<input type="checkbox"/> 20	<input type="checkbox"/> 19
No feelings	<input type="checkbox"/> 17	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Not worried	<input type="checkbox"/> 30	<input type="checkbox"/> 16
Cross	<input type="checkbox"/> 18	<input type="checkbox"/> 25
Very cross	<input type="checkbox"/> -	<input type="checkbox"/> 14

No reply: 10 16

29. In your working life you derive certain satisfactions. Do these come mostly from using your own talents to the full, or from contributing to the needs of the community: (Place yourself on the scale by circling the number which represents your balance between the 2 extremes):

Developing the talents which have been given to you	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Meeting the needs of the community
	9	16	21	40	7	0	2	

No reply: 5 Mean = 3,3 Median = 4

30. Some people are so concerned with the creation of a better world for future generations that they demand great sacrifices from the present generation; while others are very sensitive to the present needs of those around them. Where would you place yourself on the scale?

Prepared to sacrifice a great deal of present for future	1	2	3	4	5	6	Prepared to sacrifice a great deal of future for present
	3	14	43	29	6	4	

No reply: 5 Mean = 3,3 Median = 3

31. On the whole, life is: (tick all appropriate words)

Meaningful	70	Worthwhile	61
Enjoyable	62	Not bad	6
A great joy	12	Suffering	5
A burden	6	Disjointed	0
A sacrifice	6	Cohesive	10
A struggle	24	O K	8
A challenge	71	Confusion	2
Fun	29	No reply	1

Note: Below are scales measuring intensity of feeling. At the two ends of the scale, there are opposite extremes. Please circle the number which indicates the intensity of your feelings:

32. South Africa has strong ties with the Western world.
How much part of the Western world do you feel?

Not part of the Western world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totally part of the Western world
	3	9	10	8	22	23	22	

No reply: 3 Mean = 5 Median = 5

33. It is very difficult for many South Africans to separate their loyalties to South Africa from that which has occurred here in the last decades. Many South Africans are surprised how defensive they become overseas, when South Africa is attacked. Regardless of formal questions of citizenship, how "South African" do you feel?

Very slightly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very intensely
	4	13	9	9	28	25	9	

No reply: 3 Mean = 4,6 Median = 4,7

34. How Jewish do you feel?

Very slightly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very intensely
	3	2	4	4	20	29	35	

No reply: 3 Mean = 5,7 Median = 6

35. How close do you feel to the non-Jewish South African?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totally identify
Distant	6	11	16	27	19	13	5	

No reply: 3 Mean = 4 Median = 4

36. How close do you feel to the South African Jew?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totally identify
Distant	0	1	9	15	15	30	28	

No reply: 3 Mean = 5,5 Median = 6

37. How close do you feel to the non-South African Jew?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totally
Distant	3	10	8	22	22	22	11	identify

No reply: 3 Mean = 4,6 Median = 5

38. As a Jew living in South Africa, indicate your priorities in claims on your charity. Rank these below in terms of 1st, 2nd and 3rd by priority, by writing 1:2:3 in appropriate boxes. If there is no distinction between them, indicate accordingly. Two instances may be allocated equal rank.

Poor Jews in South Africa	<input type="text" value="43"/>
Poor Jews anywhere	<input type="text" value="10"/>
or	
No distinction	<input type="text" value="37"/>

No reply: 10

39. Should the ideal Jewish Primary School in Cape Town offer intense courses in Judaica and thereby cater only to a selective group of Jews, or should the courses be of a moderate nature, ensuring their attractiveness to as many Jews as possible?

Intense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Moderate
	3	2	5	7	16	17	46	

No reply: 3

40. If you were the Minister of Education in Israel, with a limited budget, would you opt for concentrating your resources in a few schools who would offer intense courses in Judaica; OR would you rather spread your resources thinly out amongst all schools, thereby ensuring a very general Judaica education for all?

Concentrate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Spread
resources	5	2	9	10	10	22	39	resources

No reply: 3 Mean = 5,5 Median = 6

41. Do you feel that a knowledgeable friend would describe you as a good Jew?

Yes No Yes and No

No reply: 4

42. Which one of the following would you choose?
According to your opinion a good Jew is (choose three in priority):

	First Choice	First 3 Choices
A person who is loyal to his country	5	12
A person who is loyal to his people	14	56
A person who keeps the mitzvot of the Torah	23	30
A person who is charitable	8	33
A person who is an honest citizen	14	73
A person who is a good family man	12	38
A person who goes to Aliyah	1	6
A person who attends Shull regularly	1	6
A person who is active in the Jewish community	7	30
A person who identifies with those discriminated against	3	14
	N = 88	N = 98

43. Choose the correct statement:

I do not attend Shull at all	15
I attend Shull on Yom Kippur only	5
I attend Shull on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur	24
I attend Shull on Festivals (includes above)	39
I attend Shull on Festivals and regularly on Shabbat	11
I attend Shull on Festivals, regularly on Shabbat, and occasionally during the week	3
I attend Shull daily	2
No reply:	1

44. If you do attend Shull, it would be for the following reasons (choose 3 in order of priority):

	First Choice	Top 3 Choices
It is a house of prayer and I attend in order to pray	29	50
I feel it is a form of identification with the Jewish people	27	63
My congregation needs me	-	6
My friends are Shull attenders	1	4
I enjoy the service	5	26
I think the Jew should set a good example amongst his non-Jewish associates	-	3
My parents would like me to attend	1	4
It is educational for the children	16	52
Other	2	2
	N = 81	N = 87

45. Can you follow the service in Shull?

Yes No At times

No reply: 2

46. Do you have a strong sense that God answers personal prayers?

Yes No At times

No reply: 1

47. Do you pray spontaneously in times of crisis?

Yes No

No reply: 6

48. Do you add a spontaneous prayer to the traditional lighting of candles on Friday night?

Yes No Do not light candles

NB In this question, husbands have answered in the affirmative, even though it is women who traditionally light the candles.

N = 83

49. Do you offer a personal prayer before going to sleep at night?

Yes No Sometimes

No reply: 6

50. Which of the following experiences draws, or would draw, you closest to God? (Choose 3 in order of priority)

	First Choice	First 3 Choices
Yom Kippur	<input type="text" value="15"/>	<input type="text" value="56"/>
Birth of a child	<input type="text" value="28"/>	<input type="text" value="61"/>
My wedding day	<input type="text" value="0"/>	<input type="text" value="10"/>
Death of a dear one	<input type="text" value="18"/>	<input type="text" value="50"/>
Great works of art, including music	<input type="text" value="3"/>	<input type="text" value="9"/>
Shabbat ritual (lighting candles, kiddush, etc)	<input type="text" value="1"/>	<input type="text" value="20"/>
Being in natural surroundings	<input type="text" value="11"/>	<input type="text" value="26"/>
Bar/Batmitzvah	<input type="text" value="-"/>	<input type="text" value="3"/>
Acquisition of a material asset of significant value	<input type="text" value="-"/>	<input type="text" value="8"/>
None of the above	<input type="text" value="13"/>	<input type="text" value="13"/>
Other	<input type="text" value="0"/>	<input type="text" value="0"/>
	N = 89	N = 98

51. Which of these human activities pleases God most? (Choose 3 in order of priority)

	First Priority	First 3 Choices
Prayers	8	24
Torah study	2	5
Attending Shull	3	25
Observance of Shabbat and Festivals	13	37
Giving of charity	5	29
Being a law-abiding citizen	-	6
Being faithful to one's country	10	41
Doing one's job in life honestly	6	26
Social concern	39	54
Being a good father/mother	6	6
None of the above		
No reply:	8	3

52. Do you feel that God cares about you?

Not at all	25
Seldom	6
Periodically	18
In times of crisis	9
Constantly	38
No reply:	4

53. Do you perceive God as a creator?

Yes No Maybe

No reply: 4

54. Do you perceive God as the giver of the Torah?

Yes No Maybe

No reply: 4

55. Do you think that God would reward the whole Jewish community for the merits of some?

Yes No Maybe

No reply: 4

56. Do you think that God punishes the whole Jewish community for the iniquities of some?

Yes No Maybe

No reply: 2

57. Do you believe that parents are punished for the sins of children?
 Yes 12 No 79 Maybe 9
58. Do you believe that children are punished for the sins of parents?
 Yes 19 No 68 Maybe 13
59. Do you believe the Jews are elect (the chosen people)?
 Yes 47 No 31 Maybe 22
60. Is God's relationship with the Jewish people unique?
 Yes 42 No 34 Maybe 22
 No reply: 2
61. Does God have a purpose for all nations?
 Yes 43 No 16 Maybe 38
 No reply: 3
62. Do you believe that God made himself known to Christians and Moslems as well as Jews?
 Yes 62 No 12 Maybe 25
 No reply: 1
63. Do you believe that:
- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| God controls your actions completely | <input type="checkbox"/> 9 |
| God intervenes occasionally in your actions | <input type="checkbox"/> 44 |
| Your actions are totally free of God's intervention | <input type="checkbox"/> 45 |
| No reply: | 2 |

64. Do you believe that:

God controls the destiny of the Jewish people	<input type="checkbox"/> 30
God intervenes occasionally in the history of the Jewish people	<input type="checkbox"/> 40
The destiny of the Jewish people is totally free of Divine intervention	<input type="checkbox"/> 27
No reply:	2

65. Choose the applicable statement:

I do not celebrate Shabbat evening (Friday night) in any traditional manner	<input type="checkbox"/> 11
I celebrate Shabbat evening in the following manner:	
Light candles only	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Light candles and make Kiddush	<input type="checkbox"/> 15
Traditional Friday night meal (includes above) at home	<input type="checkbox"/> 31
Traditional Friday night meal with parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 40

66. Is it important for you to refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat in any manner on Friday night?

Yes 24 No 69

No reply: 7

67. Arrange the following in order of importance:
On Shabbat evening it is important to:

	First Priority
Attend Shull	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Be with the family	<input type="checkbox"/> 74
Make Kiddush	<input type="checkbox"/> 14
Refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat	<input type="checkbox"/> 7

If 1st choice is awarded 4
If 2nd choice is awarded 3
If 3rd choice is awarded 2
If 4th choice is awarded 1

then averages obtained =

Attend Shull	29,5
Be with the family	84,0
Make Kiddush	53,0
Refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat	27,0

68. Choose the applicable statement:
- On the "day" of Shabbat (Saturday):
- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| I do nothing of religious significance | <input type="checkbox"/> 91 |
| I make Kiddush and eat a traditional Shabbat lunch | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| I make Kiddush, each a traditional Shabbat lunch and refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| No reply: | 1 |

69. Choose the applicable statement:
- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| I do not observe Shabbat at all | <input type="checkbox"/> 21 |
| or | |
| The primary reason for my observance of Shabbat (includes Friday Evening): | |
| It is a form of identification with the Jewish people | <input type="checkbox"/> 17 |
| It is a tradition in my family | <input type="checkbox"/> 14 |
| It is in accordance with Halachah (Jewish law) | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| I enjoy doing these symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| It is my heritage | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| It serves to unite our family | <input type="checkbox"/> 16 |
| It is educational for my children | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| No reply: | 3 |

70. Do you have a Pesach Seder?
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| On the first night only | <input type="checkbox"/> 21 |
| On both the first and second nights | <input type="checkbox"/> 77 |
| No reply: | 1 |

71. Do you have the Seder with your parents/in-laws?
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 77 | No | <input type="checkbox"/> 17 |
| No reply: | 6 | | |

72. Choose the correct statement:

When we have a Seder the format is:

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----|
| The reading of the whole Hagaddah and all the symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 42 |
| The reading of the Hagaddah until the meal, the poems at the end and the symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 18 |
| The reading of the Hagaddah until the end of the meal and the symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |
| Selected readings from the Hagaddah and the symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |
| Selected readings from the Hagaddah and some symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 16 |
| No readings at all from the Hagaddah and some symbolic acts | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |

No reply: 2

73. (a) Is it the custom of your family to celebrate the Pesach Seder in a manner variant from the above?

Yes 1 No 99

(b) If "yes", describe your family custom:

(No response) _____

74. Choose the most applicable statement:

The primary reason we have a Pesach Seder is:

	First Priority		First 3 choices
It is a family tradition	19	<input type="checkbox"/>	48
My parents want us to have one	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
It is my way of identifying with the Jewish people	22	<input type="checkbox"/>	55
The symbol of freedom is important to me	4	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
It is in accordance with Halachah (Jewish law)	14	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
I enjoy singing the songs and the atmosphere	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
My friends all have a Seder	0	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
It helps to unite our family	7	<input type="checkbox"/>	31
It is an important educational experience for my children	21	<input type="checkbox"/>	54
No reply:	10		5

75. Do you observe Shavuot in any form?

Yes 30 No 70

76. Do you observe Succot in any form?

Yes 42 No 57

77. Do you build a "Succah" on Succot?

Yes 17 No 78

No reply: 1

78. Choose the applicable statement:

On Yom Kippur:

I do not fast at all

15

I fast until I become weak

2

I fast until lunchtime

1

I fast for the complete day

82

79. Choose the most applicable statement:

On Yom Kippur I fast primarily because:

(choose 3 in order of importance)

	First Priority	First 3 choices
I feel the need for atonement	21 <input type="checkbox"/>	47
It is my form of identify- ing with the Jewish people	14 <input type="checkbox"/>	46
It is a family tradition to fast	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	14
It is my heritage to fast	10 <input type="checkbox"/>	29
It is a Mitzvah (command) from the Torah to fast	20 <input type="checkbox"/>	42
All my friends fast] <input type="checkbox"/>	2
My parents encouraged me to fast		
I want to feel part of my congregation	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	2
It is important for the Jew Jew to set an example amongst his non-Jewish associates	0 <input type="checkbox"/>	2
I would feel uneasy if I would not fast	10 <input type="checkbox"/>	26

N = 80

80. On Yom Kippur the following sections or services are important for me to attend:

No services at all	15
The Kol Nidre service	76
The Yizkor prayer	52
The Musaf service	40
The Neilah service	50
All the services	37

No reply: 2

81. Choose the applicable statement:

I do not keep Purim at all 31

or

My observance of Purim is characterised by the following:

Listen to the reading of the Megillah	24
Children dress-up in fancy-dress	52
Eat a festive Purim meal	10
Give presents to friends	5
Give to charity	5

N = 94

82. Choose the applicable statement:

I do not observe 'Hanukkah at all 22

or

My observance of 'Hanukkah is characterised by the following:

Lighting of 'Hanukkah candles	69
Eating of traditional foods (eg latkes)	28
Giving of money to children ('Hanukkah Geld)	19
Other	1

N = 94

83. My primary reason for observance of 'Hanukkah is (choose 3 in order of preference):

	First Choice	First 3 choices
I enjoy the 'Hanukkah rituals	14	40
It is educational for the children	37	71
It is a family tradition	8	34
It is in accordance with Halachah	12	19
I identify with the Maccabean revolt against the Hellenists	1	11
It is my response/alternative to the Christian celebration of Christmas	2	4

N = 74

N = 75

84. Choose the applicable statement:
- | | |
|--|----|
| I do not keep Kashrut at all | 38 |
| or | |
| My keeping of Kashrut is characterized by the following: | |
| I do not eat pig | 27 |
| I only eat kosher meat | 10 |
| I eat kosher meat only, both at home and outside | - |
| I eat kosher meat only, and do not eat meat and milk together | - |
| I eat kosher meat only, do not eat meat and milk together, and have separate utensils for both meat and milk | 23 |
| No reply: | 2 |

85. Choose the applicable statement:
- | | |
|---|----|
| I do not observe kashrut at all | 52 |
| or | |
| My primary reason for observance of kashrut is: | |
| It is more healthy to keep kosher | 1 |
| It is a family tradition | 16 |
| My parents would like me to do so | 1 |
| It is in accordance with Halachah (Jewish law) | 14 |
| It is my heritage | 5 |
| It is a way of identifying with the Jewish people | 8 |
| I enjoy eating kosher food | - |
| Eating non-kosher food abhores me | - |
| No reply: | 3 |

86. Choose the applicable statement:
- | | |
|--|----|
| My son did/would not have a Brit Milah (Circumcision) | - |
| My son did/would have a Brit Milah performed by a doctor (without rituals) | 2 |
| My son did/would have a Brit Milah performed by a doctor (with rituals) | 17 |
| My son did/would have a Brit Milah performed by a Mohel | 79 |
| No reply: | 2 |

87. Choose the suitable statement:
 My son did/would have a Brit Milah for the following reasons:
- I would not like my son to feel self-conscious amongst other Jewish boys
 - I want my son to have the option of growing up Jewish
 - It is a family tradition to have a Brit Milah
 - A Brit Milah is part of the Jewish heritage
 - It is an important Halachah (Jewish law) to have a Brit Milah
 - All my Jewish friends' sons have a Brit Milah
 - Circumcision is healthy
- No reply:

88. In relation to Barmitzvah:
 It is important for my son to have one:
- Yes No
- If "yes", indicate the primary reason for the importance of your son to have a Barmitzvah:
- I believe that a Barmitzvah is a vital stage in the Jewish life-cycle
 - In my circle it is accepted that a Barmitzvah is important
 - My parents/in-laws would want my son to have a Barmitzvah
 - It is important for my son to celebrate his reaching the age of Mitzvot
 - It is important for my son to have a traditional Barmitzvah experience
 - My son's peers all did/would have Barmitzvaht
- No reply:

89. Besides the Shull service, indicate which of the following ways of celebration are appropriate to mark the Barmitzvah. More than one way may be chosen:
- A Kiddush-lunch on Shabbat for family and friends
 - A dinner-dance for family and friends
 - A trip to Israel for the Barmitzvah boy
 - A trip overseas for the Barmitzvah boy
 - A gift of religious significance for the Barmitzvah boy
 - A gift of general significance for the Barmitzvah boy
 - Other (please specify)
- No reply: 8

90. Choose the applicable statement:

To be married in Shull (or under a Chupah) is not important to me

OR

To be married in Shull is important for the following primary reason:

Most of our Jewish friends have their weddings in Shull

It is my way of identifying with the Jewish people

It was important for me to be married according to proper Halachic (Jewish legal) procedure

Any other way would be foreign to me

A Shull wedding is a ceremony I can identify with

My parents preferred me to be married in Shull

To be married in Shull is a lucky omen

No reply:

91. Traditional Orthodox Judaism frowns on cremation and commends the burial of Jews in a Jewish cemetery. In your opinion, when a Jew close to you dies, he should be:

Cremated

Buried in a Jewish cemetery

Buried in a "civil cemetery"

It makes no difference to me

92. To be buried in a Jewish cemetery is important for the following reasons (more than one may be chosen):

It is important for a Jew to be buried amongst his people

A Jewish burial must be in accordance with Halachah

One's existence in the world-to-come is influenced by one's being buried according to Jewish custom

The "revival of the dead" is linked to one's being buried according to Jewish custom

Other

No reply:

93. I would adhere to the following customs of mourning (more than one may be chosen):
- | | |
|---|----|
| To have one night of prayers | 32 |
| To have a week of prayers | 27 |
| To keep all the customs of "Shivah" for the week of mourning | 34 |
| To say Kaddish for the full year | 24 |
| To say Kaddish for the first week of mourning | 12 |
| To adhere to all the laws of mourning during the first 30 days only | 16 |
| To adhere to all the laws of mourning over the year | 20 |
| No reply: | 16 |

94. Besides traditional rituals, would you follow any other mourning customs?
- Yes 92 No 5
- No reply: 3

95. Mourning rites are important to me:
- Yes 76 No 22 No reply 2

If "yes", for which of the following reasons?
(More than one may be listed):

- | | |
|--|----|
| This is my manner of showing love and respect for departed loved ones | 59 |
| In any culture, the dead should be honoured | 12 |
| Death confronts one with needs and demands; bereavement is eased by the ritualling of many | 15 |
| Most Jewish people would like to be mourned in the proper manner, and this should be fulfilled if they do not request the contrary | 13 |
| It is important to follow Halachah (Jewish law) which demands mourning rites when associating with death | 25 |
| Socially it is important to observe these customs | 3 |
| It is important to set an example, being amongst non-Jewish associates | 0 |
| Other | 1 |

N = 76

96. It is important to observe a Yarzeit
(Anniversary) of a death of a close relative:

Yes No No reply

If "yes", it is important for the following primary reason:

These relatives would expect me to do so	<input type="text" value="88"/>
It is my way of showing respect towards them	<input type="text" value="64"/>
It is a family tradition	<input type="text" value="5"/>
It is an occasion which promotes unity within the family	<input type="text" value="7"/>
It is important to recall the past in order to see the present in perspective	<input type="text" value="13"/>
It is an established Jewish tradition	<input type="text" value="12"/>
Other	<input type="text" value="1"/>

97. The State of Israel is important to me:

Yes No

If "yes", it is important for the following primary reason:

The State ensures the survival of the Jewish people	<input type="text" value="54"/>
The State is a refuge for oppressed Jews	<input type="text" value="6"/>
The State enables the Jews to practise their culture within a national framework	<input type="text" value="9"/>
The State enables the Jews to practise their religion within a national framework	<input type="text" value="5"/>
The State is a symbol of identify for the Jews of the Golah (Diaspora)	<input type="text" value="15"/>
The State is a symbol of pride and respect for the Jewish people	<input type="text" value="20"/>
Other	<input type="text" value="1"/>

98. How important is it to you for the State of Israel to survive?

Unimportant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Important
		4	1	2	4	7	82	

Means = 6,6 Median = 7

99. Choose the correct statement:

Israel is mainly for religious people	<input type="text" value="0"/>
Israel is mainly for nationalistically orientated people	<input type="text" value="21"/>
Israel is mainly for socialistically orientated people	<input type="text" value="4"/>
Israel is for people who care about their being Jewish	<input type="text" value="67"/>
Other	<input type="text" value="2"/>
No reply:	6

100. If the Israeli government does something morally wrong:

It makes no difference to you	<input type="text" value="10"/>
It vaguely troubles you	<input type="text" value="43"/>
It seriously troubles you	<input type="text" value="45"/>
No reply:	2

101. Do you ever intend making Aliyah?

Yes No

If yes, when would you do so?

When family obligations are redeemed?	<input type="text" value="2"/>
When you are financially able to do so?	<input type="text" value="16"/>
When retiring?	<input type="text" value="3"/>
If the position locally deteriorates?	<input type="text" value="-"/>
No reply:	1

102. If you were to make Aliyah, what would the primary benefits be? (Choose three, in order of importance)

	First Priority	Top 3 Priorities
Living in a Jewish country - culturally	33	54
Being able to fulfil the Mitzvah of living in Israel	8	20
Being able to fulfil Mitzvot within a national framework	1	11
Living with other Jews	8	29
Economic reasons	6	8
Being with my family who live there	5	17
Ensuring that my children do not grow up in a Diaspora country with all its minority group problems	9	22
It would be a safeguard against anti-semitism	4	21
	N = 74	N = 74

103. It is important, if at all possible, that every Jew visits Israel:

Yes No

If "yes", it is important to visit:

Once in a lifetime	<input type="text" value="27"/>
Periodically	<input type="text" value="40"/>
Regularly	<input type="text" value="15"/>
No reply:	1

104. If visiting Israel is important to you, this is so for the following primary reason:

It is natural for a Jew to want to see Israel	<input type="text" value="43"/>
It is important to visit the holy places	<input type="text" value="2"/>
It is important to strengthen one's ties with Jews in Israel	<input type="text" value="7"/>
It is important to get to know the country	<input type="text" value="4"/>
One is not totally Jewish without having visited Israel	<input type="text" value="6"/>
Israel is alive with the past	<input type="text" value="5"/>
Other	<input type="text" value="7"/>

N = 74

105. It is important to support the IUA.

Yes No No reply

If "yes", for the following primary reason:

The State of Israel needs this financial support	<input type="text" value="51"/>
It is my way of identifying with Israel	<input type="text" value="11"/>
It is my way of identifying with the Jewish people	<input type="text" value="3"/>
It is my way of identifying with the local Jewish community	<input type="text" value="-"/>
Socially it is important to be an IUA donor	<input type="text" value="-"/>
It is a religious duty to be a donor	<input type="text" value="-"/>

106. I belong to a Jewish sports' club:

Yes No

No reply: 1

107. My belonging to Shull gives me a communal sense, similar to that of belonging to a Jewish club or organisation:

Yes No

No reply: 8

108. I am active in a Jewish organisation:

Yes No

If "yes", choose the correct statement:

I am active in a Jewish organisation because:

I feel it is important to be involved in the Jewish community	<input type="text" value="22"/>
It serves my social needs	<input type="text" value="2"/>
I feel that the success of the organisation I am involved in is important	<input type="text" value="7"/>

109. Choose the correct statement:

I do not enjoy Jewish food particularly	13
I enjoy Jewish food	69
I love Jewish food	18

110. Choose the most correct statement:

Eating Jewish food:

Has no significance for me	21
Makes me feel at home	34
Makes me feel part of the Jewish people	20
Reminds me of my youth	11
Reminds me of my heritage	14

111. I listen to Jewish music:

Not at all	36
Seldom	46
Often	13
Regularly	5

112. Listening to Jewish music has no special significance to me

Makes me feel part of the Jewish people	35
Reminds me of my youth	29
Reminds me of my heritage	9
Gives me a sense of fulfilment	9
Inspires in me a feeling of contact with God	8
Strikes a mystical note within me	1
	7

No reply: 2

113. I read Jewish literature:

Not at all	37
Seldom	42
Often	15
Regularly	5

No reply: 1

114. Jewish literature, for me:	
Has no interest	23
Is interesting, but has no special significance	30
Makes me feel part of the Jewish people	26
Binds me to my heritage	11
Gives me a sense of fulfilment	8
No reply:	2

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APPENDIX 11

JEWISH IDENTITY SCALE

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCALE

BELIEF SCALE

ZIONISM SCALE

Question 34. "How Jewish do you feel?"

Very 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very
slightly intensely

The respondent would be scored according to his number of choice.

Question 36. "How close do you feel to the South African Jew?"

Dis- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Totally
tant identify

Choice of "5", "6", or "7" would be scored as 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

Question 37. "How close do you feel to the non-South African Jew?"

Dis- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Totally
tant identify

Choice of "5", "6", or "7" would be scored as 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

N.B. If a person felt more South African than Jewish and/or if he felt closer to the non-Jewish South African than to the South African Jew a mark would be deducted in each case.

Question 43. Regularity of Shull attendance.

If a person attended even irregularly, one mark is to be added.

Question 78. Fasting on Yom Kippur.

If a person fasted even for a limited time, one mark is to be added.

Question 84. Kashrut.

If a person refrains from eating pig, one mark is to be added.

Question 86. Brit Milah.

If respondent's son did/would have a Brit Milah, even without rituals, one mark is to be added.

Question 88. Bar/Batmitzvah.

If it is important for the respondent that his son should have a Barmitzvah, one mark is to be added.

Question 90. Jewish Marriage.

If the respondent indicated that it was important for him/her to be married in Shull or under a Chupah, one mark is to be added.

Question 91. Burial in a Jewish cemetery.

If the respondent showed preference for burial in a Jewish cemetery, one mark is to be added.

Question 95. Mourning rites.

If the respondent felt that mourning rites were important to him, one mark is to be added.

Question 96. Yarzeit.

If the respondent felt it important to observe the Yarzeit (anniversary) of a death of a close relative, one mark is to be added.

Question 97: State of Israel.

If the respondent felt that the State of Israel is important to him, one mark is to be added.

Question 99. The type of people Israel is for.

If the respondent indicated that Israel is for people who care about their being Jewish, one mark is to be added.

Question 100. "If the Israeli government does something morally wrong .."

If the respondent felt that it would seriously trouble him, one mark is to be added.

Question 103. The importance of visiting Israel.

If the respondent felt that it was important to visit Israel, even if it be once in a lifetime, one mark is to be added.

Question 105. Support of Israel United Appeal.

If the respondent felt it important to support this Appeal, one mark is to be added.

Question 106. Belonging to a Jewish Sports Club.

If the respondent belonged to a Jewish Sports Club, one mark is to be added.

Question 108. Being active in a Jewish organisation.

If the respondent is active in a Jewish organisation, one mark is to be added.

Question 109. Enjoyment of Jewish food.

If the respondent enjoyed, or loved, Jewish food, one mark is to be added.

Question 111. Jewish music.

If the respondent listened often or regularly to Jewish music, one mark is to be added.

Question 113. Jewish Literature.

If the respondent read Jewish literature often or regularly, one mark is to be added.

POSSIBLE TOTAL: 32.

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE SCALE:

Question 14. Membership of Shull/Temple.

If a member, one mark is to be added.

Question 22. "How observant are you?"

Non-observant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totally observant (religious)
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Preference for "4", "5", "6" or "7" would score 1, 2, 3 & 4 respectively.

Question 42. Definition of a good Jew.

If "keeps the mitzvot of the Torah" is chosen, a mark is added.

Question 43. Choose the correct statement:

- (a) I do not attend Shull at all.
- (b) I attend Shull on Yom Kippur only.
- (c) I attend Shull on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.
- (d) I attend Shull on Festivals (includes above).
- (e) I attend Shull on Festivals and regularly on Shabbat.
- (f) I attend Shull on Festivals, regularly on Shabbat and occasionally during the week.
- (g) I attend Shull daily.

If attendance is limited to (d), one mark is to be added.

If attendance is limited to (e), two marks are to be added.

If attendance is limited to (f)/(g), three marks are to be added.

N.B. Since attending during the week is limited to men only, men can attain 3 marks for this question, while women can only attain 2 marks. The balance is rectified in the question pertaining to the lighting of candles, which pertains to women.

Question 46. "Do you have a strong sense that God answers personal prayers?"

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) At times

For (a), two marks are to be added.

For (c), one mark is to be added.

Question 48. Lighting of candles (limited to women)

A mark should be given for a positive answer.

Question 49. "Do you offer a personal prayer before going to sleep at night?"

YES / NO - a mark should be allotted for a positive answer.

Question 52. Do you feel that God cares about you?

- (a) Not at all
- (b) Seldom
- (c) Periodically
- (d) In times of crisis
- (e) Constantly

If (b), one mark is to be added. If (c), two marks are to be added.
If (d), three marks are to be added. If (e), four marks are to be added.

Question 52. "Do you perceive of God as a creator?"

YES / NO / MAYBE - a mark is allotted for "yes" only.

Question 54. "Do you perceive of God as the giver of the Torah?"

YES / NO / MAYBE - a mark is allotted for "yes" only.

Question 59. "Do you believe the Jews are elect? (the chosen people)"

Two marks are to be allocated for a positive answer.
One mark is to be allocated if the respondent is in doubt.

Question 60. "Is God's relationship with the Jewish people unique?"

Two marks are to be allocated for a positive answer.
One mark is to be allocated if the respondent is in doubt.

Question 66. Is it important for you to refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat in any manner on Friday night?

For a positive answer, a mark is added.

Question 67. "Arrange the following in order of the importance .."

On Shabbat evening it is important to:

- (a) Attend Shull
- (b) Be with the family
- (c) Make Kiddush
- (d) Refrain from "breaking" the Shabbat

If (a) is listed as the first priority, one mark is to be added.
If (c) is listed as the first priority, two marks are to be added.
If (d) is listed as the first priority, three marks are to be added.

Question 68. Celebration of Shabbat "day".

If the respondent makes Kiddush and eats a traditional Shabbat lunch, one mark is to be added.

Question 84. Kashrut.

If the person refrains from eating pig, one mark is to be added.
If kosher meat is eaten at home yet non-kosher meat is eaten outside, 2 marks are to be added.
If milk and meat are not eaten together, 3 marks are to be added.
If separate utensils are maintained for the use of milk and milk, 4 marks are to be added.

POSSIBLE TOTAL: 33

BELIEF SCALE

Question 46. "Do you have a strong sense that God answers personal prayers?"

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) At times

2 marks are allocated for (a).
1 mark is allocated for (c).

Question 47. "Do you pray spontaneously in times of crisis?"

1 mark is allocated for a positive answer.

Question 52. "Do you feel that God cares about you?"

- (a) Not at all
- (b) Seldom
- (c) Periodically
- (d) In times of crisis
- (e) Constantly

If (b), 1 mark is added. If (c), 2 marks are added.
If (d), 3 marks are added. If (e), 4 marks are added.

Question 53. "Do you perceive of God as a creator?"

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Maybe

2 marks are allocated for (a). 1 mark is allocated for (c).

Question 54. "Do you perceive of God as the giver of the Torah?"

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Maybe

2 marks are allocated for (a). 1 mark is allocated for (c).

POSSIBLE TOTAL: 11

ZIONIST SCALE

Question 98. "How important is it to you for the State of Israel to survive?"

Unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Important

For the choice of "4", 1 mark is added.

For the choice of "5", 2 marks are added.

For the choice of "6", 3 marks are added.

For the choice of "7", 4 marks are added.

Question 100. "If the Israeli government does something morally wrong ..."

(a) It makes no difference to you

(b) It vaguely troubles you

(c) It serious troubles you

1 mark is added for (b).

2 marks are added for (c).

Question 101. Aliyah

If the person intends making Aliyah, one mark is to be added.

Question 103. "It is important if at all possible that every Jew visits Israel"

If yes it is important to visit:

(a) once in a lifetime

(b) periodically

(c) regularly

For (a), 1 mark is added.

For (b), 2 marks are added.

For (c), 3 marks are added.

POSSIBLE TOTAL: 10

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